

**THE GREEK-CATHOLIC PARISH  
CLERGY IN GALICIA, 1900-1939**

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## ABSTRACT

Between 1900 and 1939 the Greek-Catholic parish clergy in Galicia underwent a transformation of its social, national, political and cultural consciousness. In part this was the result of the political changes taking place in the province, as its Ruthenian population developed a Ukrainian national consciousness expressed during the interregnum between Austrian and Polish rule by the creation of the Western Ukrainian Popular Republic, and later, in the increasingly restrictive atmosphere of inter-war Poland, by the activity of both moderate and radical nationalist groups. In part this transformation was conditioned by the decline of the priestly caste and the rise of a new type of priest, usually a celibate of village origin. The transformation was also the result of a conscious programme initiated by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi to raise the moral and educational level of the clergy. To this end he reformed the L'viv seminary, established a theological academy, and organised full seminaries in Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl'. This prepared the parish priest to deal with a growingly nationalistic and often anti-clerical intelligentsia, and a village coming increasingly under its influence. At the same time, the parish clergy evolved a new sense of its identity, gradually abandoning the Russophile orientation of the Old Ruthenians and adopting first Ruthenian populism, then Ukrainian nationalism. Thus they found common cause with the secular intelligentsia. However, the Ukrainian orientation forced them to redefine the Eastern Ukrainian tradition in a manner compatible with Catholicism, and to formulate their stance towards Orthodoxy and the Kievan Byzantine tradition. Though split between Byzantinists and Westernisers, the clergy developed a strong sense of their place as leaders of Galician Ukrainian society, albeit in occasional competition with the nationalist intelligentsia, and of their mission as bearers of Catholicism in the East.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	5
NOTE ON TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION.....	11
INTRODUCTION: SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN GALICIA (1900-1939) .....	13
PART ONE: THE EDUCATION OF THE GREEK-CATHOLIC CLERGY .....	51
CHAPTER ONE: SCHOOL AND SEMINARY.....	51
1. Primary and Secondary Education.....	51
2. The Seminaries .....	58
3. The "Galician Monaco" and Seminary Reform .....	60
4. Seminary Life.....	65
CHAPTER TWO: STUDENT ATTITUDES .....	82
1. Politics and Society .....	82
2. Celibacy.....	92
3. Discovering the West.....	97
PART TWO: THE PRIEST IN SOCIETY .....	101
CHAPTER THREE: THE LEGAL, ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT.....	101
1. The Austrian Period .....	101
2. The Polish Period .....	107
CHAPTER FOUR: THE CLERICAL ESTATE.....	128
1. Exclusivity.....	128
2. Celibacy.....	134
3. Solidarity .....	139
4. Priests and Bishops.....	146
CHAPTER FIVE: CLERGY AND LAITY .....	151
1. Pastoral Work .....	151
2. Relations with the Secular Intelligentsia .....	161
3. Relations with the Countryside.....	169

PART THREE: CRISES OF IDENTITY .....	182
CHAPTER SIX: RELIGIOUS, NATIONAL AND POLITICAL IDENTITY .	182
1. Old Ruthenians, Russophiles, Schismatics.....	183
2. From Ruthenian Populists to Ukrainian Nationalists.....	195
CHAPTER SEVEN: RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY.....	209
1. Byzantinists and Westernisers .....	210
2. The Problem of Ukrainian Secular Culture.....	227
CHAPTER EIGHT: THE SENSE OF MISSION OF THE GREEK-CATHOLIC PARISH PRIEST .....	233
1. Priest and Intelligentsia: Cooperation or Competition?.....	233
2. The Challenge of Integral Nationalism .....	238
3. The Clerical Vanguard.....	250
CONCLUSION: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GREEK-CATHOLIC PARISH CLERGY .....	254
NOTE ON SOURCES .....	256
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	260
Appendix I Chronology of Principal Events.....	277
Appendix II Survey Questionnaire.....	281
TABLES.....	284
I Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.....	285
II Districts and Eparchies of Galicia .....	286
III The Ethnogeographic Setting of Galicia.....	287
IV Greater Ukraine .....	288



## PREFACE

The original plan of this dissertation was to examine the "mentality" of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy as it developed in the changing socio-economic, political and cultural circumstances of Galicia between 1900 and 1939. In the process of assembling the necessary material it became evident that much fundamental work had to be done to clarify those changing circumstances themselves, at least insofar as they affected the clergy. It also became clear that the reform of clerical education which took place during this time would have to be dealt with before any assessment could be made of changes in clerical attitudes. The result has been that the first two chapters of this dissertation are dedicated to clerical education, the next three to social and economic relations, and the following two to politics and culture, respectively. In all these chapters, however, a discussion of changing conditions is combined with examples of evolving priestly attitudes about these conditions. In this way the question of "mentality" is treated together with the basic conditions that influenced it, and clerical perceptions of these conditions are documented. Only the last chapter deals exclusively with what the Greek-Catholic parish clergy in Galicia thought about themselves. That chapter, however, is in part a reflection on material introduced in earlier chapters, and examines attitudes that arose in reaction to the conditions previously discussed.

The fundamental thesis is that over a period of forty years, the Greek-Catholic clergy in Galicia was transformed in several ways, partly by design, partly by circumstance. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, seeking to bring the priesthood back to a position of social leadership, reformed the seminaries and sought to create a new, superior type of priest, prepared to cooperate (or, as necessary, compete) with the secular intelligentsia and to evangelise the Orthodox East. At the same time, the fall of the Habsburg empire and the advent of Polish rule, the change in the social composition of the clergy, deteriorating economic conditions and other similar factors contributed to the metamorphosis of the priestly class.

Geographical and political factors of course must be considered in order to understand the setting in which the mentality of the Greek-Catholic clergy developed. Galicia was the northeasternmost province of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Politicians and military strategists were well aware of its importance as a bulwark against Russia. Peremyshl' (Przemyśl) was one of the most heavily fortified towns of Europe, and its successive sieges by Russians and Austrians were major events in the first world war. Perhaps even more keenly felt, however, was the danger of Russian influence among a population that, in Eastern Galicia, mostly spoke an East Slavic language and belonged to a Church which, while Catholic, bore close resemblance to Orthodoxy. The conversion of a few Galician priests and villages to Orthodoxy caused concern in Vienna, which seemed justified by the mass conversions during the Russian occupation in World War I. In the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, the politicisation of Galician Russophilism, which had begun as a purely cultural orientation, provoked alarm in Vienna which culminated in treason trials and indiscriminate hangings during the first years of the war.

At the same time, the fact that the Galician population was ethnically related to, and in some opinions a part of, the renascent Ukrainian nation to the east took on increasing importance in the final decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. The arrival of political exiles from the Ukraine reinforced the Ruthenian intelligentsia's sense of being one people with the Ukrainians, and this sense filtered down gradually to the peasants, largely through the mediation of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy. Austrian statesmen were quick to see the significance of this alternative to the Russophile orientation. Ukrainian separatism provided a wedge into Russia, and the Ukrainian orientation in Galicia gave Austria one more weapon against her neighbour to the northeast.

Ukrainian dreams of autonomy or independence paralleled, and in fact were often inspired by, similar aspirations among the Poles. The unexpected crumbling of both the Austro-Hungarian and the Russian empires in the last two years of the world war left Poles and Ukrainians free to dispute the territories inhabited by both. A Polish-Ukrainian war over Eastern Galicia immediately ensued, lasting from November 1918 to July 1919 and ending in defeat for the Ukrainian Galician Army.

In the meantime the Eastern Ukrainians had set up an independent Republic in the wake of the 1917 Russian revolution

which declared its independence on 22 January 1918, a few days before the arrival of Bolshevik forces in Kiev. Embattled by Reds and Whites, with no help from the Russian-oriented Allies, the Ukrainian Popular Republic found temporary support from the Germans after Brest-Litovsk, though at the cost of a burdensome occupation and undue political interference. The conservative regime of Hetman Skoropadsky crumbled along with the Central Powers that had supported him. As their Galician brethren were setting up the Western Ukrainian Popular Republic and battling the Poles, the Eastern Ukrainians organised a Directory, whose armies sought to stave off Bolsheviks, Whites, anarchists, and typhus. Finally Symon Petliura obtained help from Józef Piłsudski, though at the cost of Galicia. The Polish-Ukrainian expedition of May 1920 took Kiev, but the ensuing Bolshevik counter-attack dispelled the Ukrainian forces and pushed the Poles back to Warsaw by August. With the "miracle of the Vistula" Piłsudski was able to drive back the Bolsheviks and ultimately to carve out a Polish state with ample eastern borders including a large non-Polish population. Among them were the former troops of the Ukrainian Galician Army and Petliura's forces. The vast eastern borderlands proved a liability as well as a buffer for Poland, for ethnic problems plagued the Polish Republic throughout the two decades of its existence. Nowhere was this more evident than in Galicia.

In the inter-war period Eastern Galicia became for Poland what it had been for Austria: a buffer against Russia populated by an element of uncertain political loyalty. Both the Soviet Union and Germany played upon the grievances of the Ukrainian minority, extending their influence into subversive organisations. Successive Polish regimes tried different policies to shore up this important bulwark, settling ethnically Polish colonists, organising special border detachments, "pacifying" the population through police and military action. Ultimately, however, the political orientation of the Ukrainians of Galicia developed in such a manner as to preclude its tranquil inclusion in anything other than a Ukrainian state. The acceptance of this political orientation by the clergy was an important element in this situation.

The focus of this study is the transformation of the ideas, attitudes, and world-view of the Greek-Catholic clergy in Galicia.

How did their sense of national identity and their political allegiance change? How did their cultural orientation, both sacred and secular, develop? What did they feel to be their role in Ruthenian or Ukrainian society, and in the broader context of European Christendom?

Although given the current state of research it is impossible to answer these questions definitively, an attempt will be made to provide tentative answers which may point the way to more fruitful research.

The evolution of the mentality of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy in Galicia has parallels in other times and places. Their closest neighbours, the Polish Latin-rite clerics, appear to have undergone changes during the same period which have yet to be examined in a systematic manner. The socio-economic and sometimes political activism of Polish priests, particularly in the Prussian partition, are known. Fr. Stojałowski <sup>1</sup> and, later, Fr. Panas<sup>2</sup> were prominent political figures. Many Polish clerics supported the nationalistic *Narodowa Demokracja* (Endeky) of Roman Dmowski.<sup>3</sup> Like the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests, Polish Latin-rite priests sometimes ran afoul of the state authorities because of their political activities. In fact, a Polish government memorandum of March 1938 complains of the subversive anti-state propaganda carried on by clerics engaged in politics.<sup>4</sup> But whereas the political activity of the Polish clergy in the Polish state lacked the national ingredient that so fired the Ukrainian clergy of the time, the role of Polish priests in Partition Poland resembled that of the Ukrainian clergy more closely.

Religion and nationality have proved a potent mix in many contexts, and clerics have appeared as the natural leaders of national movements reinforced by confessional divisions.<sup>5</sup> This was the case with Greek-Catholic communities in lands adjacent to Galicia -- Hungary, Romania and Slovakia -- as well as further abroad. In the Kingdom of Hungary, both Romanian and Ruthenian Greek-

<sup>1</sup> See generally Narkiewicz, Olga A. The Green Flag: Polish Populist Politics, 1867-1970. London-Totowa, New Jersey, 1976.

<sup>2</sup> See Polska Akademia Nauk - Instytut Historii. Polski Słownik Biograficzny. vol. XXV. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1980, 113.

<sup>3</sup> Bender, Ryszard. "I wojna światowa i Polska niepodległa (1914-1939)," in Chrześcijaństwo w Polsce. Lublin, 1981, 292.

<sup>4</sup> Polish Institute, London. Collection A44 (Papée) file 122/17.

<sup>5</sup> See generally Ramet, Pedro, ed. Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics. Durham, North Carolina, 1984.

Catholics sought to stave off latinisation which, as in Galicia, was perceived as a means of ethnic assimilation with the dominant nationality.<sup>6</sup> In Transylvania, however, Orthodoxy had served to preserve Romanian ethnic identity during Turkish rule, and the fact that the subsequent Austrian government favoured the Uniates who had joined with Rome in 1701 put the latter at odds with Romanian nationalism.<sup>7</sup> In the lands of Transcarpathia and the Prešov (Eperjes) region, which passed from Hungary to Czechoslovakia after World War I, the Greek-Catholic Church helped to protect the Ruthenians from assimilation with the Slovaks.<sup>8</sup>

Uniate Churches have also flourished in the Middle East and India, though not as bulwarks of separate nationality. They are grouped in churches descended from the Assyrian Church of the East (the Chaldean and Malabar Churches), from Oriental Orthodox Churches, and from the Byzantine-rite Orthodox Church (the Melkite Church).<sup>9</sup> The Armenian Uniates who established themselves in Poland, whither they had come as merchants, were in fact centered in L'viv (Lwów). Although they became thoroughly polonised, they maintained a strong ecclesiastical identity, and Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz of L'viv (1902-1938) was a prominent figure in Poland's Catholic hierarchy.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Iorga, N. L'évêché de Hajdu-dorogh et les droits de l'Église roumaine unie de Hongrie. Bucarest, 1913; Slivka, John. The History of the Greek Rite Catholics in Pannonia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Podkarpatska Rus' 863-1949. n.l. 1974, 151-152. The creation of the Greek-Catholic eparchy of Hajdudorog in 1912 was perceived by some as an attempt at magyarisation. Some information on the subsequent fate of the Greek-Catholic Church in Romania can be found in Crisan, Victor. Tragedia Bisericii Române Unite din România. Jemez Springs, New Mexico, 1961, and Radu, Jacob. Istoria diecezei române-unite a Orăzii-Mari. Oradea, 1930. The latter work contains an account of the political activity of Bishop Demetriu Radu (1903-1920) at 165-192, and biographies of 20th-century canons at 214-221. See also Roberson, Ronald G. The Eastern Christian Churches: A Brief Survey. Roma, 1988, 37.

<sup>7</sup> See Roberson, Ronald G. The Eastern Christian Churches: A Brief Survey. Roma, 1988, 34-35.

<sup>8</sup> Slivka 152.

<sup>9</sup> See Roberson 26-37. On the Melkite Church, see Descy, Serge. Introduction à l'histoire et l'ecclésiologie de l'Église melkite. Histoire de l'Église en Orient (Études et Matériaux) II: Antioch. vol. 1. Beyrouth-Jounieh (Liban), 1986, esp. Ch. III, 49-76. The education of the Maronite clergy is the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Khairallah, Mounir Boutros. La formation de clergé séculier dans l'Église maronite contemporain (1934-1974). (Institut Catholique de Paris). Paris, 1984.

<sup>10</sup> See Lechicki, Czesław. Kościół ormiański w Polsce (zarys historyczny). Lwów, 1928, esp. pp. 122-160; Torzecki, Ryszard. "Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society," in Magocsi, Paul R., ed. Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Edmonton, Alberta, 1989, 84.

In the Low Countries, Catholicism became a basis for a national division when Belgium (the name was taken from a tribe that existed in Roman times) was created in 1830. However, Brabant and Limburg have retained significant Protestant Flemish minorities. At the same time, a sizeable Catholic minority has remained in Friesland in the Netherlands.<sup>11</sup> In these areas religious, ethnic and linguistic divisions do not fully coincide.

It has also happened that the ethnic factor has sparked a new confessional division. This occurred among Catholic East European immigrants in the United States, where in the nineteenth century the Church was heavily Irish. Complaining of polonisation in Chicago, Lithuanians formed their own national church which was formed in that city in 1906. Disputes over ownership of church property and appointment of pastors had combined with ethnic friction to prompt the formation of a Polish Catholic Church. Their Bishop, Anton Kozlowski, received his orders from the Old Catholic Church, a European schism that had arisen in the wake of the First Vatican Council. In 1898 a Polish Independent Catholic Church was formed in Buffalo, New York under Bishop Stefan Kaminski. By 1907 both these Churches had become affiliated with the Polish National Catholic Church established in 1900 and based in Scranton, Pennsylvania, under Bishop Francis Hodur. This Church even established a mission in Poland.<sup>12</sup>

The transformation of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy in Galicia between 1900 and 1939 can thus be seen in the context of the interplay of religious and national currents in modernising societies.

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<sup>11</sup> For a sociological study, see Goddijn, Johannes Jacobus Oscar. Katholieke minderheid en protestantse dominant. Nijmegen, 1957. (English summary pp. 266-270)

<sup>12</sup> Hennesey, James. American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States. New York-Oxford, 1981, 208-209; Platt, Warren C. "The Polish National Church: An Inquiry into its Origins." Church History 46 (1977), 74-89.

## NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY AND TRANSLITERATION

The very changes that form the background of this thesis are a source of difficulty in choosing appropriate terminology. Indeed, terminology itself was the object of debate and manipulation during the period under study. Austria ruled the province of Galicia (the name of which was an eighteenth-century revival of the name of a medieval Rus' principality) until 1918. Although calls for the partition of Galicia were not heeded, the division of Galicia into a predominantly Ruthenian Eastern part and a predominantly Polish Western part, separated by a line running near the river San, was recognised. In 1919, after a Polish-Ukrainian struggle of several months, Poland took the province and, given a mandate by the Council of Ambassadors in 1923, held it until September 1939. Under Polish administration, the province came to be officially designated as Eastern Little Poland (Małopolska Wschodnia). (See Tables.)

During the period under study, the people who for the most part called themselves Ruthenians in 1900 came to accept the name Ukrainians. Although their Church generally retained the Austrian designation "Greek-Catholic" (formally adopted in 1774), the term "Ukrainian Catholic" appeared in a document drafted by clergymen as early as 1914 and by the 1930s was coming into more frequent use. Even personal names changed during this period: individuals often polonised Ukrainian family names, and priests who re-Ukrainised such names in parish records were subjected to prosecution. The orthography they were to use and, in fact, the very identity of their language was a subject of heated debate amongst the parish clergy. The Old Ruthenians used an artificial mixture of Church Slavonic, Ukrainian and Russian, rendered in an "etymological" orthography, while the populists opted for the contemporary Ukrainian language and orthography in their Galician variant. The question was only resolved in the inter-war period.

In this dissertation, the name "Galicia" will be retained for convenience, even with reference to inter-war Eastern Little Poland, and will include both its eastern and western parts. German and Polish versions of place-names will be avoided except where clarity requires their mention, as will current Soviet Russian or Ukrainian versions that differ from the Ukrainian versions in use during the period under study. For the sake of uniformity, the Ukrainian

versions of place-names in Galicia in use during the period 1900-1939 will be used. These, after all, are the versions generally used by the Greek-Catholic priests themselves; furthermore, the German or Polish versions of names of small villages would be difficult to ascertain. Of course, names of Polish cities outside Galicia will be rendered in Polish, and accepted English versions of names of cities will be used (e.g., Warsaw, Cracow, Vienna). In citations, however, the versions of place names used in the sources will be retained.

On the whole, "Ruthenians" will be used for the period up to 1914, except where the source uses (or most likely used) the designation "Ukrainian," or where "Ukrainian" is needed to designate a political orientation. For the period after 1914, "Ukrainian" will be used unless the source uses "Ruthenian." The Church and clergy in question will be referred to as "Greek-Catholic" throughout, except with reference to subsequent events, or in citing or quoting sources. Ukrainian personal names of course will be rendered in Ukrainian. In references, the original orthography will be followed in transliteration, though this may result in inconsistent rendering of many words, including place-names and personal names. The surname of the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan of Halych, who came from a polonised Ruthenian family and accepted a Ukrainian identity, will be transliterated in its Ukrainian form (i.e., "Sheptyts'kyi"), except in references to publications in languages other than contemporary Ukrainian.

A slightly modified Library of Congress transliteration system will be used for Ruthenian or Ukrainian names of persons and places.



## INTRODUCTION: SOCIETY, POLITICS AND THE CHURCH IN EASTERN GALICIA, 1900-1939

The changes in the educational and socio-economic status of the *Greek-Catholic clergy in Eastern Galicia from 1900 to 1939*, the development of its political and cultural attitudes and its sense of social role must be seen against the background of socio-economic, cultural and political developments in Galicia during this period. In this chapter, therefore, an attempt will be made to outline these developments under Austrian and Polish rule, insofar as they are relevant to the topic of this dissertation.

The modern history of Western Ukraine, including that of Eastern Galicia, is generally treated in segments, with the Habsburg and Polish periods dealt with separately. Although the political changes occurring after the First World War in part justify such an approach, the broad socio-economic and cultural situation remained to a great extent unchanged, representing a rough continuum over the forty-year period with which this study is concerned. Indeed, even the political changes were not as radical as might at first appear: Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia had to deal with a Polish local administration before 1918 as well as after. And although they could no longer appeal for protection to an Emperor eager to control the Polish autonomous movement, the forms of democratic government did provide similar opportunities for pressing their case by appeals to the national interest. Consequently, the Austrian and Polish periods will not be dealt with separately in this chapter; instead, an outline of the Ukrainians' socio-economic and cultural development and of their political life spanning the period between 1900 and 1939 will be provided.

Although this is not the place for an analysis of over-all socio-economic and cultural conditions in the Habsburg Empire or inter-war Poland, it is important to keep in mind that whereas some of the problems of Eastern Galicia were unique to that region, others were typical of the entire state of which it was a part. Furthermore, it will not be possible in this study to determine which conditions were the *results of state policy and which simply developed out of the existing situation*. Consequently, in describing socio-economic and cultural conditions we shall not venture in every case to judge whether they represented government policies, or to determine whether such

policies were directed exclusively toward Eastern Galicia. Nor shall we always seek to determine whether these policies were aimed at the Ukrainians or the Poles alone. Rather, the object of this chapter is to describe the context in which the Greek-Catholic clergy lived, learned and worked, and in which they formed their attitudes about contemporary issues and about their role in society .

The survey of political developments will focus on the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) national movement, in which the Greek-Catholic clergy played a vital part. It is important to remember, of course, that in twentieth-century Eastern Galicia there were in fact two conflicting national movements. While in the Austrian period the Ruthenian awakening followed in the footsteps of the Polish independence movement, after 1918 Eastern Galicia saw the inevitable conflict between a successful national movement that was seeking to consolidate its newly-won statehood, and a frustrated one in direct conflict with the former and claiming the same territory.

### 1. Economic, Social and Cultural Life

What were the economic, social and cultural conditions in which the Ruthenian-Ukrainian movement developed, and which formed the context of its political expressions, in the last two decades of Habsburg Austria and the following two decades of Polish rule?

At the turn of the century Eastern Galicia was one of the poorest places in Europe.<sup>13</sup> At the same time it was the "Piedmont of Ukraine," where the cultural energies of the nation on either side of the Russian border were concentrated. The tension contained in this paradox may explain the remarkable political energy of the Galician Ukrainians during the ensuing decades.

For the peasants, who formed the overwhelming majority of the population then known as Ruthenian, the principal socio-economic problem was over-population. It was not simply a matter of too many people, however, but rather of a high birth rate combined with scarce available land and low agricultural productivity. Neither the high death rate nor the heavy emigration (in 1911, over 14,200 peasants left for Canada, and as many for the United States) sufficed to alleviate this problem and the attendant poverty. The constant

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<sup>13</sup> Galician poverty even figured as the title of Ignacy Daszyński's O Nędzy Galicyjskiej. Kraków, 1897.

division of land left a plethora of small holdings, many of which were insufficient to support the families living on them. Furthermore, there was a glaring contrast between large estates and "dwarf" holdings, while many peasants were altogether landless. Some 25 large landowners held about a fifth of the land. At the other end of the scale, over 100,000 peasants, for example, found it necessary to migrate to Germany as seasonal labourers in 1912-1913. <sup>14</sup>

At the same time, both government and private efforts were made to alleviate the desperate conditions in Eastern Galicia. In the wake of the massive and largely successful peasant strike of 1902, over 180 estates were parcelled between 1902 and 1910. However, the beneficiaries of the parcellation were generally Polish colonists rather than the indigenous Ruthenians; similarly, central and local state subsidies for drainage, flood control and such purposes tended to go to Western rather than Eastern Galicia, and the predominantly Polish local officials interfered with the Ruthenian peasants' private efforts to improve conditions. <sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, there were signs of improvement in the East Galician economy. Petroleum fields discovered near Drohobych and Boryslav promised considerable revenue and laid the foundations for industrialisation. Between the 1870s and 1914 the budget of the Galician Diet multiplied 30 times. A Provincial Bank was founded in 1883, a Bank of Industry in 1910.<sup>16</sup> Among the Ruthenian self-help organisations, "Prosvita" ("Enlightenment"), founded in 1868, published books on farming methods, sent out agronomists to lecture on modern farming techniques, arranged for the sale of agricultural tools at reduced prices, and established associations to provide small loans at low interest. From 1898 "Sil's'kyi Hospodar" established machinery stations, experimental farms and agricultural courses; by 1912, it had 90 branches with 27,000 members. Credit unions, numerous after 1898, provided cheap credit, though often on condition of abstinence from alcohol (drink being considered a chief cause of peasant indebtedness and hence poverty). Consumer

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<sup>14</sup> Yaremko, Michael. Galicia-Halychyna (A Part of Ukraine): From Separation to Unity. Shevchenko Scientific Society Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 18, English Section, Vol. 3. Toronto-New York-Paris, 1967, 144-5.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Reddaway, W.F., Penson, J.H., Halecki, O. & Dyboski, R. eds. The Cambridge History of Poland from Augustus II to Pilsudski, 1697-1935. Cambridge, 1951, 451.

cooperatives and cooperative land banks flourished in the countryside, while "Narodna Torhivlia" helped commerce in the towns. A major dairy cooperative in Stryi was one of many such producers' organisations belonging to the Provincial Audit Union. From 1892 the "Dnister" association provided affordable insurance to the Ruthenian masses.<sup>17</sup>

Strides were made in the social and cultural areas as well. The improvement of education in Galicia in the late nineteenth century had been primarily a Polish accomplishment, and served Polish interests. In 1871 the Polish language was introduced in all state-supported primary schools in the province. The Galician School Board, though nominally under the Viceroy and the Ministry of Education, became essentially a Galician institution, and established secondary as well as primary schools and teachers' seminaries (normal schools). However, as the peasants came to constitute a large proportion of the pupils, the benefits of educational reform in Eastern Galicia filtered down to the Ruthenians. Thus, by 1914 almost half the elementary schools, and a number of secondary and normal schools, were Ruthenian in language of instruction.<sup>18</sup> In that year there were 96 Polish state gymnasia and six Ruthenian ones. The Emperor's demands for Ruthenian gymnasia were sometimes refused by the Polish-dominated Galician Diet, for example, in the case of a gymnasium in Stanyslaviv. Furthermore, it was considerably more difficult for Ruthenians to be admitted to the state gymnasia than for Poles, at least in Peremyshl' (Przemysł) and Ternopil' (Tarnopol). Finally, the 2,457 Ruthenian elementary state schools existing in 1910 were mostly one- or two-room affairs, often with Polish teachers, while the 2,909 Polish schools generally had two to eight rooms.<sup>19</sup> However, the Ruthenian intelligentsia did establish fifteen private educational institutions and one private normal school, all under the Land School Union in L'viv (Lemberg, Lwów). In higher education, there were seven full professorships and four lectureships in Ruthenian studies at the University of L'viv by 1914.<sup>20</sup>

Adult education flourished too, under the aegis of "Prosvita," which organised reading rooms throughout the province. In 1912,

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17 Yaremko 144-160.

18 Reddaway 452-453.

19 Yaremko 142-143.

20 Id. 156.

"Prosvita" had 74 branches, 2,611 reading rooms, and over 130,000 members and had published 445 books in over three million copies. The Shevchenko Scientific Society, founded in 1873 and re-organised in the 1890s, and financed largely by wealthy Ukrainians from the Russian Empire, became a sort of Academy of Sciences for the Ruthenians and their Ukrainian compatriots.<sup>21</sup>

Ruthenian life in Eastern Galicia also benefited from the flourishing of theatrical and musical groups. Athletic organisations like the nationalist "Sokil" (1898) and the socialist "Sich" (1900), with 866 and 794 members, respectively, in 1912, propagated the new Ukrainian consciousness among the Ruthenians and contributed to the future military and political leadership of the nation.<sup>22</sup>

The demographic picture of Galicia justified the view that its Eastern and Western parts were fairly distinct. Of the entire province, which had a population of 7,908,504 in 1897, 3,080,443 were Ruthenian speaking in 1900 and 3,109,127 were Greek-Uniate by religion in that year;<sup>23</sup> out of a total of eight million in 1910, 4,670,000 were Poles and 3,200,000 Ruthenians.<sup>24</sup> However, in Eastern Galicia out of a population of 4,814,171 in 1900, Greek-Catholics constituted 3,022,929 while Latin-rite Catholics amounted to 1,131,330.<sup>25</sup> Although religious denomination is not a perfect indicator of nationality -- there were Greek-Catholic Poles as well as Latin-rite Catholic Ruthenians (though these were frequently regarded by their co-nationals as victims of assimilation) -- these latter figures give a rough idea of the relative proportions of Ruthenians and Poles in Eastern Galicia. In Western Galicia, by contrast, the Ruthenians tended to be linguistically polonised, except in the mountainous Lemko region in the south.

After World War I and the fall of Austria-Hungary, the traditional socio-economic and cultural problems of Galicia were compounded by the difficulties faced by the new Polish state. For the Ruthenians -- who after their war of independence of 1918-1920 generally regarded themselves as part of the greater Ukrainian

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21 Id. 156-157.

22 Id. 158-159.

23 Hof- und Staats-Handbuch der Österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1909. Vienna, 1909.

24 Reddaway 453

25 Yaremko 144-5 and map on endpapers.

nation -- there were added the difficulties of rebuilding their life in the confines of an often hostile national state.

Many of Poland's economic problems were characteristic of those of inter-war Eastern Europe. In agriculture, the persistence of strip farming and the large number of dwarf holdings (5 hectares or less), complicated by the continuing subdivision of landholdings among the sons of a family, retarded progress. Competition from American grain and, from about 1930, the effects of the Depression (especially the dramatic fall in the price of wheat on home markets), aggravated the situation. The disparity between the prices of industrial goods (such as ploughs), which remained fairly high, and the falling prices of agricultural goods -- the notorious "price scissors" -- contributed to the impoverishment of the peasantry. Only in the last few years before the outbreak of World War II did a limited agricultural recovery take place.<sup>26</sup>

Poland also had to repair the devastation of the World War, much of which had been fought on what was now her territory. Agriculture had been particularly hard hit. There was the added difficulty of integrating the formerly Prussian, Russian and Austrian lands with their varying systems of communication, transportation, and education, as well as their disparate economic orientations. Inflation was very high in the first five years of independence. Unemployment was rife. The country was underindustrialised, and little foreign investment in Polish industry ever materialised. Despite large-scale projects like Gdynia and the Central Industrial Region, industrialisation developed too slowly. Growing economic nationalism abroad obstructed Poland's foreign trade as world agricultural surpluses depressed prices and hindered her exports. Trade barriers prohibited Poland from obtaining the foreign exchange she needed to buy imports required for industrialisation. Meanwhile, the country's standard of living slowly declined. Land reform, with its attendant parcellation of large estates, never went far enough, and immigration -- restricted by the

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<sup>26</sup> Seton-Watson, Hugh. Poland Between the Wars: 1918-1941. Hamden, Connecticut, 1962, 81-2.

United States in the 1920s and by other states during the Depression - never sufficed to relieve the overpopulation of the countryside.<sup>27</sup>

The state of Poland's agriculture was of particular relevance to the Ukrainians of Galicia, including the Greek-Catholic clergy. The overwhelming majority of the population -- for example, 81.3% in Ternopil county -- were engaged in farming.<sup>28</sup> Overpopulation of the countryside remained acute, and emigration (about 578,000 in Eastern Galicia in 1919-1925, about 964,000 in 1926-1930) did not relieve it here any more than elsewhere in Poland; furthermore, about half the emigrants returned.<sup>29</sup>

Also among the problems facing Polish agriculture as a whole were a lack of capital, primitive techniques, and the land ownership system. The agricultural yield of wheat in Poland was less than that of fifteen other European countries in the 1930s. In 1921, 33.9% of the landholdings were of two hectares or less; another 30.7% were of between two and five hectares. Together, these constituted 15.3% of the area under cultivation. Yet five hectares was considered to be the minimum amount of land needed to support a family. Four million peasants had no land at all. At the same time, a mere 0.6% of the holdings, consisting of estates of over a hundred hectares, accounted for 43% of the land being cultivated. This concentration of ownership was probably greater than that of any other European country except Hungary.<sup>30</sup>

In the inter-war period commassation of landholdings, an antidote to wasteful strip farming, was carried out. By 1938, over 40% of the land involved in the program had been commassated.<sup>31</sup>

The most ambitious reform, however, was the Land Reform announced by a resolution of Parliament in July 1919, and voted into law in July 1920 under the pressure of the Bolshevik advance, but not put into effect until the law of 1925 established agrarian offices to carry it out. Under the reform in its final version, the state would pay for half the value of an owner's land subject to the reform in cash,

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<sup>27</sup> Buell, Raymond Leslie. Poland: Key to Europe. New York & London, 1939, 124; Sharp, Samuel L. Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, 93-106; Seton-Watson 161.

<sup>28</sup> Srokowski, Stanisław. Geografia Gospodarcza Polski. Warsaw, 1931, 86.

<sup>29</sup> Macartney, C.A. & Palmer, A.W. Independent Eastern Europe: A History. London, 1962, 190.

<sup>30</sup> Buell 203-206, Srokowski 81.

<sup>31</sup> Buell 205-206.

and half in government bonds. The beneficiary would pay five percent down with forty-one years to pay off the rest, financing to be provided by the State Land Bank. In addition to private holdings, land of the State, the Catholic Church (under the 1925 Concordat) and other public institutions was subject to state purchase. (The parcellation of Church lands will be discussed in Chapter Three.) General landholders could retain holdings of no more than 180 hectares; however, the limit in suburban and industrial areas was 60 hectares, and in the East, where the landowners were usually Polish and the beneficiaries of parcellation would have been Belorussians or Ukrainians, the limit was 300 hectares.<sup>32</sup>

The land reform, once it was under way, accommodated only about a third of the increase of the rural population, with some 130,000 hectares distributed each year. Moreover, the financial obligations incurred by the recipients of land proved heavy. Worse still, the average size of small holdings decreased steadily.<sup>33</sup> The reform was slowed up after Piłsudski's 1926 coup and his rapprochement with the conservatives, but sped up again under the Kościłkowski government in 1935. The greatest progress was in the eastern and central provinces. However, many landowners took advantage of the provision of the reform act allowing the owner to dispose of the land subject to the reform within twelve months of publication of the notice of expropriation. There was a tendency to dispose of the inferior part of a holding, and often the purchaser was a well-to-do peasant rather than a landless peasant or small-holder.

Nevertheless, by 1938 the reform was two-thirds complete, and the decrease in the number of large estates as well as dwarf holdings testified to a levelling process -- though this did not relieve the growing pressure of population on the land.<sup>34</sup> In 1939, there were still two million farms --over half the peasant holdings -- that were not large enough to maintain the cultivators at subsistence. On the other hand, estates of over 50 hectares, owned by fewer than 30,000 individuals, constituted about 24% of the total area under cultivation in Poland.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Buell 207-08.

<sup>33</sup> Macartney & Palmer 190. Buell notes that although it was the intent of the law that 200,000 ha. should be parcelled every year from 1925 to 1935, that quota was only reached in 1926, 1927 and 1928. Buell 208.

<sup>34</sup> Buell 208-211.

<sup>35</sup> Sharp 102.



From the point of view of the Ukrainian peasants of Galicia, the reform was not necessarily a good thing. Aside from the discriminatory differential in the maximum permissible size of holdings favouring the Polish landowners, there was the fact that the parcelled lands frequently went to Polish colonists from other provinces rather than to local Ukrainians. At the same time, the Ukrainian farm workers employed on large estates that were parcelled lost their jobs.<sup>36</sup>

However, Stanisław Skrzypek points out that the state guaranteed the Ukrainians at least an equal share of the parcelled lands in spite of the fact that the estates belonged mainly to Poles (thus evidently assuming that the Ukrainians would not normally be entitled to land parcelled out from Polish-held estates). He cites a figure of 872,000 acres parcelled in Eastern Galicia between 1919 and 1938, of which 495,000 went to Ukrainians.<sup>37</sup>

Agriculture was no less immune to the ravages of the Depression than the rest of the Polish economy. The harbinger of depression was the fall of world timber prices with the reappearance of Russia on the world market in 1928. Wheat prices fell in the autumn of 1929 with the over-production of wheat in America and continued to fall in the following years, bringing down the prices of other raw agricultural products, on which the balance of trade of most East European countries depended. However, this disaster for the small farmer did less harm to the seasonal labourer (so common among the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia) working on large estates, as he was usually paid in kind, with a percentage of the crop he had harvested.<sup>38</sup>

One effect in Eastern Europe of the international depression was an increasing economic self-reliance, which contributed to political nationalism and undermined internationalist tendencies among the working class. Discontent arose among the older civil servants, victims of cost cuts, and the army officers, as well as among the recent university graduates who could not find work. In the countryside, the owner-farmers (rather than the labourers) most resented the high industrial prices and interest rates. In

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<sup>36</sup> Buell 212-3.

<sup>37</sup> Skrzypek, Stanisław. The Problem of Eastern Galicia. London, 1948, 54, citing Srokowski, Geografia Gospodarcza Polski (2nd ed.?) Warsaw, 1939, 107-8.

<sup>38</sup> Macartney & Palmer 273-4, 283.

Poland as elsewhere in Eastern Europe, in view of the heavy Jewish representation in banking and industry, such feelings were easily translated into anti-Semitism. The scarcity of jobs exacerbated inter-ethnic tensions in general. Throughout Eastern Europe, the position of national minorities began to deteriorate.<sup>39</sup>

Poland seemed to be faced with intractable problems. Broad economic discontent surfaced in the general strike of November 1923, the industrial strikes of 1936, and the agricultural strike of August 1937. Even the most energetic reforms could not solve the country's difficulties. Although the judgment of Samuel Sharp, describing the government's programmes as "bureaucratically inspired economic activity of a kind which evoked sneering comments from a diffident population," may be harsh, one must agree with his evaluation that "after twenty years the gap between needs and achievements was not sufficiently narrowed in terms of many things that mattered."<sup>40</sup>

There were, of course, private efforts to deal creatively with these economic problems, not least among the Ukrainians of Galicia (or, as it was then officially known, Eastern Little Poland). To an extent this was a matter of reviving and developing the institutions that they had organised under Austrian rule. Although Raymond Leslie Buell, writing in the 1930s, concluded that the cooperative could not meet Poland's economic needs, particularly in Eastern Poland where the peasants were illiterate,<sup>41</sup> the Ukrainian cooperative movement forged ahead under Polish rule. This was in great part the work of veterans of the Ukrainian Galician Army who had studied in Czechoslovakia and returned to Galicia in the mid-1920s to re-open and expand the cooperatives closed or destroyed between 1914 and 1923.

In 1923 there were 830 Ukrainian consumer cooperatives in Galicia. Retail cooperatives were organised under "Tsentsosoiuz," while the dairy cooperative "Maslosoiuz" came to produce a fifth of Poland's butter exports. Credit and savings cooperatives arose as well. By 1935 these various institutions, organised in the Audit Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives, claimed over 542,000 members; two years later they had 661,000. By 1935 they had created 12,500 jobs. Also of aid

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<sup>39</sup> Id. 285-7.

<sup>40</sup> Sharp 113.

<sup>41</sup> Buell 215.

to the farmers were the Agrarian Mortgage Bank and the organisation "Sil'skyi Hospodar," continued from Austrian times, which in 1936 had 63 branches and 107,200 members -- an enormous increase in membership over the 27,000 claimed in 1912. The "Dnister" insurance association was restored as well. <sup>42</sup> According to some Ukrainian sources, the Ukrainian cooperatives received no aid from the Polish government, though a Polish source disagrees. <sup>43</sup> In any case, the cooperatives did raise the peasants' economic status -- and with it their national consciousness. <sup>44</sup>

The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia suffered social-cultural as well as economic difficulties in inter-war Poland. Employment was often contingent on converting from the Greek to the Latin Catholic rite. <sup>45</sup> Of the 600 workmen at the Polonia petroleum refinery, only ten were Ukrainians, and these were reportedly pressured to avoid joining any Ukrainian party or organisation. <sup>46</sup> In their search for jobs, the young intelligentsia were hampered both by general conditions of unemployment in Poland and by national discrimination, particularly in government and education. Ukrainian judges were removed or transferred to ethnically Polish areas. The local administration was overwhelmingly Polish. Polish colonists (often ex-servicemen), settled in Eastern Galicia after 1919, competed for land and jobs. In 1939 the Ukrainian politician Vasyl' Paneiko asserted that the Poles had monopolised public employment, hindered instruction in the Ukrainian language, established a numerus clausus in higher education, and taken measures against the Ukrainian cooperatives. Indeed, of the 120 to 140 students admitted to the medical school at the University of L'viv there were only two Ukrainians in 1931, nine in 1932, six in 1933, and ten in each of the two following years. Whereas twelve subjects had been taught

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<sup>42</sup> Yaremko 237-8. Skrzypek provides a figure of 661,000 for total Ukrainian membership in the cooperatives in 1937, but also mentions the "Ruthenian" cooperatives, with 120,000 members in 1936, Skrzypek 53. For "Sil's'kyi Hospodar" he cites only 85 branches with 12,500 members in 1910, 81 with 28,000 members in 1930, and the same figures as Yaremko for 1936; the number of village groups also increased, from 317 in 1910 to 1122 in 1930 and 1683 in 1936, Skrzypek 50.

<sup>43</sup> Yaremko 238; Buell 275; Skrzypek 54.

<sup>44</sup> Michowicz, W. "Problemy Mniejszości Narodowych" in Tomicki, Jan, ed. Polska Odrodzona 1918-1939. Warsaw, 1982, 316.

<sup>45</sup> Yaremko 237.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

at that university before World War I, under Polish rule all courses were taught in Polish. <sup>47</sup>

Education was a serious problem throughout Poland, especially in the rural areas; the ethnic problem, pronounced in the Galician countryside, complicated it further. As against a national average of 32.7% illiteracy among persons over ten years of age, the rate of illiteracy was 38.7% in 'Ternopil' county and 40.4% in Stanyslaviv county in 1921. By the late 1930s, however, these figures had fallen to 29.8% and 36.6%, respectively.<sup>48</sup> The Austrian system of separate Polish and Ukrainian schools was abandoned, and under the 1924 school law (the "lex Grabski") the mixed Polish-Ukrainian "utraquistic" school was introduced, with courses in both Polish and Ukrainian (though even the latter were frequently taught by Poles). Thus, the number of schools with Ukrainian as the principal language of instruction dropped from 2,417 in 1924 to 457 in the late 1930s; the number of bi-lingual schools, on the other hand, reached 2,230. <sup>49</sup> There were 452 Ukrainian-language elementary schools in 1938, and 2,485 utraquistic schools. However, in that year there were 21 secondary schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, and only two bilingual ones; there were 19 Ukrainian lycees and two bilingual lycees. <sup>50</sup> The "Ridna Shkola" society was founded to provide private schooling in the Ukrainian language. In 1938 it had 107, 332 members and maintained 33 elementary schools. <sup>51</sup>

In higher education, the five-year course of the Greek-Catholic Theological Academy established in L'viv in 1928 provided the equivalent of university education, while Ukrainian professors taught at L'viv, Cracow and Warsaw Universities. In 1930 the Polish government set up a Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw. The issue of a Ukrainian university, however, was never settled; the government proposed that such an institution should be situated in Cracow while the Ukrainians insisted on L'viv. Between 1921 and 1926 an underground Ukrainian university functioned in L'viv with 1,500 students. <sup>52</sup> Adult education continued to be provided by

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<sup>47</sup> Buell 275-6, 279.

<sup>48</sup> Srokowski 78, 27.

<sup>49</sup> Id. (1939 ed.) 279.

<sup>50</sup> Skrzypek 49.

<sup>51</sup> Skrzypek 50. There also were 496 Ruthenian schools, Srokowski (1939 ed.) 129.

<sup>52</sup> Skrzypek 49-50; Yaremko 235.

"Prosvita," now under the influence of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO). It grew from a membership of 6,900 in 1925 to 31,100 ten years later, and operated 3,017 reading rooms in 1935 (as compared with 2,376 in 1910), with 295 "central" reading rooms in that year (114 in 1910).<sup>53</sup>

The publication of Ukrainian-language newspapers and other periodicals in Galicia rose from around 72 before 1910 to 129 in 1926, including 28 political, some 16 religious, and 19 cultural, literary and scholarly publications.<sup>54</sup> By 1937 the Ukrainian religious press alone counted 20 titles on Ukrainian lands in Poland, including 12 Greek-Catholic titles in Eastern Galicia.<sup>55</sup>

Social organisations were likewise revived after World War I. The "Sokil" athletic organisation, now affiliated with UNDO, claimed 8,000 members with 508 branches in 1930. "Sich" was reorganised as "Luh," still under Socialist-Radical influence, though in 1926 some branches allied themselves with the nationalist camp. In 1929 "Luh" had over 700 branches. The youth organisation "Plast" was prohibited in 1930, however. The Union of Ukrainian Women grew from 25,000 members in 1935 to 45,000 in 1937.<sup>56</sup>

Albeit in different proportions, both Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia had their intellectuals, merchants, peasants and industrial workers. Each social group experienced contact, and conflict, with the corresponding group of the other nation.<sup>57</sup> The Ukrainian bourgeoisie numbered about 10,000 in Poland. The "petite bourgeoisie" constituted only about 2.5% of Ukrainian society but was growing, due to the entry of Ukrainians into small trade. The intelligentsia consisted mostly of priests, teachers and managers of cooperatives rather than lawyers, physicians or journalists.<sup>58</sup> The inter-war period was marked by Ukrainian migration from country to city and by the rise of a village intelligentsia.

The development of Ukrainian "high" culture in Galicia during this period, under the impact of Eastern Ukrainian emigres

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<sup>53</sup> Skrzypek 50, citing the Ukrainian Statistical Yearbook 1936-7.

<sup>54</sup> Skrzypek 51.

<sup>55</sup> Ukrains'kyi Statystychnyi Richnyk 1936-7, 1937, 222-223.

<sup>56</sup> Yaremko 244; Skrzypek 51; Felinski, M. The Ukrainians in Poland. London, 1931, 140-141.

<sup>57</sup> Seton-Watson 330.

<sup>58</sup> Michowicz, W. 315.

and Western European cultural currents, can only be hinted at here. In 1900, Western Ukrainian literature was leaving behind the folk ways of the village and aspiring to Western urban cultural models.<sup>59</sup> By 1939, a strong sense of membership in the European cultural community had emerged. Folk tradition continued to inspire the plastic arts, music and literature, but no longer monopolised their style or content.

The role of the Greek-Catholic Church in Eastern Galician society will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters. Here it should suffice to quote two observations, the first by Raymond Leslie Buell (1939), the second by Stanisław Skrzypek (1948):

Although the Uniat Church was originally created to win over the Ukrainians to Poland, it now serves as a national church, playing a role not unlike that played by the Catholic Church with respect to Polish nationalism during the nineteenth century.<sup>60</sup>

... the Greek Catholic had the characteristics of a national Ukrainian church. It had enormous influence among the Ukrainian people and was a pillar of moderation and common sense in various periods of tension in Polish-Ukrainian relations.<sup>61</sup>

During the period under study, the demographic picture did not change radically, apart from the effects of overpopulation and emigration mentioned above. In 1921, Ukrainians made up about 14% of the population of Poland; estimates of their number have ranged from three million (and a census figure of 3,898,431) to ten million. For 1931, some Polish sources cited a figure of 4.8 million, though the census figure was only 3,227,000 or 10.1% of the population, while some Ukrainians claimed to number six or seven million.<sup>62</sup> In Eastern Galicia, "Ukrainians and Rusyns" constituted 52.3% of the population in 1931 (Greek-Catholics and Orthodox together coming to

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<sup>59</sup> Luzhnytsky, Gregory. "Ukrainian Cultural Activities in L'viv, 1848-1918," in Mudry, Vasyl, ed. *Lviv: A Symposium on its 700th Anniversary*. New York, 1962, 186.

<sup>60</sup> Buell 274-5.

<sup>61</sup> Skrzypek 48.

<sup>62</sup> Sharp 88, Seton-Watson 332, 413. Other estimates of the percentage of Ukrainians in the Polish population are 15.3% (Żarnowski) and 16.2% (Michowicz), Michowicz, W., 310.

58.3%), while Poles made up 41.7% (with 30.6% Roman Catholics).<sup>63</sup> In the late 1930s, the number of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia was about 3,500,000, with the vast majority in the countryside. (The towns were mostly Polish and Jewish.)<sup>64</sup> In 1931 the number of Greek-Catholics was 3,336,200 according to the census.<sup>65</sup> By 1939, a Ukrainian ethnographer found that Ukrainians made up 64.2% of the Eastern Galician population, Poles 16%, and latynnyky (Latin-rite Catholics of Ukrainian ethnic origin) 8.8%.<sup>66</sup> While some of the estimates indicate a decline in the number of Ukrainians in the region, it is difficult to determine whether this may not have been the result of census methods; it is also possible that there was a good deal of ethnic assimilation, aided by transfers of Catholics to the Latin from the Greek rite.

The economic, social and cultural difficulties faced by Ruthenians under Austria continued into the Polish period, aggravated by the specific difficulties of reborn Poland. Yet the private initiatives of this group as it grew in its Ukrainian consciousness overcame many of these problems. These efforts were closely connected with, and inspired by, political currents.

## 2. Political Life

While the socio-economic and cultural life of the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) in Eastern Galicia formed a rough continuum over the final years of Austrian rule and the period of the Second Polish Republic, political life, not surprisingly, changed its course somewhat after 1918. This was due to a combination of new political circumstances on the one hand, and trends that had been developing in the province over the past several decades on the other.

In the 1930s Raymond Leslie Buell observed that "what the Polish problem was in the nineteenth century, the Ukrainian problem may become in the twentieth."<sup>67</sup> In the period from 1900 to 1939, these two rising nationalisms, both claiming the same territory, clashed, first in the multinational political arena of the Austrian

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<sup>63</sup> Yaremko 227.

<sup>64</sup> Buell 274.

<sup>65</sup> Seton-Watson 413.

<sup>66</sup> Yaremko 229, citing Volodymyr Kubijovyc.

<sup>67</sup> Buell 253.

Empire, then more openly when the one found its embodiment in a national state frustrating the ambitions of the other.

From the 1870s the Galician Poles, first represented by the landowning szlachta and later by the middle class, sought greater provincial autonomy by participating actively in government. They also made great strides in "organic work," improving the economic, educational and cultural level of the province. The provincial statute of 1867 and the polonisation of education and local government made Galicia a focus of Polish life in the Partition period. Poles attained high positions in the provincial as well as the central imperial administrations.<sup>68</sup>

Austrian policy turned from favouring the Ruthenian revival to indulging Polish demands in Galicia. However, the Vienna government continued to see the Ruthenians of Ukrainian orientation as a counterweight to Polish influence. Foreign policy considerations also prompted Vienna to favour the Ukrainophiles, who opposed Russia, and to counteract the Russophile "Old Ruthenians."

The conservative Poles, on the other hand, supported the Old Ruthenians, if only because they were a split in the Ruthenian camp. Besides, the Old Ruthenians, who were particularly strong among the Greek-Catholic clergy, represented a socially conservative force, while the Ukrainophile populists tended to be socially radical if not outright socialists.<sup>69</sup>

The Old Ruthenians were organised in the Rada Rus'ka (Ruthenian Council) formed in 1870, the Populists in the Narodna Rada (People's or National Council) of 1885. Radicalism had suffered a temporary eclipse as some conservative clerics made their influence felt in the Populist movement, but returned in the 1880s and later as a Populist faction.<sup>70</sup>

The Ruthenians (who began to identify themselves as Ukrainians around the turn of the century) entered Austrian politics in an organised manner in the late 1870s, shortly after the Poles.

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<sup>68</sup> Reddaway 446-50.

<sup>69</sup> Id. 453-4.

<sup>70</sup> Mudry, Vasyl, ed. Lviv: A Symposium on its 700th Anniversary. New York: 1962, Introduction, 7-24. For a discussion of Galician politics in the late nineteenth century, see generally Markovits, Andrei S. & Sysyn, Frank E., eds. Nation-Building and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982, especially the essay by John-Paul Himka.



However, they had little success in the elections. In the 1890s a number of new political parties were formed: the Ukrainian Radical Party (1890), the Ukrainian Social-Christian Party (1896), the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party (a split-off from the Radicals)(1896), and the Ukrainian National Democratic Party (including a number of former Radicals and Populists)(1899).

The growth of the Ukrainophile tendency in Ruthenian populism was aided by the influx of Ukrainian intelligentsia from the Russian Empire, especially after the 1876 Ems ukase severely restricting publishing in the Ukrainian language. L'viv became the centre of Ukrainian political as well as cultural activity. The socialist historian Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, who held the chair of Ukrainian history at the University of L'viv, and the radical socialist theoretician Mykhailo Drahomanov, who maintained contacts with the Galician intelligentsia from Swiss exile, exerted great influence on the Populists. Although there was sometimes friction between the socially radical Eastern Ukrainians and the conservative Galicians -- the Kaisertreu "Tyroleans of the East" -- they agreed on a broad populist platform, opposed Polish hegemony, and led the Ruthenian-Ukrainian revival. As the Russophiles, who had begun the Ruthenian revival decades earlier, lost influence, a new breed of populist intellectuals -- teachers, scholars and lawyers, often from priestly families -- took the lead. They agitated for the division of Galicia into East and West and for national autonomy for Ukrainians within the Empire. Some, notably the Radicals, pressed for full Ukrainian independence in union with a free Eastern Ukraine, though for many this was only an ultimate goal to be subordinated for the moment to more moderate demands. The title of Iuliian Bachyns'kyi's Ukraina Irredenta (1897) speaks for itself. At the same time, some moderate Populists sought a compromise with the Poles: in the 1890s the "New Era" movement under Iuliian Romanchuk negotiated with some success with the Galician Viceroy Count Badeni. There were also appeals to the highest government levels, though Emperor Franz Josef's notorious dismissal of a Ruthenian delegation in 1895 dampened such hopes. In any case, mounting Polish success in the capital obstructed Ukrainian efforts. Such disappointments, together with a deteriorating economic situation in the 1890s, favoured the Radicals. When in 1899 the moderate Radical

wing joined with the Populists to form the National Democratic Party, the new formation's platform of Ukrainian unification and land reform made it the most broadly based and influential Ukrainian movement of the next four decades. With the decline of the Old Ruthenians, it also became the favoured political movement of the Greek-Catholic clergy. <sup>71</sup> (This development will be discussed in Chapter Six.)

The growth of Ukrainian nationalism inevitably conflicted with the already entrenched interests of the Galician Poles. The notion of co-existence among Poles, Ruthenians and Galicia's other nationalities -- if it ever commanded much support -- quickly lost ground. <sup>72</sup> Professor Estreicher asserts that "all Polish parties and all the Polish statesmen who ruled Galicia stood by the principle that the Ruthenes must be allowed to develop their nationality and use their language in office and in schools," and blames the breakdown in cooperation on the Ruthenians' low cultural level, their lack of educated men, and their primitive political approach. <sup>73</sup> Certainly the Populists' demand for the partition of Galicia meant the transformation of the eastern half into a Ukrainian land. But this was hardly more extreme than the notion of Eastern Galicia as part of a Polish land, long the position of the "Podolian" landowners who would not countenance co-existence with the Ruthenians on anything like equal terms. Meanwhile, the rise of the Polish National Democrats from 1900 boded ill for Ruthenian-Ukrainian autonomy.

One focus of the Polish-Ukrainian struggle was the question of electoral reform. The Poles generally favoured provincial autonomy on the basis of the curial system of indirect representation, which worked to their advantage inasmuch as they controlled most of the curiae. The Ukrainians, a numerical majority in the eastern part of the province, favoured the most direct representation. In this they enjoyed the support of the Polish left. There were also allegations of electoral corruption, while the "bloody" elections of 1897 left a painful memory. The introduction of universal suffrage through direct voting for parliamentary elections in 1907 raised the question of electoral reform for the Galician Diet. Viceroy Potocki's support of the Russophile Old Ruthenians prompted his assassination by

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<sup>71</sup> Yaremko 150-55.

<sup>72</sup> Zaremba, Paweł. Historia Dwudziestolecia (1918-1939). Paris, 1981.

<sup>73</sup> Reddaway 453-4. (chapter by Professor St. Estreicher).

Myroslav Sichyns'kyi, a Ukrainophile, in April 1908. His successor, Michał Bobrzyński, sought electoral reform and a Polish-Ruthenian settlement. His support of the Ukrainian Populists and his opposition to the Russophiles ran afoul of local Polish opinion, and it was finally the opposition of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to his reform that led to his resignation in 1913. It was only under his successor, Witold Korytowski, that a complex plan for electoral reform was adopted, in January 1914. It was also agreed that a Ukrainian university would be founded.

About this time, Polish opinion began to tend away from Austria and towards Russia, reinforced in this by reports of German support for the Ukrainians.<sup>74</sup> Aside from the Russophiles, who expected a Russian victory in a future war and hoped that a victorious Russia would grant them autonomy, the Ukrainians remained firmly loyal to the Habsburgs. Indeed, even some of the Russophiles became disillusioned when the Russian occupation authorities who ruled Galicia in the first year of the World War proved insensitive to their aspirations (see Chapter Six). Meanwhile, Ukrainian politicians continued to press for the creation of a separate Eastern Galician crownland, to be joined by Bukovyna and Transcarpathia.<sup>75</sup>

With the outbreak of war in 1914 the Ukrainian political parties formed the Supreme Ukrainian Council under the National Democrat Konstantyn Levyts'kyi and declared their support for Austria-Hungary. In 1915 this group was reorganised as the General Ukrainian Council.

Throughout the war the Poles and Ukrainians vied with each other to win advantages and support for their aims from the Central Powers. Piłsudski's Galician legions had their counterpart in the Ukrainian Sich Sharpshooters formed in 1914. The Central Powers' proclamation of a Kingdom of Poland (to include Eastern Galicia) in 1916 was a setback for the Ukrainians; the Central Powers' agreement of 8 February 1918 with the Ukrainians at Brest-Litovsk, giving them Kholm (Chełm) and promising a Ukrainian province, was a blow to the Poles.

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<sup>74</sup> Buell 266.

<sup>75</sup> Zaremba 76-77.

When a Polish state arose upon the ruins of Austria and Germany in November 1918, its first armed struggle was with the Ukrainians. The latter had decided at a meeting of political leaders the previous month to form a Ukrainian National Council and proclaim an independent Western Ukrainian Popular Republic (ZUNR). In the early morning hours of November 1 they took over L'viv. Thus began the Polish-Ukrainian war over Eastern Galicia, which continued into 1919. In January 1919 the ZUNR joined with the Ukrainian Popular Republic (UNR). Meanwhile, the Paris Peace Conference sought a compromise between the two sides, but the new Polish government pursued its aims in Eastern Galicia on both the military and diplomatic fronts. Finally, fear of a Bolshevik advance moved the Allies to sanction Polish control to the Zbruch on 25 June 1919. In July the forces of the ZUNR were pushed eastward across the Zbruch onto territory held by the UNR. In November the Supreme Allied Council adopted a statute for Eastern Galicia, providing for broad autonomy under Polish administration for twenty-five years. However, the Poles rejected this plan.

The politically active Western Ukrainians generally remained loyal to the dictator of the ZUNR, Ievhen Petrushevysh, who established himself in Vienna and firmly opposed all Polish pretensions to Eastern Galicia. However, in the autumn of 1919 the chief of the Directorate of the UNR, Symon Petliura, entered into secret negotiations with the Polish government. In April 1920 a military agreement was signed in Warsaw by which the UNR gave up Eastern Galicia to Poland in exchange for military assistance in a campaign against the Bolsheviks in Ukraine. The successful joint operations of Piłsudski and Petliura culminated in the taking of Kiev in May 1920, but the Bolshevik advance that began in June nearly reached the gates of Warsaw in August. By November 1920 the Ukrainian forces were out of the action, and control of Ukrainian lands became a question of the relative military and diplomatic strengths of Poland and Soviet Russia. The Treaty of Riga of March 1921 left Western Ukraine (including Eastern Galicia) to Poland.<sup>76</sup>

Already in that year a secret Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) was formed to carry on a struggle against Polish rule. An attempt was made to assassinate Piłsudski in L'viv, and in 1922 the

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<sup>76</sup> Yaremko 200-226; Buell 267-72.

Polish governor Grabowski was murdered in protest against the introduction of the name *Małopolska Wschodnia* ("Eastern Little Poland") for the province. Ukrainian political parties boycotted that year's parliamentary elections on the ground that Polish rule over Eastern Galicia was illegitimate. In the meantime, intense lobbying by Polish and Ukrainian representatives continued on the diplomatic front. In September 1922 the Sejm passed a law on autonomy for the counties of L'viv, Ternopil' and Stanyslaviv, in an apparent effort to conciliate the Allies as well as the Ukrainians. On 14 March of the following year the Council of Ambassadors recognised the inclusion of Eastern Galicia in the Polish frontiers. Although autonomy for the three counties was not made an explicit condition, the autonomy statute as well as Polish accession to the 1919 Treaty on the Protection of Minorities were referred to in the decision. The provisions for autonomy were never carried out, however, and Poland repudiated the Treaty in 1934.<sup>77</sup>

The Polish state as it existed between its formation in 1918 and Piłsudski's take-over in May 1926 has been described as an incomplete democracy, and as an incomplete dictatorship from 1926 to 1939.<sup>78</sup> Although it was the socialist Piłsudski whose provisional government became the basis for the new regime, it was the right-wing, middle-class National Democrats ("Endeky") of Roman Dmowski that dominated the first Sejm elected in 1919. Yet the political and ideological differences between the two camps soon became blurred, though hostility persisted. Both camps were strongly nationalistic; even the majority of the Polish socialists who formed the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) were highly patriotic, as was the "Piast" peasant movement led by Wincenty Witos. In a country where 70% of the population was dependent on agriculture, the peasant parties should have been very important. However, they never really ruled, though they were a considerable factor in elections. They tended to represent only the wealthier peasants, and in Galicia were anti-socialist, but otherwise had no clear programme. Some of their leaders engaged in a good deal of corrupt and opportunistic political

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<sup>77</sup> Buell 273-4. Skrzypek states that "Poland never undertook to grant the Ukrainians autonomy," and that the Council of Ambassadors did not impose such a requirement on Poland, but only recommended it, Skrzypek 52.

<sup>78</sup> Sharp 81-2.

maneuvering.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, it was a member of Witos' party, Wojciechowski, who replaced the assassinated victor of the 1922 elections, Narutowicz, and it was a Witos government that was ejected by Piłsudski's 1926 coup.

In a country in which national minorities made up approximately a third of the population, and which was surrounded by hostile neighbours likely to exploit any irredentist tendencies, it was natural that nationalities policy should have been high on the agenda. The constitution of 1921 gave national minorities basic organisational, linguistic and religious rights, thus implementing the minorities treaty accepted by Poland in 1919. Three laws introduced by the minister Grabski and ratified by the Sejm in July 1924 established minority linguistic rights in the administration, schools and courts (though some Ukrainian leaders considered these laws restrictive). Generally, the left supported the national minorities, while the right took a more guarded stance, suspecting their loyalty to the state. The Socialist Party proposed territorial autonomy for non-Polish districts, opposing the Endek policy of colonisation.<sup>80</sup>

When Józef Piłsudski seized power in 1926 he led a curious coalition of his own legionaries, the Army, and the left. Soon, however, he abandoned socialism and sought out the cooperation of industrialists and large landowners. The powers of the Sejm were restricted, and a Non-party Block of Cooperation with the Government (BBWR) was created in order to de-politicise public life and mobilise support for a government faced with a deluge of intractable problems. The Block won a plurality in the 1928 elections. Terror and arrests accompanied the elections of 1930, Witos escaped to Czechoslovakia, the BBWR gained a large majority in the Sejm, and the state was centralised. The new authoritarian measures were enshrined in the constitution enacted shortly before Piłsudski's death in May of 1935.<sup>81</sup>

Of the Ukrainian political parties, the strongest in the first years of Polish rule was the Labour Party, formed in 1919 as a

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<sup>79</sup> Id. 83-7.

<sup>80</sup> Machray, Robert. *The Poland of Piłsudski*. New York, 1937, 131, 135, 186; Macartney & Palmer 188. Article 110 of the 1921 Constitution, on national, religious and linguistic minorities, was incorporated by reference in the 1935 Constitution per Article 81(2). Machray 135.

<sup>81</sup> Macartney & Palmer 187, Seton-Watson 163-5.

continuation of the National Democratic Party . It sought to reconstruct Ukrainian life in the framework of the Polish state. Competing successfully with the Socialist Radicals and the Social Democrats, this party became the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO) in 1925. It had three wings: a left (which seceded in 1927 to form a new Labour Party), a centre (supporting an independent Ukrainian democratic state and radical land reform), and a right wing (some of the members of which later joined those centrists who supported a policy of "realism" vis à vis the Polish government. The majority joined the centre. Basically Christian in outlook, UNDO found itself in a quandary inasmuch as its advocacy of land reform seemed to pit it against the Greek-Catholic Church, a major landowner in Eastern Galicia. UNDO was supported chiefly by the Ukrainian intelligentsia, bourgeoisie, many of the farmers and the Greek-Catholic clergy. <sup>82</sup>

At the same time Galicia, once the centre of Polish conservatism and now a focus of the peasant movement, had become the most radical part of Poland. Though there was probably little sympathy for Communism, revolutionary sentiments grew. <sup>83</sup> Among the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, nearly all of whom had abandoned the designation "Ruthenian" (rusyn, Polish rusin) by the 1920s (and resented Polish use of this term), there was some initial pro-Bolshevik sentiment inspired by reports of Soviet Ukrainisation. In UNDO such tendencies faded in the late 1920s, however, and were altogether dispelled by news of the Soviet terror, collectivisation and famine of 1929-1933. Although the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPZU) formed a Ukrainian Peasants' and Workers' Union ("Selrob") in 1926, this lost popularity and disappeared with the Soviet liquidation of the KPZU in 1938. Dissolved after Communist infiltration, the Social Democratic Party was renewed in 1929. While the Right had disappeared from the Ukrainian political scene with the dissolution of the Ukrainian Christian Social Party in 1923, the formation in 1930 of a Ukrainian Catholic People's Party temporarily filled this gap. UNDO, the Socialist Radicals, and the pro-Communist parties participated in the elections of 1928. <sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Feliński 54-6, 76-82; Yaremko 232-3, 238. See Skrzypek 45-47.

<sup>83</sup> Seton-Watson 167.

<sup>84</sup> Macartney & Palmer 189.

Illegal political groups like the UVO continued their activities. In 1924 there was an attempted assassination of President Wojciechowski. The Polish school superintendent Sobiński was killed in L'viv in 1926. In 1929 the conspiratorial Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was formed in Vienna, and undertook operations in Poland with German financial support. The colonisation of "Eastern Little Poland" provided a pretext for OUN bombings, sabotage, and the burning of estates. This in turn provoked the pacification of September-October 1930. On the pretext that some Ukrainians had harboured terrorists, police and cavalry units assaulted farmers and their families, wrecked private households and cooperatives, and arrested a number of priests and even members of parliament. There were deaths as well. Both Polish and foreign opinion denounced the pacification as disproportionate to any threat to the state. The matter was referred to the League of Nations, which finally reported that Poland did not persecute her minorities and that although some individuals had been overly zealous in carrying out their duties, those had been punished.

Meanwhile, the legal Ukrainian parties dissociated themselves from the activities of the UVO and OUN. However, UNDO's criticism -- after initial silence -- of the OUN had not been sufficiently unequivocal to satisfy all of Polish opinion, and its praise of the OUN's "idealism" was later cited as evidence of the need for the pacification.<sup>85</sup> UNDO itself suffered a right-wing split when Dmytro Paliiv formed the Front of National Unity in 1933.

The League of Nations' exoneration of the Polish government in January 1932 made approving reference to a speech of 16 January by Interior Minister Bronisław Pieracki, who had announced that the government's minorities policy sought to create "rational bases for the harmonious dwelling together of all citizens, with the same rights and privileges," but criticising those Ukrainians who had sought to infringe the rights of Poles being settled in Eastern Galicia.<sup>86</sup>

The terrorism continued. Tadeusz Hołowko, a champion of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation, was killed in 1931. On 15 June 1934 Bronisław Pieracki was assassinated in Warsaw by an OUN activist

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<sup>85</sup> E.g., Feliński 165-8 (1931).

<sup>86</sup> Buell 277, Machray 296-7.



who succeeded in fleeing the country. Piłsudski, a personal friend of the victim, issued an order for the detainment in non-penal institutions of persons suspected of threatening state security and public order. Thus were founded the concentration camps at Bereza Kartuska and Biala, where many OUN activists were confined.

In the same year, German support for the OUN was terminated under the Polish-German agreement. The continued vitality of the organisation showed, however, that far from being the creature of German military circles, it enjoyed considerable popular sympathy.

Unlike UNDO, the OUN did not carry on practical politics in the normal sense. Under the inspiration of Dmytro Dontsov (an Eastern Ukrainian of landowning origins), it developed an ideology in which politics became a matter of unchangeable principles and moral absolutes rather than pragmatism and compromise. The Nationalists rejected rationality for idealism, mysticism and voluntarism. Thus, much of their activity made little political sense. Their ideology was a kind of secular theology; it is perhaps significant that some prominent OUN leaders were sons of Greek-Catholic priests. The spiritualisation of politics also meant a diversion of religious energy from the normal ecclesiastical channels to political ones. This posed a threat to continued Church leadership of Ukrainian society. The new synthesis of moral-spiritual and social-political currents proved an attractive competitor, especially in the eyes of youth, to the Greek-Catholic Church.

When in 1934 the Polish government repudiated the Minorities Treaty, protesting its inequitable application, its claim that the repudiation would make no difference in its treatment of its minorities appears to have been correct. Nevertheless, Polish-Ukrainian relations were exacerbated with the rise of the Polish "Nara" party and the general rightward turn among the Endeks and other sectors, especially under the "colonels" regime in the final years before World War II. Yet on the eve of the 1935 elections, the mainstream UNDO reached a compromise with the government, under which it gained 18 seats in Parliament and the promise of educational and other social concessions for Ukrainians. This permitted a truce in Polish-Ukrainian politics for the next three years. Not all the government's promises were fulfilled, however.

Ukrainian dissatisfaction surfaced again with the Czech crisis of 1938, when the analogy between Eastern Galicia and the Sudetenland became ominously obvious. Encouraged by the Carpatho-Ukrainian example, UNDO began voicing renewed demands for territorial autonomy. To many Ukrainians, Germany appeared to be the only source of hope. In 1938 UNDO split again, on the issue of cooperation with the Poles. Few on either side of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict still clung to the notion, advocated by the Promethean movement, of a symbiosis of the two nations on an equal basis, without the assimilation or expulsion of either group, in what was still a bi-national province.<sup>87</sup>

Although by the 1930s, familiarity with Soviet practices ruled out any sympathy for the USSR among the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, it was foolhardy of the Polish regime to rely so heavily on that factor and neglect basic political, socio-economic and cultural reforms. At the same time, the economic troubles of the middle class and the unemployment of much of the intelligentsia -- aggravated in Eastern Galicia by national discrimination -- fueled right-wing nationalist and even terrorist sympathies.<sup>88</sup> Samuel Sharp criticises Polish policy in this period as tragically irresolute: "The hesitant polish policies, combining concessions that were not attractive enough with sporadic displays of brutal yet not determined force, kept the Ukrainian issue alive throughout the inter-war years." In his estimation, "inter-war Poland was unable to work out an intelligent solution or even to maintain a consistent approach to the problem of minorities."<sup>89</sup>

Ultimately, however, the Ukrainian problem was insoluble. Both Polish and Ukrainian nationalism had reached the stage of absolute and therefore mutually exclusive demands. In the event, the issue was resolved by a third party, to the dismay of Poles and Ukrainians alike.

### 3. The Church

The Greek-Catholic Church in Austria was headed by the Metropolitan of Halych, who was also Archbishop of L'viv. It

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<sup>87</sup> Buell 280-3, Seton-Watson 336, 338.

<sup>88</sup> Sharp 88, 89.

<sup>89</sup> Id. 89.

consisted of three eparchies (dioceses): the archeparchy of L'viv, the eparchy of Peremyshl' (Przemyśl), and the eparchy of Stanyslaviv, founded in 1885. In Poland, the Church retained the same basic structure, though in 1934 a special Apostolic Administration for the Lemko Region was carved out of the Peremyshl' eparchy from its nine westernmost deaneries.

The Greek-Catholic parish clergy (excluding monastics) numbered roughly 2,200 priests both at the beginning of the period under study and at its end. Most numerous were those of the largest eparchy, that of L'viv, which was followed by Peremyshl', Stanyslaviv, and the Lemko Apostolic Administration. Since the forty-year period from 1900 to 1939 is roughly the length of a clerical career, and assuming a fairly equal distribution of age groups amongst the Greek-Catholic parish clergy, one can assume that by 1939 nearly every priest alive in 1900 had been replaced once. Thus, the total number of Greek-Catholic parish priests in the period under study would come to about twice 2,200, or 4,400.

These priests lived in a multi-national and multi-ritual province. L'viv was the seat of a Latin-rite archbishopric, while Latin-rite bishops sat at Peremyshl' and Tarnów. There was also an Armenian-rite archbishop at L'viv. While the small number of Armenian-rite Catholic priests, as well as their high degree of assimilation with the Polish nationality, render the question of their relations with the Greek-Catholics virtually academic, the relations between Catholic priests of the Greek and Latin rites are an important topic.

The developing attitudes of the Greek-Catholic clergy directly affected their relationship with the Latin-rite clergy, who were of almost exclusively Polish nationality.<sup>90</sup> In Galicia, a province of mixed population, Greek-rite parishes with Ruthenian or Ukrainian faithful overlapped with Latin-rite parishes with Polish faithful. On the whole, the network of Greek-Catholic parishes was denser than that of Latin-rite parishes.<sup>91</sup> In Eastern Galicia, this was consistent with the predominance of Ukrainians in the countryside. Whereas in

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<sup>90</sup> On relations between Ukrainians and Poles in general, see Potichnyj, Peter J., ed. *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present*. Edmonton-Toronto, 1980.

<sup>91</sup> Śliwa, Tadeusz. "Kościół grecko-katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939.", in Zieliński, Zygmunt & Wilk, Stanisław, eds. *Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej*. Lublin, 1980, 151.

the larger towns, the Greek-Catholic priest would be part of the less numerous or in any case less influential Ukrainian community, in the countryside he clearly represented the majority.

Yet the Greek-Catholic parish priest did not enjoy equal social status with the Latin-rite priest even in the countryside. Understandably, the Greek-Catholic clergy were sensitive on this point. In a 1901 letter to the episcopal ordinariat in Peremyshl' from the deanery office in Porokhnyk requesting that a 77-year-old priest who had served for 53 years be designated a canon, it was pointed out that the neighbouring Latin-rite priest, like nearly all the Latin-rite priests in the area, was a canon and had violet buttons on his soutane, "while next to him, the Ruthenian parish priest looks like his assistant."<sup>92</sup> The difference in status would presumably be felt acutely in areas where, as in Porokhnyk, Ruthenians were in the minority.

Polish clerical attitudes towards the Greek-Catholic Church as a whole obviously affected relations between priests of the two rites. In October 1917 Bishop Iosyf Botsian was introduced to the prelate Mons. Pruszkiewicz (who had written of the Uniate martyrs of Chełm and Polesie) in Lublin as "the bishop of Lutsk," without designation of his rite. Bishop Botsian explained that he had desired to visit Mons. Pruszkiewicz because of his works in defence of the Union. The aged prelate, taking him for the Latin-rite Bishop of Lutsk, reportedly told him that now he saw things differently, and had told Pope Pius X that "now the Union is nothing but Ukrainian propaganda." He added that both Archbishop Bilczewski of L'viv and Archbishop Teodorowicz (Armenian-rite bishop of the same city) had told the Holy Father the same thing.<sup>93</sup> Whether or not this anecdote is true, it does reflect an attitude commonly attributed to the Polish clergy by the Greek-Catholic priests. In 1902 Fr. Pryslopskii, assistant priest in Dubets'ko in the Peremyshl' eparchy, accused a Latin-rite catechist of ridiculing the Church Slavonic terminology and the ritual of the Greek-Catholic Church. Fr. Pryslopskii's complaints, covering various forms of "latinisation" and

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<sup>92</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3709.

<sup>93</sup> Y oboroni pray 53-54 .

polonisation, were put forward in a brochure the title of which pointedly referred to the "latinising Hakata" of the Polish clergy.<sup>94</sup>

A prime cause of Polish suspicions regarding the legitimacy of the Greek-Catholic Church bore directly on relations with that Church's clergy. This was the institution of married priests. In the 1920s Fr. Mieczysław Tarnawski wrote in "Gazeta Kościelna" that a married clergy was part and parcel of the Byzantine tradition of church dependence on the state, whereas a free, western church required a celibate clergy unburdened by earthly matters. Ukrainian politicians, he claimed, sought to make the Greek-Catholic Church a national institution, and to harness the clergy to their political cause through family ties. They feared priestly celibacy because it would free the clergy and Church from their political control.<sup>95</sup>

Fr. Tarnawski was not hostile to the Greek-Catholic Church as such, and did not, for example, portray it as a road to schism. Pointing to the cohabitation of the Latin and Greek rite in Galicia and to the common threats of Protestantism and of a national "autocephalous" Church, he recognised that the Polish clergy had a responsibility to help their Greek-Catholic brethren. Specifically, he suggested that sermons on the same theme should be given at the same time in the Greek-rite *tserkva* and the Latin-rite *kościół* of a given locality, allowing people of both rites to discuss the dangers to the Catholic faith that threatened them all. Among other things, he advocated reviving the custom of taking part in processions of the other rite (such as at the Latin Corpus Christi or the Byzantine "Iordan"), for seeing that the other rite shared the same faith and respected one's own rite would strengthen the faith of both. Priests should coordinate and cooperate in pastoral work. All this, wrote Fr. Tarnawski, would bring about harmony between priests and faithful

<sup>94</sup> Pryslopskii, Y. Pered obshchii sud! Prymer liatynyzatorskoi hakaty na rubezhakh halytskoi Rusy. Peremyshl', 1902. "Hakata" (HKT) refers to the Germanisation of Poles in the Prussian partition by the three founders of the Society of the Eastern Marches, Hahnemann, Kennemann and Tiedemann, whose initials it bears. The analogy between German treatment of Prussian Poles and Polish treatment of Galician Ukrainians has been made repeatedly by the latter. See Rollet, Henry. La Pologne au XXe Siècle. Paris, 1984, 53.

<sup>95</sup> Tarnawski, Mieczysław. Powojenne Trudności Cerkwi Unickiej w Małopolsce (reprinted from "Gazeta Kościelna") Lwów, 1926, 16-23. The contention that a married clergy was spiritually weak and economically dependent and therefore favoured by various enemies of the Church such as schismatics, liberals, radicals, national democrats and socialists, had been made earlier. Z.X.Y. Prawosławie w Rosji i jego podłoże w Galicyi. Lwów, 1912, 138 (quoting Fr. Szczepkiewicz).

of the two rites, increasing their resistance to forces threatening their common Catholic faith.<sup>96</sup>

Fr. Tarnawski's high-minded propositions were not effected. In the inter-war period the clergy of the two rites gradually ceased to take part in each other's services. Greek-Catholic priests would on occasion advise their faithful not to take part in Latin-rite retreats or pilgrimages.<sup>97</sup> In fact, the Greek-Catholic clergy seems to have distanced itself from the Latin-rite clergy in general.<sup>98</sup> Hostile activity did not cease; dean Mykola Makar of Stara Sil' reported in 1939 that at the deanery meeting of 6 June there had been discussion of "Pobudka," a local periodical edited by a Polish priest which attacked the Greek-Catholic clergy.<sup>99</sup>

The principal issue in inter-rite clerical relations was the "Concordia" (as distinguished from Concordat) of 1863. This solemn agreement between the two rites concerned various practical matters such as change of rite, pastoral cooperation and inter-rite marriages. To change rite, for example, a person had to apply to his bishop, who would make the appropriate observations and pass the application to the bishop of the other rite. The final decision would be made by the Holy See in Rome. If a person were accepted by a priest of another rite into that rite without following this procedure, the change of rite would be void, and the priest would be penalised if he was aware that the person belonged to the other rite. A priest could celebrate mass in a church of another rite by Papal indult and with permission of the rector. Baptism of an infant of another rite was permitted only in emergencies or where a priest of the infant's rite could not be reached; however, this did not bring with it a change of rite. Ruthenian priests could not confirm a child of the Latin rite immediately after baptism (as is the Eastern custom). The priest of the infant's rite would have to be notified of the baptism. A priest could hear confession and grant absolution to persons of the other

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<sup>96</sup> Tarnawski, Mieczysław. Powojenne Trudności Cerkwi Unickiej w Małopolsce. Lwów, 1926, 25-30.

<sup>97</sup> Sliwa 161.

<sup>98</sup> Of nine priests ordained in the inter-war period responding to a questionnaire or interview question about their relations with the Polish clergy, two replied that they had had no contact, one that he had had little, one said that he had stayed away, one reported indifferent relations, one recalled cold but polite relations, one cited bad relations and two reported good relations. Questionnaires ## 1,2,3,4, 5, 6, 7; interviews ## 2,3.

<sup>99</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, pp. 452-453.

rite, but could not give them communion; however, extreme unction and the viaticum could be administered to such persons if necessary. Inter-rite marriage was not to be prevented; a priest of the wife's rite must perform the ceremony. A child was to be raised in the rite of the parent of its gender (i.e., a boy was to be raised in his father's rite, a girl in her mother's). Among the exceptions to this rule were the children of Greek-Catholic priests. Illegitimate children of either gender followed the mother's rite. To perform a funeral of a person of another rite, a priest needed the permission of the deceased person's priest, but the faithful were free to bury the deceased in a cemetery of the other rite. Provisions were made for mutual aid among priests of different rites.<sup>100</sup>

A letter of 28 September 1899 to the Peremyshl' episcopal consistory from the laborer Andrei Iurkov of Sambir illustrates the context in which conflicts between priests of the Greek and Latin rites frequently arose. In 1893 Iurkov, under the influence of his Polish neighbours, had had his son baptised in the Latin rite. "But when I recognised from the teachings of our pastors that I had done wrong, for being a Ruthenian I should have baptised the boy in a tserkva, I went to the Latin-rite parish priest and asked him to give me back the birth record so that I could transfer it to my own parish priest, that is, of the Ruthenian rite." The Latin-rite priest replied that he would only do this if a court ordered him to. The local government authorities would not help either. He therefore requested the Greek-Catholic consistory to appeal to the Latin-rite consistory to prevail upon its priest to let him have the birth certificate, "for under no circumstances do I want my boy to be brought up in the Latin rite."<sup>101</sup> In May of 1900, a Greek-Catholic priest in Krakovets' sent the Peremyshl' episcopal ordinariat a list of 44 children of the "Ruthenian Catholic rite" in two villages who had been improperly baptised in the Latin rite by one Fr. Szczepko.<sup>102</sup> In December of 1902

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<sup>100</sup> Polish Institute, London. Collection A44 (Papée) file 122/2 (copy of Polish translation of Concordia of 6 October 1863). Inter-rite relations were also regulated by the Austrian law of 25 May 1868. In a report of 1 October 1929 to the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Education, the Stanyslaviv (Stanisławów) governor argued that the Concordat of that year did not invalidate that law, which should continue to be given effect as it was more in line with the Polish Constitution, freedom of religion and Polish interests than the Concordia. Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 48511 p. 114.

<sup>102</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 4851, pp. 412-413

Fr. Pryslopskii, assistant priest in Dubets'ko on the San (Peremyshl' eparchy), published a brochure in which he complained that in this area of mixed population, entire villages had gone over to the Latin rite in recent decades. Some of his Greek-Catholic faithful in neighbouring Bakhorets', where there was only a Latin-rite priest, Fr. Edmund Duczka, had recently left their rite. To remedy the situation, Fr. Pryslopskii appealed for help in building a Greek-Catholic church in Bakhorets'.<sup>103</sup>

More complicated was the situation described by a Latin-rite priest in Brukhnal' in the same year. There, the daughter of a Greek-rite father and a Latin-rite mother, who for some reason had been baptised in a Greek-rite church, but whose birth certificate had been sent to the Latin-rite church, wished to marry a man of the Greek rite. The Greek-Catholic priest, a Fr. Volos, insisted that she marry in his church. The girl's parents agreed that even if she were married in the *tserkva*, she would make confession and take communion in the *kościół*. The Polish priest asked the Greek-Catholic episcopal ordinariat in Peremyshl' to decide who was to perform the marriage, and remarked that this was not the first instance of proselytism on the part of Fr. Volos.<sup>104</sup>

Since the general trend was for changes from the Greek to the Latin rite,<sup>105</sup> following the trend of assimilation of Ruthenians with the Polish nation, the barriers to change of rite created by the Concordia were usually favoured by the Greek-Catholic clergy, and opposed by the Latin-rite clergy. The fact that a change of rite usually meant a change of nationality engaged the clergy's patriotic feelings as well. Priests of either nationality sought to reverse what they perceived as denationalisation of their people.<sup>106</sup> In 1927 Fr. Merena,

<sup>103</sup> Pryslopskii, I. Pered obshchii sud! Prymer liatynyatorskoi hakaty na rubezhakh halytskoi Rusy. Peremyshl', 1902. A Greek-Catholic church was in fact built in Bakhorets' in 1905; it no longer exists. Iwanusiw, Oleh Wolodymyr. Church in Ruins. Shevchenko Scientific Society Ukrainian Studies vol. 56. St. Catherines, Ontario, 1987, 210, 327.

<sup>104</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 4851, pp. 140-143.

<sup>105</sup> See the statistics on change of rite in the city of L'viv in 1903-1905 in Dyszkiewicz, Tadeusz. Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie. Vol. XI pt. 1. Lwów, 1907, 85-87.

<sup>106</sup> Polish Institute, London. Collection A44 (Papée), file 122/2 (copy of report to Ministry of Cults by Stanyslaviv governor Nakoniecznikow-Kłokowski, 1 October 1929). The governor adds another reason for transfers to the Latin rite and Polish nationality: "It must be stated that Polish culture, as a higher culture, has more attractive force, and as a consequence the Ruthenians will have to suffer constant sacrifices to her benefit." See also the report of 16 October 1929



dean at Ripnyk, in consenting to the transfer of a Greek-Catholic married to a Latin-rite Catholic to his wife's rite, observed that the pressures on a Greek-Catholic living in a Polish village would compel him to transfer sooner or later. But he warned that this could lead to mass transfers to the Latin Rite, especially in an irreligious and unprincipled age.<sup>107</sup>

In 1938 the parish priest at Vil'shanyk in the Peremyshl' eparchy wrote to the episcopal ordinariat that laymen were being persuaded to change rite in exchange for employment such as roadwork or a job with the local authority or post office. He suggested that in cases of mixed-rite couples moving to a new parish, the Greek-rite priest of the new parish should be alerted so that he might ensure that the Concordat was being observed with respect to the Greek-rite partner.<sup>108</sup> The clergy of the Liubachiv (Lubaczów) and Nemyriv deaneries were so alarmed by the tide of conversions to the Latin Rite that at their meetings of December 1938, Fr. S. Denko spoke at the former deanery on "How to Avert Mass Transfers from our Rite to the Latin Rite," and Fr. Iaroslav Harasym spoke at Nemyriv on "The Luring of the Faithful into the Roman-Catholic Rite, and How to Defend against it." Among the measures recommended by Fr. Harasym were education, improving ritual aesthetics, preventing mixed-rite marriages or else requiring an oath that the children would be baptised in the tserkva, and raising national consciousness.<sup>109</sup>

Although the Greek-Catholic clergy appealed to the Concordia to prohibit changes to the Latin rite, according to some Polish sources they were as ready as Latin-rite priests to ignore the Concordia when it came to transferring persons to the Greek rite. Indeed, the sources are replete with mutual accusations of duszolapstwo -- "soul-snatching."<sup>110</sup> The density of the Greek-

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from the Ternopil' (Tarnopol) governor Moszyński to the Ministry of Cults, and that of 28 October 1929 from the Cracow governor Kwasniewski, both in the same file.

<sup>107</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5500, pp. 420-424.

<sup>108</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5619.

<sup>109</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, pp. 37-38, 62-73.

<sup>110</sup> Polish Institute, London. Collection A44 (Papee) file 122/2 (Alfred Wysocki, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Polish Embassy to Holy See, 18 March 1929; Ternopil' governor to Ministry of Religious Cults, 16 October 1929; and L'viv governor Gołuchowski to Ministry of Religious Cults, 30 October 1929); Andreichyk, Petro. "Mizhobriadovi neporozuminia v skhidnii Halychyni," Nyva 1912, 100-101; Borodzicz, Józef. Na Rusi galicyjskiej Schyzma się gotuje!

Catholic parish network did often result in Latin-rite Poles availing themselves of the services of Greek-Catholic priests.<sup>111</sup> Some of the latter engaged in "revindication of souls" even in areas of mixed rite. Fr. Stefan Makar, assistant priest in Nove Misto, proudly reported to the Peremyshl' episcopal consistory in December 1912 that since Easter he had brought ten souls from the Latin-rite church to the Greek-Catholic church -- which had enraged the local Poles. This had also led to scenes such as that in which first-former Kasia Halaiko, one of Fr. Makar's religion pupils, was seized "amidst shouting and shrieking" by the Latin-rite priest and the school director, who said she must remain in the Polish religion class.<sup>112</sup>

Conversely, some Polish clergy favoured observance of the Concordia. Fr. Józef Borodzicz advocated this as a measure to prevent Orthodox schism, along with helping Greek-rite Poles return to the Latin rite and introducing the Gregorian calendar for the Greek-Catholics. He also called on the secular authorities to help set up more Latin-rite parishes in Eastern Galicia. Fr. Borodzicz predicted that some would fall into schism, where they "belonged," but that others would be definitively saved.<sup>113</sup>

In October 1929 the Ternopil' (Tarnopol) governor Moszyński reported to the Ministry of Religious Cults that the Concordia was a "dead letter" in his county. Latin-rite priests were taking every opportunity to baptise children who would properly be Greek-Catholics in the Latin rite, in violation of the Concordia, and would fail to inform the Greek-Catholic priests, as was required in such cases. He remarked that the higher church authorities tacitly assented to this practice, and consequently the parish priests remained confident that they would not be punished. The Greek-Catholic priests behaved similarly, he continued, taking advantage of their numerical preponderance and denser parish network, and in

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Chrzanów, 1911, 38-39; Brat Virnyi, op. cit. 9-10 (soul-snatching and "provocative, insulting, arrogant, primitive words and acts" by Latin-rite priests), Pryslopskii, I. op. cit.

<sup>111</sup> Polish Institute, London. Collection A44 (Papee) file 122/2 (Undersecretary of state Alfred Wysocki to Polish Embassy to the Holy See, 18 March 1929). Wysocki refers to the situation in L'viv county, but the same would apply to the other counties in Galicia.

<sup>112</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5419. Fr. Makar had his rectory windows broken four times, and was also taken to court by the school director. However, his dean considered his actions tactless and foolish. Id. (letter of Fr. Makar to Episcopal Consistory, 13 March 1913; letter of Dean Man'kovs'kyi, 31 April [?] 1913).

<sup>113</sup> Borodzicz, 88-90.

some cases even of winter weather barring believers' access to a Latin-rite priest.<sup>114</sup>

The controversy over "soul-snatching" may have affected relations between priests of the two rites in other matters. Before the 1920s, Greek-Catholic and Latin-rite priests had frequently celebrated mass in each other's churches.<sup>115</sup> However, in his 1929 report governor Moszyński noted that common services by Greek and Latin-rite priests were only sporadic, and that any cooperation was hard to imagine. He did remark that the Concordia's prescriptions regarding confession, marriage, and extreme unction were generally being observed. In some cases, priests of the two rites helped each other, for example in funerals. However, they generally refused to invite each other to participate in major ceremonies such as those performed at Jordan (the Greek-Catholic Epiphany) or Corpus Christi, or in pilgrimages. Yet he observed, significantly, that the Latin-rite clergy would like the Greek-Catholic authorities to compel their priests to invite them to their celebrations, and would not refuse to invite them in return. In conclusion, Moszynski stated that regulating the relations between priests of the two rites was a very complicated matter, albeit one which the clergy regarded as necessary. Since the clergy of both rites would respect the Concordia only insofar as it coincided with their aims, only state enforcement could put it into effect again.<sup>116</sup>

In his memoirs Oleksander Bryk, a Ukrainian layman with anti-Catholic as well as anti-Polish sentiments, describes a Greek-Catholic Epiphany celebration in his boyhood village of Kolodiivka in which the local Poles were invited to participate. The priest would transliterate the Church Slavonic of the Gospel reading into Latin letters for the Latin-rite priest to read out. But "our people were not pleased with such 'współzycie,' because they knew where it would end..."<sup>117</sup> As will be seen in the next chapter, lay attitudes influenced the thinking and behaviour of the Greek-Catholic clergy in a variety of matters.

<sup>114</sup> Polish Institute, London. Collection A44 (Papee) file 122/2.

<sup>115</sup> Korczok, Anton. *Die Griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien*. Leipzig-Berlin, 1921, 132. In his brochure condemning latinisation of Greek-Catholics by Polish clerics, Fr. Pryslopskii nevertheless notes that in a village of mixed-rite population where there was no Latin-rite priest, the Greek-Catholic priest taught catechism to children of both rites. Pryslopskii, op. cit.

<sup>116</sup> Polish Institute, London. Collection A 44 (Papee), file 122/2.

<sup>117</sup> Bryk, Oleksander S. *Moi zhyttievi studii*. Winnipeg, 1956, 38.

The social, economic and political changes of the period from 1900 to 1939 combined with the imposition of compulsory celibacy to shatter the traditional way of life of a good part of the Greek-Catholic clergy. As the priestly caste declined, its members were replaced by a new type of priest: usually of peasant origin, often holding populist sentiments, willing out of commitment or necessity to accept a celibate life, consequently unburdened by family life, and in many cases possessed of a strong vocation that entailed a willingness to accept the harsh conditions and sacrifices of priestly life in inter-war Galicia. Although in some ways these changes brought the Greek-Catholic clergy closer to that of the Latin rite, the exacerbation of national relations in the inter-war period rather increased the distance between the two.

The relationship of the Greek-Catholic clergy towards other ethnic groups also bears mention. Here, the usual ethnic stereotypes came into play, particularly with regard to groups with whom the Galician Ukrainians had little direct contact, such as the Germans and the Russians. The clergy's attitude towards the Jews poses a special problem, for although Galicia had a heavy Jewish population which performed important economic functions, this population lived in considerable isolation. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi took a warm interest in the Galician Jews, and favoured them so much that he found it necessary to justify his attitude before society. During World War II, he would save the lives of many.<sup>118</sup> There seems to be little reason to suppose that the attitude of the Greek-Catholic clergy towards the Jews differed from that of Ruthenian-Ukrainian society in general, and after World War I clerical attitudes probably were identical to peasant attitudes, since the peasantry provided the bulk of priestly vocations.<sup>119</sup> Overly vague as the term may be, some kind of "anti-Semitism" did apparently exist in Galicia, but the attitude of the Christian population towards the Jews can best be described as ambivalent.<sup>120</sup> Before World War I, anti-semitism was fomented by

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<sup>118</sup> Redlich, Shimon. "Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews During World War II," in Magocsi, 148-151. The essay briefly describes the Metropolitan's pre-war relations with the Jews.

<sup>119</sup> On Ukrainian-Jewish relations in general, see Potichnyj, Peter J. & Aster, Howard, eds. Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective. (2nd ed.) Edmonton, Alberta, 1990.

<sup>120</sup> On the Jews in Galicia see generally Lewin, Isaac. The Jewish Community in Poland: Historical Essays. New York. Chapter XII, "The Jews in Galicia," 162-174. On the Jews in inter-war Poland see Chapter XVI of the same

some politicians, particularly populists, for their own purposes; this foreshadowed the militant anti-Semitism of national socialism after the war. It was sometimes propagated by priests and teachers, though ultimately the ones to act upon its implications were the peasants.<sup>121</sup> In the city of L'viv, growing anti-Semitism sparked the growth of Jewish nationalism, in the form of Zionism, in the 1880s. The "economic crusade" of non-Jewish nationalists, involving boycotts of Jewish merchants, was seen as a threat to the Jewish community there.<sup>122</sup> In the countryside, the stereotype of the Jewish merchant, bailiff or tavern-keeper who exploited the peasantry persisted. In 1912 Fr. Roman Isaichyk, parish priest at Iavornyk in the Iaslo (Jaslo) deanery of the Peremyshl' eparchy, argued that he should be allowed to serve as notary because the previous notary had been a Jewish tavern-keeper who had exploited the peasants and sold them liquor during civic meetings. His dean agreed.<sup>123</sup> It is not certain that such a perception of Jews was typical among the Greek-Catholic clergy, but it was probably widespread. No doubt the memory of Jewish opposition to the clerical temperance campaigns of the late nineteenth century remained fresh. In any case, a reputation for anti-semitism did arise. In 1935 Fr. Iulian Dzerovych, reporting in *Nyva* on that year's general meeting of the Society of St. Andrew, mentioned that "when the Jews defamed our Greek-Catholic clergy in English Judophile periodicals, [claiming that] it had taken part in anti-semitic actions in Galician Ukraine, our Society raised a

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work, at pp. 215-239, and Mendelsohn, Ezra. "Interwar Poland: Good for the Jews or Bad for the Jews?" in Abramsky, Chimen; Jachimczyk, Maciej; and Polonsky, Antony, eds. The Jews in Poland. Oxford, 1986, 130-139. Mendelsohn finds that anti-Semitism was weak in the kresy or borderlands of Poland, where the economy was weak and the Jews numerous. Id. 136. See also Golczewski, Frank. "Rural anti-semitism in Galicia before World War I," in Abramsky, Jachimczyk & Polonsky, 97-105.

<sup>121</sup> Golczewski, op. cit., 97-98, 100, 104-105. Golczewski finds that the Polish populists of Fr. Stojałowski were hostile to both Jews and the upper Roman Catholic clergy.

<sup>122</sup> See Mendelsohn, E. "From Assimilation to Zionism in Lvov: the case of Alfred Nossig." The Slavonic and East European Review vol. XLIX no. 117 (October 1971), 521-534. It should be noted, however, that the ultimate goals of Jewish and non-Jewish nationalists did not conflict, since the latter sought to build national states, while the Zionists sought to create a Jewish state in Palestine. Indeed, both Zionists and anti-Semites agreed on the need for Jewish emigration.

<sup>123</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu (WAP-P), Archiwum Biskupstwa Grecko-Katolickiego (ABGK) file 5419.

decisive protest against these unworthy insinuations, and placed this protest in our dailies." <sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> "Zahal'ni Zbory 'Tov. sv. Andreia' u L'vovi." Nyva no. 3 (March) 1935, p. 108.

# PART ONE: THE EDUCATION OF THE GREEK-CATHOLIC CLERGY

## CHAPTER ONE: SCHOOL AND SEMINARY

Some of the oldest Greek-Catholic priests alive in 1900 would have attended primary and secondary school in the 1830s or 1840s, and completed seminary in the 1850s. A priest ordained in the year 1900 typically would have been born around 1875, and attended primary school in the early 1880s, a gymnasium in the late 1880s and early 1890s, and seminary in the middle and late 1890s. If he were still alive in 1939, he would have been among the oldest Greek-Catholic priests of that time. A priest ordained in 1939 typically would have been born around 1914, and attended primary school in the post-war years into the mid-1920s, secondary school in the 1920s and early 1930s, and seminary in the middle and late 1930s. In this chapter we shall therefore consider the changes in the Greek-Catholic clergy's primary and secondary education that occurred between the nineteenth century, particularly its last two decades, under Austrian rule, and the first decade and a half of Polish rule in Galicia. We shall concentrate, however, on the development of seminary education between the 1890s and the 1930s.

### 1. Primary and Secondary Education

The problem of primary and secondary education for Galician Ruthenians has been discussed in the Introduction. The period of Polish autonomy in Galicia saw a flourishing of Polish-language public education, but also saw the development of Ruthenian primary and secondary schools. By 1910, there were 2,457 Ruthenian (Ukrainian)-language primary schools in the province, though these were largely one- or two-room affairs.<sup>125</sup> By 1914, there were six Ruthenian state gymnasias; in addition, some 15 private educational institutions of various sorts were set up by the Ruthenian intelligentsia.<sup>126</sup> Among the latter were the schools organised by the Ukrainian Pedagogical Association in L'viv.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Yaremko, Michael. Galicia-Halychyna (A Part of Ukraine): From Separation to Unity. Shevchenko Scientific Society Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 18. English Section, Vol. 3. Toronto - New York-Paris, 1967, 143.

<sup>126</sup> Yaremko 142, 156.

<sup>127</sup> Id. 156.

With the collapse of Austria and the advent of Polish rule, Ukrainian-language education encountered serious obstacles. In 1922 there were still 2,426 Ukrainian primary schools in Galicia, with 2,247 Polish and 1,422 "utraquistic" (mixed) schools.<sup>128</sup> In 1925, in the wake of the lex Grabski of the previous year, there were only 1,055 Ukrainian primary schools.<sup>129</sup> With clerical initiative and support, the private organisation "Ridna Shkola" did succeed in eventually founding 16 pre-schools and 41 primary schools, primarily in the countryside;<sup>130</sup> thirty-one of the latter had been founded by 1928, along with 17 gymnasia.<sup>131</sup> In 1930, however, there were only four private Ukrainian gymnasia, in addition to six state gymnasia; in the pacification of that year, Ukrainian secondary schools in L'viv, Stanyslaviv, Rohatyn, Drohobych and Ternopil' were closed.<sup>132</sup> Although Ukrainian-language schools were established by the government in areas of predominantly Ukrainian population, there were schools with a Ukrainian majority where Polish was nevertheless used as the language of instruction; however, the teaching of the Ukrainian language was permitted. "Utraquistic" schools, with some subjects taught in Polish and some in Ukrainian, were established in areas of mixed population.<sup>133</sup>

Under the Polish constitution of 1921, religious instruction was compulsory in Polish state-supported schools for all under the age of eighteen. Such instruction was conducted and controlled by religious bodies, under the ultimate supervision of the state educational authorities.<sup>134</sup> The Concordat of 1925 extended this requirement to private schools enjoying the rights of public schools.<sup>135</sup> For Greek-Catholics, religious instruction was conducted in Ukrainian, by the designated Greek-Catholic catechist.

<sup>128</sup> Sokhots'kyi, o. Isydor. Shcho daly hreko-katolyts'ka Tserkva i dukhovenstvo ukrains'komu narodovi. Philadelphia (USA), 1951, 55-56.

<sup>129</sup> Yaremko 234.

<sup>130</sup> Sokhots'kyi 57.

<sup>131</sup> Yaremko 235.

<sup>132</sup> Yaremko 234; Marusyn, Myroslav. "Pohliad na vykhovannia kandydativ dukhovnoho stanu na Ukraini." Vydannia "Bohoslovii," No. 31, extracted from Bohosloviiia Vol. XXI-XXIV (1943-1963). Rome, 1964, 42.

<sup>133</sup> Śliwa, Tadeusz. "Kościół grecko-katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939," in Zieliński, Zygmunt & Wilk, Stanisław, eds., Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej. Lublin, 1980, 162.

<sup>134</sup> Machray, Robert. The Poland of Pilsudski, 1914-1936. New York, 1937, 135; Wójcik, Walenty. "Konkordat Polski z 1925 roku -- próba oceny," in Zieliński & Wilk, op. cit., 23.

<sup>135</sup> Wójcik 23.



The need for secondary education preparatory to seminary study was recognised by the Ruthenian Greek-Catholic Provincial Synod of 1891, which provided in Title VIII, Chapter II of its Acts and Resolutions for the founding of minor seminaries. These were intended to prepare boys for the seminary by way of thorough secondary education and ascetic training.<sup>136</sup> In fact, the first minor seminary was established only in 1919, in L'viv, under trying post-war conditions. In the first decade of its existence it was merely a hostel for pupils who attended state secondary schools. After the pacification of 1930, and the attendant closing of several Ukrainian schools, the minor seminary was re-organised as a full secondary school, under the Dutch priest Jacob Perridon. Based on western European models, the gymnasium began with the upper three forms (sixth, seventh and eighth), adding the lower classes year by year starting with 1931. A branch was established in Rohatyn. In 1932, the Lviv minor seminary had 103 pupils, with 15 in the eighth form in the Rohatyn branch. Although the minor seminary's matura was not recognised by Polish universities, it sufficed for entrance not only to the Greek-Catholic seminaries but also to Latin-rite Catholic seminaries outside Poland and to the universities of Vienna, Prague, Rome and Zagreb. A minor seminary was also established in Stanyslaviv.<sup>137</sup>

Monastic orders also recognised the need for both primary and secondary private education in a Greek-Catholic and Ukrainian spirit. To this end, the Basilian order founded schools in Buchach and Dobromyl', while the newly-founded Eastern-rite Redemptorists established a school in Holosko.

In the larger towns, primary and secondary-school pupils from the countryside often lived in hostels operated by charitable organisations. In the years before World War I, Russophile hostels served to propagate their particular cultural and even political orientation. To what extent, if any, these student hostels served to educate future Greek-Catholic priests is difficult to ascertain. (The Russophiles will be discussed in Chapter Six, Section 1.)

Some notion of secondary education in the Austrian state schools at the turn of the century can be derived from a brief memoir

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<sup>136</sup> Marusyn 38.

<sup>137</sup> Marusyn 41-43; Shematyzm hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva L'vivs'koi Arkhiieparkhii 1932-1933, L'viv, 1932.

of the Rev. Myroslav Ripets'kyi. Born in Sambir in 1889, Ripets'kyi completed the four-year primary school in that town and entered the Archduchess Elisabeth gymnasium in 1899, completing the eight-year course in 1907. In the 1904-1905 school year, he reports on the basis of gymnasium records, there were 654 pupils, of which Poles numbered 329, Ruthenians 201, Jews 115 and Germans 9. Most of the pupils were from beyond the town of Sambir.

In the 1906-1907 school year, out of a total student body of 780 there were 532 Poles (including 134 Jews), and 248 Ruthenians. The faculty consisted of 37 teachers. Ripets'kyi points out that despite the ethnic heterogeneity of the pupils, there was no inter-ethnic hostility. The gymnasium youth held a concert in honour of Adam Mickiewicz in December 1906, and another for Taras Shevchenko the following March. The school year opened with special masses in both the Latin-rite and Greek-rite churches. <sup>138</sup>

Religious instruction for Greek-Catholic pupils in Ripets'kyi's gymnasium was conducted by the Rev. Ilarion Hmytryk, an "Old Ruthenian" who made several pilgrimages to the Holy Land and spoke "in proper Ukrainian, but with some Church-Slavonic expressions" mixed in. In 1891 he had published, at his own cost, a four-volume Greek-Catholic Lives of the Saints. <sup>139</sup>

The young Ripets'kyi developed a love for literature during his secondary school years, in part under the influence of the subsequently prominent ethnographer Filaret Kolessa, who taught Ukrainian literature there. In charge of the school's Ukrainian library, "which was contained in two book-cases," Kolessa examined each newly acquired book "and carefully crossed out every passage of an anti-religious or immoral nature." Nevertheless, Ripets'kyi recalls that he read nearly all the Ukrainian classics as well as works of the contemporary literary circle "Moloda Muza," which included Bohdan Lepkyi, Les' Martovych and Petro Karmans'kyi. He also attended courses in Polish and German literature. <sup>140</sup>

The Rev. Ripets'kyi's political education also dates to his secondary school years. During the 1905 revolution in Russia, his elder brother, a university student, took him to a clandestine meeting

<sup>138</sup> Ripets'kyi, Myroslav. "Spohady z molodykh lit" (photocopy of loose article, publication unknown), 103-104, 110, 114.

<sup>139</sup> Ripets'kyi 115-116. On Old Ruthenians see Chapter Six, Section 1.

<sup>140</sup> Ripets'kyi 116, 118-119, 128.

of "Russian revolutionaries," which lasted late into the night. Returning home at dawn in his street clothing, Ripets'kyi encountered his mathematics teacher, who took no measures other than to give him an unsatisfactory note at the end of the semester.

In his fourth year, the future priest also joined the local hromada, founded in the 1860s and part of a network of clandestine Ukrainian secondary-school student organisations. In the hromada, writes Ripets'kyi, "the foundations of the Ukrainian world view were formed, and gymnasium pupils learned to be loyal sons of their native people and to prepare for the struggle with the enemies of the Ukrainian nation." The Sambir hromada, he recalls, maintained ties with similar organisations in Berezhany, Ternopil', Stryi, Peremyshl' and L'viv. The hromada had its own library, which gave the pupils access to books and journals not available in the school library (and not subject to Professor Kolessa's censorious pen). The young Ripets'kyi presented a number of talks at these secret meetings, on subjects including the works of Pushkin and Lermontov. He continued his contacts with the Sambir hromada even as a seminarian in L'viv. <sup>141</sup>

The future priest also engaged in legitimate extra-curricular activities, joining the pupils' reading-room founded in November 1906. This organisation included both Poles and Ukrainians, and was apparently modelled on the network of reading-rooms being set up throughout the province for the education of the masses. Ripets'kyi belonged to the Ukrainian section of the historical-literary circle (one of five circles constituting the reading-room). Of the 65 members of the Ukrainian section, 46 regularly read *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* ("Literary-scholarly Herald,") the foremost Ukrainian-language journal of this type in Galicia. The members of this section had access to the ideas of Ukrainian-orientated socialists such as poet Ivan Franko and theoretician Mykhailo Drahomanov, and Ukrainian writers such as Vasyl' Stefanyk. Ripets'kyi recalled that the reading-room helped to develop its members' critical faculties, "chiefly as a result of free discussion of the reading-room members' talks." <sup>142</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Ripets'kyi 119-121.

<sup>142</sup> Ripets'kyi 121-123.

Were Myroslav Ripets'kyi's secondary education and experiences typical for Greek-Catholic priests ordained on the eve of World War I, or more broadly in the preceding decade and a half? In his memoir he mentions a few schoolmates who were later ordained,<sup>143</sup> but it would be difficult to ascertain the number of graduates of the Sambir gymnasium who became Greek-Catholic priests. It is not certain that the general tenor of the school had been the same a decade and a half earlier, when future priests who would be ordained at the beginning of the period under study would have attended, and it is certain that after 1918 the character of the school changed. Furthermore, the Sambir gymnasium was considered one of the better state secondary schools in the province, and obviously differed from private secondary schools in atmosphere if not in academic level. Ripets'kyi's memoir only hints at Russophile activity, which at other schools and in different social milieus would have been greater. At the same time, a school of this size and importance, drawing pupils from the surrounding region as well as from the district town in which it was located, can reasonably be supposed to have educated a fair number of future Greek-Catholic priests. In its academic and extra-curricular programme it must have closely resembled other state schools. Reading-rooms and hromady were a common feature of Ruthenian Galician life in the years before World War One. Thus, the young Ripets'kyi's exposure to Ukrainian, Polish, German and general European culture, his contact with Polish and Jewish pupils, and his initiation into Ukrainian political activity were probably fairly typical. They contributed to the attitudes and world-view or "mentality" of the generation of Greek-Catholic priests who began their pastoral activity in the last years of Habsburg rule.

The general decline, or at least arrested development, of Ruthenian primary and secondary education in the wake of the world war and the establishment of Polish rule in Galicia affected the generation of priests ordained in the 1930s. The disruption caused by the pacification of 1930, and the growing bitterness of Polish-Ukrainian relations as well as nationalist activity among school youth, further altered the general tenor of education during this period. The Ukrainian graduates of a Polish state gymnasium or private Ukrainian secondary school in 1932 had had very different

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<sup>143</sup> Ripets'kyi 106.

formative experiences from the graduates of an Austrian gymnasium in 1892. <sup>144</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> A Soviet author describing the L'viv minor seminary in the early 1930s, possibly on the basis of the seminary archives, provides a striking detail. He alleges that favourites of the institution's spiritual father, the Rev. Lev Hlynka, were allowed to attend operettas and dances, while some of the pupils he disfavoured lost their minds or committed suicide. Dobrychev, Volodymyr. U tini sviatoho Iura (2nd ed.), L'viv, 1970, 144. This vignette, of course, comports with the standard marxist view of Church and bourgeois society with suspicious neatness.

## 2. The Seminaries

However formative of character and general outlook one's secondary-school experiences might have been, it was in the seminary that one's priestly formation took place.<sup>145</sup> In the Austrian period, the bulk of Greek-Catholic seminarians attended the L'viv seminary, taking their courses at the city's Emperor Francis University. Ruthenian-language lectures in pastoral theology, dogma, catechesis and methodology had been established at the University in the 1840s. Life in the seminary was regulated by rules set down in the acts of the 1891 Ruthenian Provincial Synod (Title VIII, Chapter II, Annex XXXV), modelled on western European seminary regulations and based generally on the decisions of the Council of Trent.<sup>146</sup> The seminary in Peremyshl', founded in 1845, provided only the fourth year of theological study for students who had completed the first three years elsewhere -- normally at L'viv.<sup>147</sup> In 1896, the Peremyshl' seminary had three professors and 24 students in the fourth year (plus three at L'viv); in 1902 there were 18 fourth-year theology students.<sup>148</sup> A seminary was opened in Stanyslaviv on 14 January 1907.<sup>149</sup>

In 1919 the new Polish authorities terminated Ukrainian-language theology lectures at the L'viv University (renamed after King John Casimir), and dismissed the Revs. Halushchyns'kyi and Myshkovs'kyi, who had refused to lecture in Polish or to swear an oath of loyalty to the Polish state. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi then established courses at the Greek-Catholic seminary, which around 1922 became the Archeparchial Theological Lyceum. In view of the

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<sup>145</sup> For purposes of comparison, see the voluminous description of seminary education during the 1930s in another Eastern Catholic rite, that of the Maronites, in Khairallah, Mounir Boutros. La formation du clergé séculier dans l'Église maronite contemporain (1934-1974). Doctoral thesis, Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris, 1984.

<sup>146</sup> Marusyn 38. The Western and particularly Jesuit nature of education in the L'viv seminary was criticised by the Russian observer F.I. Titov in his Russkoe dukhovenstvo v Galitsii. Kiev, 1903.

<sup>147</sup> Marusyn 38.

<sup>148</sup> Schematismus universi venerabilis cleri ruthenorum catholicorum dioceseos premisliensis, samboriensis et sanocensis Pro anno domini 1896. Premislae, 1897; Shematyzm vseho klyra katolyts'koho obriada hrechsko-russkoho eparkhii Peremys'koi, Sambirs'koi i Sianots'koi. Peremyshl', 1902.

<sup>149</sup> Mel'nychuk, Petro. Vladyka Hryhorii Khomyshyn, patriot - misionar - muchenyk. Rome-Philadelphia, 1979, 18.

liquidation of Ukrainian chairs at the University, the restriction of admission in August 1919 to Polish army veterans, and the closing of the Ukrainian underground university in 1925, the faculty of philosophy established at the seminary became a sort of ersatz university for Galician Ukrainians.<sup>150</sup> Forty-four students entered the seminary in 1920, and all but one were ordained. Fifty-six entered in the following year, and the number increased almost every year for the next several years. The over-all number of students was between 150 and 200 in the first half of the 1920s.<sup>151</sup>

By 1915 the Peremyshl' seminary possessed an unfinished seminary building, but military activity prompted the temporary transfer of courses to Kroměříž in Moravia. On 13 December 1921, the seminary building was dedicated.<sup>152</sup> By 1929, this seminary had nine professors and 81 students;<sup>153</sup> in 1938 there were 110 students.<sup>154</sup>

The 1925 Concordat permitted bishops to create private confessional educational institutions, which would enjoy full internal autonomy.<sup>155</sup> In 1928 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi reorganised the L'viv seminary as a Greek-Catholic Theological Academy. By the latter 1930s this institution had a student body of between 350 and 400 students in its five-year course of study, with 30 professors and lecturers in the faculties of philosophy and theology.<sup>156</sup>

In 1938 the Stanyslaviv seminary, which offered a four-year course, was attended by 90 students. At the same time, four students were being prepared for the Lemko Apostolic Administration

<sup>150</sup> Pelekh, Volodymyr. "Mii sviaty pratsedavets'," in Al'manakh ukrains'koho narodnoho soiuзу na rik 1989. Jersey City-New York, 1989, 94; Voiakovs'kyi, Nykolai. "Vidnovlennia dukhovnoi seminarii u L'vovi: 1920-1926," in Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni (Series II - Sectio II, Vol. VII (XIII), Fasc. 1-4), Roma, 1971, 295; Korolevskij, Cyrille. Metropolit Andre Szeptycky 1865-1944. Pratsi ukrains'koho bohoslovs'koho naukovohto tovarystva tom XVI-XVII Rome, 1964, 73. In 1919-1920, the Shevchenko Scholarly Society, the Mohyla Society and the Stauropegian Brotherhood sought to conduct scholarly or educational activity, but all were thwarted by the government authorities. Korolevskij 73-74.

<sup>151</sup> Voiakovs'kyi 298, 300.

<sup>152</sup> Hrynyk, Rev. Canon Vasyl', in Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohosloviv. Peremyshl', 1937, 108; Marusyn 44-45.

<sup>153</sup> Shematyzm vseho klyra katolyts'koho obriada hrechsko-russkoho eparkhii Peremys'koi, Sambirs'koi i Sianots'koi. Peremyshl', 1929, xxi-xxvi, 100-101.

<sup>154</sup> Śliwa 156.

<sup>155</sup> Baran, Stepan. Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Munich, 1947, 35.

<sup>156</sup> Kubijovyc, Volodymyr, ed. Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia. Vol. II, Toronto, 1971, 378. The course of study was expanded to five years in 1933. Interview No. 1B.

(created in 1934) at the Częstochowa Seminary in Cracow, while another attended the Byzantine-rite Pontifical Oriental Seminary in Dubno.<sup>157</sup> Founded in 1928, the Dubno seminary was conducted by Muscovite-rite Jesuits. Its 30 to 40 students, mostly Ukrainians, were to work beyond Galicia, except for several designated for the Lemko region.<sup>158</sup>

### 3. The "Galician Monaco" and Seminary Reform

At the Ruthenian Provincial Synod held in L'viv in 1891, the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Ciasca reportedly told Bishop Iulian Pelesh of Peremyshl' that he had been amazed by the knowledge and intelligence of Greek-Catholic priests from even the most obscure, inaccessible mountain villages. "All my priests are like that," proudly responded Bishop Pelesh.<sup>159</sup> Nevertheless, the Synod felt that the seminary that was producing these priests was in need of reform, and on 1 September 1901, in his first year as Metropolitan, Andrei Sheptyts'kyi issued a pastoral letter to that effect.<sup>160</sup>

What was wrong with the seminary? For one thing, the seminarians' attitude left much to be desired. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi criticised those who considered their room and board a well-deserved gift, rather than the source of an obligation to their Church and people. Such a seminarian, he noted, would become the sort of priest who thinks that the people should feed him and work for him -- precisely the sort of priest attacked in the Radical propaganda of the time. The Metropolitan criticised those who played cards for money in the seminary, for they, too, were motivated by an immoral desire for gain without work. Others, he wrote, lived beyond their means, incurring debts that they would later try to pay out of the dowry of a marriage entered into for financial motives. He warned that such candidates could be denied ordination. Laziness would not be tolerated in the seminary; hard work must be motivated by faith and piety. Indeed, work and piety are criteria of

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<sup>157</sup> Śliwa 156.

<sup>158</sup> Blazejovskyj, Dmytro. Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges, and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576-1983) Annals of the Order of St. Basil the Great, Series II, Sectio II. Rome, 1984, 31-32.

<sup>159</sup> Sokhots'kyi 10.

<sup>160</sup> Szeptycki, Andrzej. List Pasterski najprzewielebniejszego X. Andrzeja Szeptyckiego Metropolity Halickiego do przełożęństwa i kleryków Seminarium duchownego we Lwowie. Żółkiew, 1902, 3.



a vocation, and those lacking the virtues necessary to become good priests must be expelled, during the first year if possible. Another evil that had to be eliminated was the strife and division among seminarians caused by political loyalties. Intolerance of others' political opinions, the metropolitan admonished, could seriously harm a priest's pastoral work. Sheptyts'kyi also directed that the duties of prefects should be better defined, and demanded a monthly written report from the rector.<sup>161</sup>

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was not alone in seeing the need for seminary reform. Iaroslav Levyts'kyi, a L'viv seminarian writing in May of 1901, applauded the reform then being considered by the metropolitan. He felt that there was "excellent material" among the Ruthenian theology students, whose increasing consciousness of the situation of Church and people, combined with their greater activity and zeal for self-improvement, pointed to a better future for the national cause. A turning-point had been reached, he felt, and the heralded reforms would find fertile ground. <sup>162</sup> Nevertheless, Levyts'kyi was conscious of the low repute in which seminarians were held:

It is an indisputable fact that every intelligent Ruthenian person has a kind of strangely reserved attitude towards the Ruthenian theological seminary....

You'll meet some secular person -- an older or younger person, or let's say a university student -- and as soon as you start talking about the seminary, you'll hear ridicule and jokes about the laziness, shiftlessness, card-playing and similar "virtues" of Ruthenian seminarians. Nowadays any gymnasium pupil, raised under the wing of the Ruthenian youth leaders of L'viv, will give you a similar opinion about the seminary.

A large portion of secondary school graduates comes to the seminary with the same prejudice. What's more, even among the accused, among the seminarians themselves, you'll find those who'll sing you the same song about the seminary. <sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Szeptycki, List Pastorski, 5-30.

<sup>162</sup> Levytskyi, Iaroslav. L'vivska dukhovna semynaryia v litakh 1897- 1901. L'viv, 1901, 57-58.

<sup>163</sup> Levytskyi 3-4.

Levyts'kyi recognises that this poor public image is not altogether unjustified, but considers it exaggerated:

I shall try to demonstrate that the Lviv seminary is not a house of loafers and freeloaders, that it is not a Galician Monaco, as *Hromads'kyi Holos* wrote last year. But I do not mean to say that our institution is ideal. This would be the opposite extreme. There are quite a few faults and lackings, their correction is needed and necessary, and we probably won't have to wait long for it. All the same time, looking at matters as they now stand, taking all the circumstances into account, we must draw a conclusion that is far removed from what I mentioned before.<sup>164</sup>

Levyts'kyi feels that all the evils of the seminary can be traced to the conditions in which the seminarians are forced to live. First among these is overcrowding:

Where eight or nine people live at a single "address," there can be no thought of serious work. And it is difficult for the seminarians to be housed so that people with like personalities should end up together. If one wants to read, another to write, and at the same time a third to play the violin, a fourth to sing, a fifth to dance, etc., what can be the result of all this? True, the seminary has museums where one can study, but each museum must accommodate, on the average, 80 persons, and these are young, lively persons. And this is the greatest cause of the "shiftlessness" of the seminarians.

Whoever is determined and makes up his mind will really prevail and will find the time and room to work -- but not everyone, and not for long. After a short while, each sleepless hour and even the shortest time spent in some cold corner will affect the health of such a seminarian. To all this one must add the dust and the unhealthful air in general, which in a closeted and sedentary life affect one's health most adversely. It is a fact that the greater part of the seminarians belong in a hospital rather than in a seminary. Stomach ailments, headaches, anemia, all kinds of catarrh, which plague a seminarian throughout his four years - - this is the blessing of the seminary, this is the

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164      Levytskyi 5.

incentive for intensive work! The same thing, incidentally, happens in other seminaries as well.<sup>165</sup>

In addition, the author mentions the lack of an adequate library, the students' helplessness and impracticality, the absence of educational guidance and leadership, and the low pay of the prefects, who must seek outside work to supplement their incomes. Thus, he concludes, seminarians cannot be judged by the same standards as their more fortunate colleagues in secular institutions. Nevertheless, Levyts'kyi feels that spiritual life in the seminary is not as benighted as some may think.<sup>166</sup>

Another seminarian, Osyp Ostashevs'kyi, writing in December 1913, relates that the students of 1901-1902 were conscious of a need for reform. He explains that Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, "following the life of the seminarians, saw great lackings in their education, and knew that such an education could not provide a clergy that would correspond to the religious-cultural demands of its people and of the present age." Furthermore, Ostashevs'kyi recounts that "our society understood the importance of reform, for it knew that the consequences of a reform would go beyond the walls of the seminary and spread out in a beneficial stream amongst the entire people, and therefore in 1901 our press spoke of it with joy."<sup>167</sup>

Petro Mel'nychuk, not an eyewitness to pre-reform seminary life but, as biographer of the post-reform rector (and subsequent Bishop of Stanyslaviv) Rev. Hryhorii Khomyshyn presumably familiar with relevant documents, relates that late nineteenth-century students of the L'viv seminary were not particularly dedicated to study, due to the lack of spiritual or academic leadership. Aside from morning mass, lectures, and evening prayer, their time was their own, and few were serious about theology. Some took advantage of their access to secular university courses to become teachers. But many spent their free time playing cards or going out into the town and returning late. In the mornings, he relates, the spiritual director would visit the rooms to make sure that all had

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<sup>165</sup> Levytskyi 6-7.

<sup>166</sup> Levytskyi 7.

<sup>167</sup> Ostashevs'kyi, Osyp. "Z istoriyi dukhovnoho zhytia l'vivs'kykh bohosloviv v litakh 1900-1913," in Stel'makh, Antin, ed. Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohosloviv. L'viv, 1914. 274-275.

gone to liturgy. To evade his inspection, students would hide under their beds; others would lurk in wardrobes and make startling noises, sending him scurrying away muttering about the "unclean powers" haunting the rooms.<sup>168</sup> While Mel'nychuk's description has the ring of student lore and may have been affected by a desire to underscore the importance of the reforms, it does convey something of the superficiality widely thought to have characterised pre-reform seminary life.

Thus, there was a general feeling in Galician Ruthenian society at the turn of the century that the L'viv seminary was in need of reform. However, judgments of the spiritual, academic and even material level of seminary life necessarily depended on the frame of reference. For example, in comparison with life in nineteenth-century Russia's Orthodox seminaries -- a comparison that Russophile clergy might have made -- the L'viv seminary might not have appeared so deficient.<sup>169</sup> Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's frame of reference, and that of both the spiritual father at L'viv Rev. Isydor Dol'nyts'kyi (educated at the Greek College in Rome) and the Rev. Hryhorii Khomyshyn (educated in Vienna and rector at L'viv in 1902-1904), was most likely the level of education prevailing in the central and western European seminaries with which they all were familiar. To the Russophiles, however, imitation of western European and particularly Jesuit models would only augment the already alarming degree of latinisation and polonisation in the education of the Ruthenian clergy.<sup>170</sup> For at least some of the seminarians and the lay public, the test of the quality of seminary education was whether it could produce a clergy capable of participating in the Ruthenian-Ukrainian national revival. Both Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter and Iaroslav Levyts'kyi's comments also reveal a concern for the public image of the seminarian and, ultimately, of the clergy itself. Those in favour of reform realised that in order to eliminate the faults and abuses that were grist for the Radicals' anti-clerical mill -- lazy, dissolute priests, exorbitant sacramental fees, clerical obscurantism -- they would have to start at the level of the seminary.

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<sup>168</sup> Mel'nychuk 18-19, 28.

<sup>169</sup> See generally Freeze, Gregory. The Parish Clergy in Nineteenth-Century Russia: Crisis, Reform, Counter-Reform. Princeton, New Jersey, 1983.

<sup>170</sup> See Titov, F.I. Russkoe dukhovenstvo v Galitsii. Kiev, 1903.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's reform of the L'viv seminary was radical. It was completely re-organised, nearly all the personnel were replaced, and the rules were simplified. A major role was played by the Rev. Dol'nyts'kyi, who had already done much to settle earlier liturgical controversies.<sup>171</sup> To improve spiritual life the Basilian monks (who themselves had been reformed, by the Jesuits, in 1882) were brought in to give retreats.<sup>172</sup>

Was the reform successful? The best measure is the quality of the priests that it ultimately produced. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's biographer Cyrille Korolevskij, a French priest who adopted the Byzantine rite (and a Slavic pseudonym), finds that "with the progress made after the reform of the seminary, the metropolitan possessed a respectable number of priests who had been very correctly instructed and educated, and who were in no way inferior to the best members of the Polish clergy."<sup>173</sup>

#### 4. Seminary Life

Under the prescriptions of the L'viv Ruthenian Provincial Synod of 1891, priority in entrance to the seminary was to be given to those who had shown signs of a priestly vocation.<sup>174</sup> Under the reformed rules of the L'viv seminary, an entrant must have completed secondary school and passed the matura examination. With his application addressed to the metropolitan, he must submit, besides his matura certificate, a certificate of baptism and confirmation and evidence of irreproachable conduct and of good health. An applicant requiring room and board must be prepared to pay for them. Those applying from other eparchies must have their bishop's consent. A satisfactory knowledge of Latin was required for entrance to the Faculty of Philosophy of the L'viv seminary (as re-organised in 1928 with Academy status), and in addition, Greek was required for the Faculty of Theology.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Korolevskij 46.

<sup>172</sup> Mel'nychuk 28.

<sup>173</sup> Korolevskij 53. For a Russian view of the L'viv theological seminary on the eve of the reform, see Titov, F.I. Russkoe dukhovenstvo v Galitsii. Kiev, 1903, 8-36. Titov is critical of the fact that what he regards as Russian Orthodox seminarians (albeit in union with Rome) are being educated in a Polish and Roman Catholic spirit.

<sup>174</sup> Marusyn 38.

<sup>175</sup> Pravyla dlia pytomtsiv hreko-katolyts'koi dukhovnoi semynarii u L'vovi (3rd ed.) Asketychna Biblioteka tom 2. L'viv, 1929, 5-6; Senytsia, Pavlo,

Under Austria, the state funded seminary education and strictly limited the number of places.<sup>176</sup> Under Poland, these matters were covered by the 1925 Concordat with the Holy See. The number of applicants was often high in relation to the number admitted. In 1921, out of 150 applicants to the expanded L'viv seminary (now offering its own courses), only 56 were accepted.<sup>177</sup> An applicant who entered ten years later recalls that "in those times, it was not easy to get into this one Ukrainian higher school, for there were more candidates than places in the Theological Seminary." He adds that many entrants did not graduate; of the more than 200 admitted in the winter of 1931, only 58 completed the L'viv Academy's five-year course in 1936.<sup>178</sup>

What, aside from a vocation, motivated young men to enter the seminary? Whereas in the nineteenth century, sons of priests studied theology as a matter of course (see Chapter Four), the entry into this former caste of young men of other social backgrounds in the twentieth century, as discussed below, was often accompanied by an idealistic motivation. In the changed social climate after the World War, a priest's son readily could be expected to enter a secular profession as readily as the priesthood. The choice of seminary was no longer automatic, and required a strong vocation or other motives. In 1923 Bohdan Nehrebets'kyi, a priest's son who had studied medicine and taken part in the Austrian defence of Peremyshl', where he was taken prisoner and sent to Siberia, applied to the Peremyshl' seminary. Among the motives that he mentioned in his application were a desire to help the suffering, for both humane and religious reasons. He had thought deeply about the war and the Russian revolution, he explained, and had sought the causes of physical suffering and human bestiality. Men's minds had become materialistic, and they ignored the commands of the Decalogue; thus, there had been a decline in ethics and morals. The people's soul, he felt, could only be healed by coming "back to Christ" -- and

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ed. *Svityl'nyk istyny*, Part I. Pratsi Hreko-katolyts'koi Bohoslovs'koi Akademii, tom XXXIV. Toronto-Chicago, 1973, 462-463.

<sup>176</sup> Szelażek 127.

<sup>177</sup> Voiakovs'kyi 305.

<sup>178</sup> Pelekh 89, 90.

Nehrebets'kyi had resolved to spread this slogan among the masses as a priest.<sup>179</sup>

There could be other reasons for a Ukrainian to wish to enter a seminary in Polish-ruled Galicia. Ukrainians could enter Polish universities only with the greatest difficulty. A numerus clausus was imposed that excluded most Ukrainians unable to call on high connections or pay bribes, or unwilling to change over to the Latin rite (and thereby adopt Polish nationality). Few had the funds to study abroad. For many, the seminary offered the only opportunity for higher education (although the Vatican, possibly under pressure from Polish circles, did not accord even the Academy the status of a degree-granting university<sup>180</sup>). This, writes one graduate of the Greek-Catholic Academy, was the reason for the multitude of "vocations" in the inter-war period. He adds that some may have been motivated by purely material considerations.<sup>181</sup> Such motives were probably more widespread in the 1930s Depression.

The social composition of Greek-Catholic seminarians changed between the 1890s and the 1930s. In 1894, about half the alumni at Peremyshl' -- 13 out of 25 -- were sons of priests. Five were sons of peasants, three of townsmen. In 1900 and 1904, just under one-third of the alumni (seven out of 24 and six out of 19, respectively) came from priestly families; in 1900 peasants' sons already outnumbered those of priests. Although the proportion of priests' sons remained roughly the same (close to one-third) in 1914 and 1921, peasants' or farmers' sons (the terminology in the records varies) outnumbered them in those years and in 1922 through 1924, with the proportion of clerics' sons falling to one out of seven, three out of 20 and six out of 35 at Peremyshl' in those latter three years. Among the other seminarians at Peremyshl' between 1894 and 1924 were sons of townsmen, teachers, church cantors, judicial officials, smiths, and workers or craftsmen.<sup>182</sup> A similar mix was to be found at L'viv, where there were students not only from all of Galicia but also from

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<sup>179</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu (WAP-P), zespół Archiwum Biskupstwa Grecko-Katolickiego (ABGK), file 3756.

<sup>180</sup> Sirka, Ann Slusarczyk. "Sheptyts'kyi in Education and Philanthropy," in Magocsi, Paul Robert, ed. Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Edmonton, 1989, 275.

<sup>181</sup> Pelekh 90, 92.

<sup>182</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 9329, pp. 103-104, 107-108, 110-111, 120-121.

Eastern Ukraine, Volhynia, Bukovyna, Carpatho-Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Germany, North America and elsewhere. <sup>183</sup> A 1936 graduate of the L'viv Academy recalls that priests' sons constituted only some ten percent of the students in his time, the rest being sons of peasants, townsmen "and very rarely, of the intelligentsia." They varied in age from 17 to 40. <sup>184</sup> Some seminarians were also war veterans. Between 1920 and 1926, almost all the students of the L'viv seminary had completed military service and had fought in the world war or the Polish-Ukrainian war. <sup>185</sup>

As suggested above, the spiritual life, physical conditions and discipline in the seminary were all related. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's reforms announced in his pastoral letter of 1901 were aimed at improving all three, along with the academic level. They were incorporated in the revised statute of the L'viv theological seminary (and later academy). These supplemented the decisions of the 1891 Provincial Synod. <sup>186</sup>

Spiritual life was naturally of prime importance. Seminarians were expected to make weekly confession and daily examination of conscience, to take frequent communion, to engage in spiritual reading, pray frequently before the Blessed Sacrament and cultivate especial reverence for the Blessed Virgin Mary. Besides participating in all the services in the seminary chapel, they were to take part in festive services in the cathedral of St. George, both on major religious holidays and during Ukrainian national celebrations. <sup>187</sup> Seminarians must also be spiritually prepared for self-denial and sacrifice. <sup>188</sup> They were to give alms insofar as possible. They were encouraged to master practical subjects that could enable them to serve their neighbour in the future. Each year, they must make an eight-day retreat, with a special three or five-day retreat just before

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<sup>183</sup> Senytsia 466.

<sup>184</sup> Pelekh 90.

<sup>185</sup> Voiakovs'kyi 298, 301. For a discussion and list of future as well as former seminarians who fought in the Ukrainian Galician Army, see Lebedovych, Ivan. Polevi dukhovnyky UHA, Winnipeg, 1963, 213-235. An interesting case was that of Volodymyr Hrabets', a lawyer who entered the L'viv Academy in the 1930s, completed his theological studies in Rome, and was ordained in April 1939. Fur, Ivan. "50-littia sviashchenstva o. V. Hrabtsia," "Svoboda," 24 May 1989, p. 3.

<sup>186</sup> Statut rusko-katolytskoho semynara dukhovnoho u L'vovi. L'vov [1902]; Pravyla pytontsiv ruskoho semynara dukhovnoho u L'vovi. L'viv, 1908; Pravyla (1929).

<sup>187</sup> Marusyn 38-39.

<sup>188</sup> Pravyla (1929) 5-6.



ordination. A seminarian who did not take religious practices seriously and zealously, instead performing them merely out of obligation and exhibiting a worldly spirit, was to consider himself lacking a vocation and must leave the seminary at once. Obedience, brotherly love and solidarity were also to be cultivated.<sup>189</sup>

The rules regulated discipline and physical conditions quite explicitly. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's 1901 pastoral letter had warned seminarians to avoid the influence of those who liked "cards, debts and wine,"<sup>190</sup> and accordingly, the revised rules forbade cards or gambling, warned against debts, and prohibited alcohol in the rooms, listing drunkenness among the grounds for expulsion.<sup>191</sup> Strolls outside the seminary walls were limited to two hours, and must be undertaken in pairs; seminarians could not visit inns, restaurants, cinemas, theatres or concert halls, or attend balls, public festivities or meetings.<sup>192</sup> Smoking was allowed, but only in the garden and in the students' rooms, and never between evening prayers and breakfast.<sup>193</sup> Seminarians could not engage in editing or contributing to periodicals without the rector's permission.<sup>194</sup> The rules regulated hygiene, courtesy and manners, emphasising that conversations must be carried on calmly, decently, and to the point, "as befits a civilised person."<sup>195</sup> The framers of the rules apparently were conscious of a need to improve the public image of the seminarians (and presumably of the clergy as a whole), for they exhorted them to avoid coarse language and behaviour in public, ill befitting priestly dignity. In particular, loud talk or laughter, shouting, looking about, loitering before shop-windows or staring at passers-by, or waving one's arms about, were discouraged.<sup>196</sup> Twice a week during the academic year, seminarians were to take a two-hour walk in groups of four comprising one student from each class, under the direction of the eldest.<sup>197</sup>

The rules encouraged seminarians to admonish each other in case of infraction of the rules, and should this not be heeded, to

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- 189     Senytsia 487-493.
  - 190     Szeptycki 17.
  - 191     Pravyla (1929) Rules 28, 34, 55, 58; Senytsia 483, 486.
  - 192     Szeptycki 29; Pravyla (1929) Rule 38; Senytsia 484.
  - 193     Pravyla (1929) Rule 45; Senytsia 485. .
  - 194     Pravyla (1929) Rule 40; Senytsia 484.
  - 195     Pravyla (1929) Rule 45; Senytsia 485.
  - 196     Pravyla (1929) Rules 21-22; Senytsia 494.
  - 197     Pravyla (1929) Rule 31; Senytsia 497.

inform their superiors.<sup>198</sup> Obviously, this could be misunderstood as inviting denunciations, which one unsympathetic source claims were common.<sup>199</sup> However, in 1920 the dean, Rev. Tyt Halushchyns'kyi, expelled a student who had informed on a colleague, and at that time at least, denunciations were discouraged. Halushchyns'kyi, who served as dean in 1920-1921 and again in 1924-1925, reportedly had a mild manner of calling seminarians' attention to their faults, which was very effective.<sup>200</sup> Nevertheless, a certain amount of surveillance over seminarians' activities was inevitable. Rule 56, requiring students to post letters at a designated box and never in town, seems to suggest that letters might be read by the seminary authorities, which the hostile source referred to above claims as having been the case.<sup>201</sup> Even a sympathetic observer like Korolevskij finds, in commenting on the ratio of one prefect to fifteen students, that discipline at L'viv was based on constant supervision rather than on individual conscience. The supervision extended beyond the seminary, for even during holidays at home, a seminarian was under the supervision of his parish priest -- a less liberal treatment than that accorded French or Belgian seminarians,<sup>202</sup> though perhaps more so than that imposed on Polish seminarians.<sup>203</sup>

In the first years of the enlarged seminary of the 1920s, both academic and spiritual life was in the hands of the Basilian monks who, according to alumnus Nykolai Voiakovs'kyi, inculcated in the students a love of the spiritual life and a spirit of self-sacrifice. Indeed, he recalls that the material conditions at the L'viv seminary provided an excellent opportunity to practise self-denial, for there were food shortages and rationing. The constant lack of funds prevented the administration from repairing broken windows, so that one night, when the wind blew out the newspaper covering Voiakovs'kyi's window, the snow fell in and his hair froze to the pillow. In 1920-1921 there was a shortage of fuel. For three months, supper consisted of potatoes, bread, and tea with saccharine. When conditions improved, luxuries like sugar and salt occasionally

198 Pravyla (1929) Rule 24; Senytsia 494.

199 Dobrychev 145.

200 Voiakovs'kyi 299-300.

201 Pravyla (1929) Rule 56; Senytsia 486; Dobrychev 145.

202 Korolevskij 46.

203 See note 122 and accompanying text.

became available. <sup>204</sup> Voiakovs'kyi also recalls the spiritual "metamorphosis" effected by the Rev. Halushchyns'kyi's first sermon during the yearly eight-day retreat, persuading the seminarians that fulfilling the rule of absolute silence during the entire eight days was not beyond their powers. <sup>205</sup> Indeed, physical hardship may have promoted spiritual growth. In the 1930s, once or twice a month between ten and fifteen students at a time would eat only the soup course at meals, offering their second course to poor students who could not afford to pay for meals in the refectory. <sup>206</sup>

Both Voiakovs'kyi and Volodymyr Pelekh, who attended the L'viv seminary about ten years after him (in 1931-1936), speak warmly of student-faculty relations, noting that the seminarians referred to their rector as "daddy." <sup>207</sup> In fact, such a filial relationship was mandated by the rules. <sup>208</sup>

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's reform and subsequent expansion of the L'viv seminary affected academic life no less than spiritual life. Yet change was slow in coming. In 1916, a priest had complained in *Nyva* that the seminarians were being taught almost nothing of the history of the Greek-Catholic church and rite, and did not even have the chance to learn the Bible in the church language in which they would celebrate mass as priests. Seminary graduates, having been taught in Latin, did not know Ukrainian theological terminology, while the only available book on the history of their church was in German. <sup>209</sup> As long as the L'viv seminarians had to take their courses at the University, this was likely to remain the case. In 1919, however, courses were instituted at the seminary. By 1922 or 1923, the students could study Church Slavonic, the history of the Greek-Catholic Church, and Eastern dogmatics, and art history, as well as novel subjects like "Causes of Atheism" and "The Social Question," both taught by the Rev. Havryil Kostel'nyk. The noted philologist and Orthodox theologian Ivan Ohienko taught Ukrainian orthography, and the well-known Eastern Ukrainian poet Mykola Voronyi, now in

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<sup>204</sup> Voiakovs'kyi 307, 304.

<sup>205</sup> Voiakovs'kyi 301.

<sup>206</sup> Senytsia 496.

<sup>207</sup> Voiakovs'kyi 304; Pelekh 92.

<sup>208</sup> *Pravyla* (1929) Rule 17; Senytsia 492.

<sup>209</sup> o. S.M. z B. "Natsional'ne vykhovannia klyru," *Nyva* 1916, No. 3, 160-161. According to Rev. Dmytro Blazejovskij, the author may have been Fr. Severyn Matkovs'kyi, parish priest at Bosyr.

exile from Soviet Ukraine, was brought in for a while to teach diction and the art of lecturing; his declamations reportedly made a lasting impression on the students.<sup>210</sup> When in 1928 the seminary became a full-fledged five-year academy, obviating altogether the need for students to attend lectures at the University, this programme was expanded.

The founding of the Academy was not, however, an easy matter. The government, suspecting nationalist aims, sought to block the project.<sup>211</sup> In the meantime, the Rev. Iosyf Slipyi travelled to western Europe to study theological education and examine the statutes of higher theological institutions. He prepared a statute for the L'viv academy, which was discussed by a three-man commission and approved by the metropolitan on 22 February 1928. The Academy was not officially opened until 6 October 1929, with Rev. Iosyf Slipyi as rector. In his speech on that occasion, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi outlined the new institution's aims, pointing out that they were conditioned by his Church's special position as a mediator between the Byzantine East and the Latin West.<sup>212</sup> He also observed that whereas at the turn of the century, when materialism still prevailed, theology was not considered a science, over the past thirty years this attitude had changed.<sup>213</sup>

The contemporary press generally saw the Academy as the germ of either a Ukrainian university or a Catholic Oriental university intended to educate priests who in turn could teach the faith in a manner comprehensible to the peoples of the East.<sup>214</sup> In its first three years (1928-1931), the Academy had around 150 to 190 students from the L'viv archeparchy and several from the Peremyshl' eparchy; 116 completed their studies during this time.<sup>215</sup> These students followed a five-year course that reflected the metropolitan's concern with teaching both the Western and Eastern

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<sup>210</sup> Voiakovs'kyi 295-298. This programme evidently satisfied the demands put forth in the 1916 *Nyva* article cited above. *Nyva* 1916 No. 3, 165.

<sup>211</sup> Korolevskij 53-54.

<sup>212</sup> Marusyn 49-50; *Hreko-Katolyts'ka Bohoslovs'ka Akademiia u L'vovi v pershim tr'okhlittiū svoioho istnuvannia (1928-1931)*. L'viv, 1932, 12.

<sup>213</sup> *Hreko-Katolyts'ka Bohoslovs'ka Akademiia* 11.

<sup>214</sup> Śliwa 157. According to Korolevskij, the Academy was a Greek-Catholic response to the challenge presented by the Orthodox theological faculties in Warsaw and Cernauți (Romania). Such a response was impossible at the latinised and polonised theological faculty at the University of L'viv. Korolevskij 54.

<sup>215</sup> *Hreko-Katolyts'ka Bohoslovs'ka Akademiia* 100.

church tradition. The desiderata set forth in the pseudonymous article of 1916 in *Nyva* cited above, <sup>216</sup> already embodied in the seminary's programme of courses in the early 1920s, were expanded upon. A lay church historian, Mykola Chubaty, taught a pro-seminar, a seminar in general church history, a two-semester course on the Metropolitanate of Kiev and the Ukrainian-Byelorussian Church, and a Ukrainian church history seminar for the upper three years. Ivan Krypiakevych, another prominent lay historian, taught general Ukrainian political history. The metropolitan himself taught Eastern and Western ascetics. Three courses and two seminars in Church Slavonic were taught along with Greek and Hebrew. Volodymyr Zalozets'kyi taught Byzantine and Ukrainian art history; another lay authority, Iaroslav Pasternak, lectured on archaeology. Courses on anthropology and the history of music were offered in addition to the more traditional subjects. <sup>217</sup>

Academy training was not purely theoretical, for each fourth and fifth-year student had to prepare and deliver one sermon. A student who had mastered the required subjects could pursue other interests that could be useful in his priestly work, and in general the academy sought to introduce all seminarians to areas of knowledge beyond the basic curriculum. <sup>218</sup>

An academy required an ample library. Although a Soviet source presumably having access to seminary records claims that the library had only about 1,000 books, <sup>219</sup> an émigré work states that there were over 12,000. <sup>220</sup> Students were expected to procure their own textbooks, though they could not obtain other types of books or subscribe to periodicals without the rector's permission. <sup>221</sup>

Extra-curricular activities were a prominent feature of seminary life both before and after the L'viv seminary reform and subsequent expansion, and at Peremyshl' as well. The seminary rules at L'viv allowed free time after dinner until two o'clock, between 4:00 and 4:45, and then from supper until 8:30. Seminarians

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<sup>216</sup> o. S.M. z B. 165.

<sup>217</sup> Prohrama vykladiv hr-kat. bohoslovs'koi akademii na akademichnyi rik 1935/36. L'viv, 1935.

<sup>218</sup> Senytsia 465, 466.

<sup>219</sup> Dobrychev 146 (citing materials in the Central State Historical Archive in L'viv).

<sup>220</sup> Senytsia 501.

<sup>221</sup> Senytsia 465.

could walk in the garden, converse, play chess, volley-ball or bowls, or read. <sup>222</sup> One seminarian of the 1930s spent his free time learning wood-carving and inlay work. <sup>223</sup> There was organised group activity as well. A musical club had a chorus and orchestra, and staged comic reviews satirising prefects, faculty and even the rector. <sup>224</sup> Probably the oldest group at L'viv was the Brotherhood of the Presentation of the Virgin, founded by the Rev. Isydor Dol'nyts'kyi in 1885 and still active in the 1930s, which enjoyed special indulgences as well as its own chapel. <sup>225</sup> A Marian Sodality was organised in 1913 as a section of this brotherhood. <sup>226</sup> The "Reading-room" Society, founded in 1849, possessed a library of 1,132 volumes in 1898, the largest category of which was Ruthenian and Russian belles-lettres. <sup>227</sup> After a period of apathy, the "Reading-room of Ruthenian-Ukrainian Seminarians" was revived in 1902. About the same time, Russophile students formed a "Circle of Russian Students of the Faculty of Theology," which organised an evening programme in honour of Pushkin but was soon closed down by the administration for its overtly pro-Russian views. A quarterly journal called *Katolytskyi Vskhid* ("The Catholic East") was founded. The Slavic Circle, which had foundered in the pre-reform years, was revived and became particularly active in 1905. Its members corresponded with seminarians in Transcarpathia, Bukovyna, and Russian Ukraine, and even hosted a delegation of Transcarpathian Ruthenians. Among their aims was to raise the national consciousness of these groups. The Slavic Circle also maintained contacts with Czech and Slovenian seminarians. <sup>228</sup>

In order to increase their contacts with the popular masses, the L'viv seminarians organised an "Enlightenment Committee" in 1908, which sent its members to give talks at reading-rooms in the area. This committee became the "Enlightenment Circle," and around 1908-1909, with the decline of the Slavic Circle and the journal *Katolytskvi Vskhid*, it became a focus of extra-curricular activity. In their expeditions to the countryside the seminarians came up

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<sup>222</sup> Senytsia 496.  
<sup>223</sup> Pelekh 106.  
<sup>224</sup> Senytsia 497.  
<sup>225</sup> Marusyn 40.  
<sup>226</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 291.  
<sup>227</sup> Levytskyi 8, 15-16.  
<sup>228</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 275, 277-279.

against the anti-clerical efforts of secular enlighteners, but also gained the approval of the Prosvita ("Enlightenment") organisation and at least some of the press. <sup>229</sup> They set up reading-rooms and agricultural societies -- good preparation for their future social activism as parish priests. They also worked with neglected children, and prided themselves on preserving them from Polish influences. <sup>230</sup>

Although a Theological Circle was still functioning in 1913, other groups, like the temperance and literary societies, languished in the first decade and a half after the seminary reform. <sup>231</sup> The Theological Circle was re-organised as the "Theological Scholarly Society of Ukrainian Seminarians in L'viv," and published an almanac in 1914. <sup>232</sup> Around this time the temperance and literary circles were revived, and a sports club was begun. After student participation in the Vienna Eucharistic Congress in September 1912, there was a rebirth of spiritual life, and the Markiiian Shashkevych memorial reading room was founded. Its members arranged subscriptions to German and Polish theological journals and gave charity benefit concerts. <sup>233</sup>

The Brotherhood of the Presentation, the Enlightenment Reading-room and a number of cooperative, temperance, and other circles within the seminary gave the students a taste of the Ukrainian organisational life in which they would be expected to participate as priests. <sup>234</sup> In one form or another, these groups continued at L'viv after the first world war. In addition, the seminary chorus became well known throughout Galicia, and in the 1930s it toured the province. Its audiences occasionally included noted composers such as Liudkevych and Barvins'kyi. <sup>235</sup> Organising the seminary orchestra was more difficult, however; instruments which had been used by the Sich Sharpshooters in the war had to be borrowed from the Lysenko Musical Institute. <sup>236</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 282-284.

<sup>230</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 292.

<sup>231</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 285, 287.

<sup>232</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 290. Reference is to the almanac in which Ostashevs'kyi's article appears: see note 167.

<sup>233</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 288-289.

<sup>234</sup> Senytsia 501.

<sup>235</sup> Senytsia 523; Voiakovs'kyi 304.

<sup>236</sup> Pelekh 92.

Jubilees were an important feature of Ruthenian and Ukrainian culture, and the L'viv seminarians organised or participated in a number of celebrations of events deemed significant by Church and society. Among these were the centennial of the birth of the Rev. Markiiian Shashkevych, a writer, member of the "Ruthenian Triad" and popular enlightener, in 1911; the 1600th anniversary of the Edict of Milan and the 300th of the death of Metropolitan Ipatii Potii, an initiator of the Union of Brest, in 1913; and, in 1937, the 300th anniversary of the death of Metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Ruts'kyi, an advocate of Uniate-Orthodox union, and the centenary of the publication of *Rusalka Dnistrova*, a collection of Ruthenian folklore among the publishers of which was the Rev. Shashkevych.<sup>237</sup>

At the Peremyshl' seminary, extra-curricular activity was less developed. The absence of any organisations at that seminary until the appearance of the "Scholarly Circle" in 1922 may be explained by the fact that this had not been a full four-year seminary until the preceding year, and that fourth-year students generally had the least amount of free time; furthermore, as long as there was only a fourth-year class there, the next class to arrive each year would have lost touch with its predecessor due to their physical separation, virtually foreclosing continuity in the work of any student organisations.<sup>238</sup>

The members of the "Scholarly Circle" pursued theology, contemporary literature, and the propagation of the Ukrainian language. In the year of its founding, the Circle had a library of 25 books, and presented seven lectures, mostly on practical subjects. In the following year, about 100 books were acquired. Subscriptions were opened to several secular and theological journals. Work began on an almanac, which was published on the 300th anniversary of the death of St. Josaphat Kuntsevych (considered the chief Ruthenian Uniate martyr), in 1923. In 1923-1924 the Scholarly Circle organised lectures on such diverse subjects as medicine, icons, and charitable work in the villages. Later lectures concerned topics ranging from autocephaly to bee-keeping. About this time a museum was also set up, on the initiative of the rector, the future bishop Rev. Hryhorii

<sup>237</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 288, 292; Senytsia 522-523.

<sup>238</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 9450, "Istoriia 'Nauchnoho Tovarystva' ukrains'kykh bohosloviv v Peremyshli" [manuscript in folder labelled "Meteor"], 5.



Lakota. In the latter half of the 1920s, however, the society declined, because of the lack of seminarians in the wake of the introduction of compulsory priestly celibacy in 1925 (see below, and Chapter Four, Section 1). In 1927-1928 the society gave no lectures, but spent 29 zloty on books, and donated 10 zloty to the Prosvita society and five zloty for political prisoners. After this, there began a period of renewal of the Scholarly Circle. <sup>239</sup> The group was still active in 1937. <sup>240</sup> A cooperative of theology students seems to have existed at Peremyshl' too, and in 1937 the seminarians published another almanac. <sup>241</sup>

The academic level at Peremyshl' is described by several of its graduates who attended in the 1930s as good or satisfactory. <sup>242</sup> One graduate complains, however, that church history was taught separately from the history of the people, and that altogether there was too little patriotic education, with a lack of jubilee celebrations and special lectures. He also criticises the absence of foreign languages in the curriculum, and the superficial treatment of canon law. Finally, he feels that there was too little practical education -- though another graduate says the opposite. <sup>243</sup> Another finds the level high, and recalls that the programme was demanding. <sup>244</sup>

Two Peremyshl' graduates of the 1930s recall that discipline was harsh; one of them characterises this as a Latin-style innovation. He states that seminary life was based on the monastic system, with seminarians sleeping in ten- to twelve-bed dormitories in the first two years and rising at 5:30. Holidays were limited to two months in the summer. Generally, discipline as described by this individual resembles that prevailing in L'viv. <sup>245</sup> The other graduate recalls that the seminary administration showed a lack of trust in the students, relying instead on harsh methods and constant surveillance. There was a lack of recreational activities. He also observes that during the summer holidays, the seminarians were given too little to do by their parish priests, their duties usually being

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<sup>239</sup> Id. 5-9.

<sup>240</sup> Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohosloviv. Peremyshl', 1937.

<sup>241</sup> Id.

<sup>242</sup> Survey questionnaires Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; Interview No. 1B.

<sup>243</sup> Interview No. 2;

<sup>244</sup> Interview No. 1B.

<sup>245</sup> Interview No. 3.

limited to serving at the liturgy; Polish priests, by contrast, were more demanding in this respect.<sup>246</sup>

There is little information available about the Stanyslaviv seminary. Hostile accounts focus on the controversy surrounding the introduction of compulsory priestly celibacy in that eparchy in 1920, and even a most sympathetic biography of Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv, whose long tenure (1904-1945) saw the establishment of his diocesan seminary in 1907, limits the discussion of priestly education almost entirely to the celibacy issue.<sup>247</sup> (This issue will be discussed below and in Chapters Four and Seven.) Several memoirs, however, provide a fragmentary picture of life in the Stanyslaviv seminary.<sup>248</sup>

Like their predecessors, the over 30 students accepted in the first year in 1906 were sent to the L'viv seminary from the Stanyslaviv eparchy to take courses at the University, but after the Christmas holidays became the first entering class at the new Stanyslaviv seminary. Their rector was a Basilian monk, Rev. Ieremiia Lomnyts'kyi.<sup>249</sup> By 1922-1924, the number of seminarians at Stanyslaviv was 140.<sup>250</sup>

As in the L'viv seminary, young men entered the seminary at Stanyslaviv for a number of reasons besides some sense of vocation. The Rev. Petro Mel'nychuk, ordained in 1928, began his university studies at the secret Ukrainian university in L'viv in 1922. Given the uncertain conditions of the times he and a few friends decided to study theology at Stanyslaviv, since admission to the other Greek-Catholic seminaries was closed. Although Bishop Khomyshyn seemed displeased that the youths were applying to his seminary in the middle of the academic year and only as a last resort, he accepted them.<sup>251</sup>

In the first years after World War I, material conditions were about as difficult in Stanyslaviv as at L'viv and Peremyshl'. Mel'nychuk mentions that many of the students were war veterans who were poor and lacked appropriate clothing. Students received no

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<sup>246</sup> Interview No. 2.

<sup>247</sup> Mel'nychuk 246-252.

<sup>248</sup> These memoirs are in Mel'nychuk 283-363.

<sup>249</sup> Mel'nychuk 338 (memoir by Rev. Iosyf Malyts'kyi).

<sup>250</sup> Mel'nychuk 356 (memoir by Rev. Petro Mel'nychuk).

<sup>251</sup> Mel'nychuk 353-354 (memoir by Rev. Petro Mel'nychuk).

money from the state. The seminary food was insufficient, the rooms were cold, and there was a lack of fuel.<sup>252</sup> In addition, seminary life was intentionally hard. A seminarian of 1923-1925 who left over the celibacy issue recalls that the rigorous discipline helped to build spiritual life. Upon being awakened by the bell in the morning, seminarians had to maintain silence in the halls on their way to the chapel, where they would spend an hour on their knees in meditation on the subjects presented to them by the spiritual father on the previous evening. Next came a liturgy, and it was only after another ten minutes of thanksgiving in the chapel that the students could proceed to the refectory for a rather modest breakfast and the day's first opportunity to converse. After lectures and dinner there was time for chess, billiards, discussions, jokes and anecdotes, followed by a one-hour walk beyond the town limits. There followed more lectures, study time, supper, and the presentation of topics for the next morning's meditation.<sup>253</sup>

Under the rectorship of the Rev. Lomnyts'kyi, Bishop Khomyshyn, who as rector at L'viv in 1902-1904 was familiar with Sheptyts'kyi's reform, assembled a distinguished faculty including the Basilian Tyt Halushchyns'kyi, the Basilian and future bishop of Peremyshl' Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi, the future bishops Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi and Nykolai Charnets'kyi, and the Rev. Iakiv Medvets'kyi, future Apostolic Administrator for the Lemko region. Bishop Khomyshyn paid close attention to the seminary and students, all of whom he knew personally, and frequently attended their leisure activities to converse with them.<sup>254</sup> Considered by the Rev. Mel'nychuk to have been both demanding and dedicated, Bishop Khomyshyn lectured at the seminary every evening.<sup>255</sup>

The process of seminary reform that began with the Ruthenian Provincial Synod of 1891 and continued with Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's 1901 pastoral letter, the Rules of the L'viv seminary and the its expansion in the 1920s to the status of academy, also affected the Peremyshl' and Stanyslaviv seminaries. Bishop Khomyshyn, who had carried through the reform as rector at L'viv,

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<sup>252</sup> Mel'nychuk 355-356 (memoir by Rev. Petro Mel'nychuk).

<sup>253</sup> Mel'nychuk 321-322 (memoir by Evhen Ren).

<sup>254</sup> Mel'nychuk 298-299 (memoir by Rev. Iosafat Omelian Ananevych, OFM), 354 (memoir by Rev. Petro Mel'nychuk).

<sup>255</sup> Mel'nychuk 354 (memoir by Rev. Petro Mel'nychuk).

closely supervised his diocesan seminary at Stanyslaviv. Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi, who oversaw the expansion of his seminary at Peremyshl', was a Basilian who had taught at Stanyslaviv. The general tenor of seminary life appears to have been the same at L'viv, Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl', except that with its elevation to the status of academy, the L'viv seminary afforded much greater educational opportunities.

The reform was aimed at improving the status of the Greek-Catholic clergy, in the sense of both their real abilities and their image in Ruthenian-Ukrainian society. Discipline, asceticism and spiritual guidance would produce better priests. A broader intellectual outlook would produce clergymen that could compete successfully with the secular and often anti-clerical intelligentsia for influence among the masses. Extra-curricular activity would prepare seminarians for the secular organisational life in which they would participate as pastors, and thus help to break down the barrier between clergy and laity. Outside interests, and a better familiarity with the niceties of social life (including conduct and manners) would help the priests establish stronger ties with the growing Ukrainian middle class as well as the peasants. A spirit of self-sacrifice would prepare candidate priests for the challenge of promoting the Union in the East. The decline of Russophilism (see Chapter Six) and the entry of peasants' sons into the seminary probably facilitated these reforms.

Such a transformation of seminary, seminarians and ultimately of clergy would have to be an inner transformation for the individuals involved. Such an inner metamorphosis inevitably would be reflected in what Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi called the "spirit of the institution" (dukh zakladu). This in turn would work to transform a gymnasium student into a priest -- indeed, Sheptyts'kyi felt that the spirit of the institution could do more in this regard than all the prefects.<sup>256</sup> This spirit could be described as the sum of "the desires, goals, abilities, general opinion, general feeling about learning and piety, the average degree of conscientiousness in fulfilling obligations, the average level of studiousness." The spirit of a good seminary was "generally correct views on the work and obligations of a priest, on the tasks of the Church, a general eagerness among the

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<sup>256</sup> Szeptycki, List pasterski 15.

seminarians to undertake this work, and a strong desire to work to gain whatever was necessary to do this work." <sup>257</sup>

It is impossible to discover or recreate the spirit that informed the L'viv, Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl' seminaries between the 1890s and the 1930s. The facts adduced above provide only a hint of what that spirit might have been like. Some idea may be gained, however, in examining the attitudes of the seminarians themselves. The sources provide a rather skewed picture of these attitudes, since they mostly concern politics and the issue of priestly celibacy -- an issue that involved spirituality and discipline as well as social and political considerations. However, it was the seminarians' attitudes on precisely these topics that determined in great part the consciousness of the Greek-Catholic clergy between 1900 and 1939.

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<sup>257</sup> Senytsia 498.

## CHAPTER TWO: STUDENT ATTITUDES

### 1. Politics and Society

Even before the reform of the L'viv seminary, some of its students at least were concerned with the social problems confronting the Greek-Catholic clergy. Around 1897 the announcement of a new secular publication, the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*, to be edited by a board including Ivan Franko, prompted a group of clerics from Oles'ko to publish a response in the publication *Dushpastyr*. Franko, after all, was known for his anti-clerical views. The Oles'ko clerics called on all priests belonging to the Shevchenko Scholarly Society to prevent anti-religious articles from being printed in the *Vistnyk*, or else to leave the Society. The Reading-room Society at the L'viv seminary agreed with the Oles'ko clerics, and sent a letter to that effect to the Society.<sup>258</sup>

Whatever the outcome of this incident may have been, it illustrates the L'viv seminarians' concern with meeting the challenge posed by the lay intelligentsia. Their relationship with the secular world, however, was not adverse in all respects. On the issue of the creation of a "Ukrainian-Ruthenian" university, for example, the seminarians saw eye to eye with their lay colleagues at the University. In the academic year 1899-1900, which seminarian Iaroslav Levyts'kyi considered "a significant year for the entire Ukrainian youth," a public meeting on the university question was held, *Moloda Ukraina* was published, and the secular student hromada became "the heart of all young Ukrainians." "The influence of the first yiche [public meeting] and of the work of their secular friends could not but affect the young theology students too," recalled Levyts'kyi a year later. There was intense activity as the seminarians worked to improve themselves and each other. At the Reading-room Circle there were discussions:

The somnolence of the Ruthenian clergy was criticised -- its indifference to the newest trends hostile to the faith, its horror at the scholarly printed book, etc. The ideal, the goal of these Circle members was for the time being the hard-working candidate, proper in every respect,

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<sup>258</sup> Levytskyi, Iaroslav. L'vivska dukhovna semynaryia v litakh 1897-1901. L'viv, 1901, 12-13. Levytskyi, Iaroslav. L'vivska dukhovna semynaryia v litakh 1897-1901. L'viv, 1901, 12-13.

and in the future an even better Catholic priest and populist.<sup>259</sup>

Not all these attitudes were shared by the rest of the seminarians. The Russophiles had different concerns. Nor did all of Galician society share the combination of Ukrainophile and Catholic views held by Levyts'kyi and his colleagues. When official Russian celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the 1875 conversion of the Uniates in the Kholm (Chełm) region to Orthodoxy sparked a protest by the seminarians, the response in Ruthenian society was mixed." Altogether few understood the action of the young theology students (some did not even understand individual words and signs), and almost nobody solidarised with it."<sup>260</sup>

In his 1913 memoir, the Rev. Osyp Ostashevs'kyi relates the withdrawal of roughly 60 Russophile students from the Reading-room around 1902. The Russophiles formed their own group, profiting from the fact that the Ukrainophiles, objecting to the rector's impartial stance, had alienated his favour. However, the Russophiles soon annoyed the rector with their sympathies for Tsar and Orthodoxy. During this time, "co-existence between the two camps of seminarians was almost impossible."<sup>261</sup> After a Russophile priest influenced a well-known specialist in moral theology to denounce clerical celebrations of the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko, the Reading-room had to reduce its activities. Ostashevs'kyi and his colleagues were concerned about the spread of Orthodoxy in Galicia through the work of Galician Russophiles and through the sending of Galician children to "a school of janissaries in autocratic Russia;" what annoyed them even more about the latter was that it was Greek-Catholic priests who were responsible. All this led to a major showdown between Ukrainians and Russophiles in the seminary in 1912.<sup>262</sup>

Ostashevs'kyi complains also about the apathy still common among his fellows. Although a few activists revived the theological club in 1913, "in reality not many showed up at the lectures, probably

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<sup>259</sup> Levytskyi 55-56. The Rev. Osyp Ostashevs'kyi remarks in 1913 that the importance of the "ascetic world view" and of its dissemination is still too little understood or valued by the Greek-Catholic clergy. Ostashevs'kyi, Osyp. "Z istoriyi dukhovnoho zhytia l'vivs'kykh bohosloviv v litakh 1900-1913," in Stel'makh, Antin, ed. *Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohosloviv*. L'viv, 1914, 291.

<sup>260</sup> Levytskyi 56-57.

<sup>261</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 275.

<sup>262</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 287-288.

because by and large, the feeling for serious scholarly work still was not very great among them."<sup>263</sup>

Yet neither their colleagues' apathy nor Russophile hostility could stem the growing political awareness of a number of the L'viv seminarians, which may have had its roots in secondary school (as in the case of Myroslav Ripets'kyi) and in any case was nourished by contact with secular Ruthenians at the University (as related by Iaroslav Levyts'kyi). To a degree this political awareness, and later engagement, was a natural outgrowth of the dedication to their people advocated by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, who in his pastoral letter of 1 September 1901 had directed the seminarians to come to know their people and to care for their good, to love them and to prepare thoroughly to work among them.<sup>264</sup>

That same autumn the new dean of the faculty of theology at the University, the Rev. Dr. Fialek, criticised the Ruthenian seminarians for signing up for lectures in their own language, and directed them to use only the Polish language in all oral or written communications with the University authorities. This naturally offended the seminarians, for as Osyp Ostashevs'kyi put it, "they understood that their task was not only to be good seminarians but also good defenders and fighters for the rights of their people." Meeting on 20 November 1901, they resolved to ignore the dean's demand; whoever should not heed their resolution would be shunned by his comrades "as a traitor to the popular cause." After a delegation to Dr. Fialek brought no results, they sent a memorandum to the Ministry of Education and telegraphed the Ukrainian parliamentary deputies in Vienna.<sup>265</sup> In the meantime, the secular studentry had been provoked by the dean of the faculty of philosophy, who had forbidden the historian Professor Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi to address faculty meetings in Ukrainian.<sup>266</sup> They called a meeting for noon on the 19th of November. The time of day was chosen to accommodate the seminarians, but had not been approved by the authorities. Among the resolutions was a call for the creation of a

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<sup>263</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 290.

<sup>264</sup> Szeptycki, Andrzej. List Pastorski najprzewielebniejszego X. Andrzeja Szeptyckiego Metropolity Halickiego do przełożństwa i kleryków Seminarium duchownego we Lwowie. Żółkiew, 1902, 23.

<sup>265</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 272-273.

<sup>266</sup> Mudry, Vasyl', ed. Lyiv: A Symposium on its 700th Anniversary. New York, 1962, 9-12 (Introduction).



Ukrainian university in L'viv. During the ensuing march, the lay students escorted their seminary brethren home and gave them a parting ovation. All this elicited hostile articles in the press and anti-Ukrainian leaflets. A few days after the demonstration, an inquiry was held, as a result of which two students were expelled from the University. In protest, several hundred Ukrainian students left the University on 3 December 1901, not to return until July of the following year.<sup>267</sup>

Many of the "secessionists" -- by one account, half -- were Greek-Catholic seminarians.<sup>268</sup> On hearing of this, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi informed the University rectorate that he was closing the seminary on the next day. He provided financial support for his students to continue their studies abroad.<sup>269</sup> Of these, 160 transferred to Vienna. Among them were Iosyf Botsiiian, a future bishop; Tyt Halushchyns'kyi, later a noted educator and Basilian protoarchimandrite; and Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi, who was to become suffragan bishop of Stanyslaviv.<sup>270</sup>

After the secession of 1901-1902, conflicts divided the L'viv seminarians from their lay colleagues. They decided at a general meeting not to participate in a rally of Ruthenian students from all over Austria to be held on 13-14 July 1903, to protest against the resolutions to be presented there, and to terminate relations with the lay students altogether. They felt that the students had ceased to take the seminarians' feelings into account and indeed had begun to ignore them. As was evident from their publications *Moloda Ukraina* and *Iskra*, they had taken a hostile stand with regard to the seminarians.<sup>271</sup> Apparently, anti-clericalism had again come to the fore.

Yet the issue of Ukrainian-language chairs at the University and related matters continued to provide common ground for lay and

<sup>267</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 273; Mudry 9-12; Sirka, Ann Slusarczyk. "Sheptyts'kyi in Education and Philanthropy," in Magocsi, Paul Robert, ed. Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Edmonton, 1989, 269-287.

<sup>268</sup> Sirka states that 400 students seceded, about half of whom were seminarians. Sirka, 274.

<sup>269</sup> Sokhots'kyi, Isydor. Shcho daly hreko-katolyts'ka Tserkva i dukhovenstvo ukrainskomu narodovi. Philadelphia, 1951, 54-55.

<sup>270</sup> Blazejovskyj, Dmytro. Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges, and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576-1983). Annals of the Order of St. Basil the Great, Series II, Sectio I. Rome, 1984, 237, 273-280.

<sup>271</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 276-277.

seminary students. On 7 March 1906 the seminarians held a rally, with the rector's approval, which sent a deputation to the academic senate regarding violation of their linguistic rights, and demanding a separate Ukrainian university. In December they demanded that the academic senate permit them to take their oath of matriculation in Ukrainian.<sup>272</sup>

The lessons that the seminarians derived from this political experience, as related by Ostashevs'kyi, were conditioned by their peculiar status in Galician society:

The illegality and coercion that we had long experienced, and the experience that the seminarians gained from common coexistence with the secular students during and after the secession, gave them an all too vivid proof of the fact that only by their own efforts and by the ceaseless labour of all those who were united by common principles, convictions and ideals, could they achieve something in good time, and for this reason the idea arose among them to organise our entire clergy and to set up an assistance fund in order to avert material need on behalf of young priests, and widows and orphans of priests.<sup>273</sup>

The distancing of the L'viv seminarians from the highly political secular studentry did not signify a retreat from politics. In April 1908 the seminarians could only have joined Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's condemnation of the assassination of Viceroy Potocki by a Ukrainian student. Yet in that same year, a group of Polish landowners wrote to the new Galician viceroy, the historian Michał Bobrzyński, complaining that Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's seminary graduates were becoming less and less Christian.<sup>274</sup> In 1910 there were bloody Polish-Ukrainian university disorders, particularly on 1 July. On 28 June, Sheptyts'kyi had made a speech in the House of Lords in favour of a Ukrainian university, thus lending his prestige to the cause. Nevertheless, in December, in the spirit of a papal

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<sup>272</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 280-281.

<sup>273</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 281-282.

<sup>274</sup> Zięba, Andrzej. "Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki." *Kwartalnik Historyczny* rocznik XCII, No. 4, Warszawa, 1986, 893 (citing Bobrzyński, Michał. *Z moich pamiętników*. Wrocław, 1957, 393).

decree, the Metropolitan Ordinariat forbade the reading of political periodicals in the seminary.<sup>275</sup>

The Ukrainian orientation of at least a substantial number of the L'viv seminarians implied an interest in political events beyond the confines of Galicia. Osyp Ostashevs'kyi relates that the seminarians sought "to awaken their brothers from the other side of the Carpathians, and together with them to stand beneath the blue-and-yellow banner of Ukraine." Events in Russian Ukraine interested them too. "Recently the chains of our people have been broken," writes Ostashevs'kyi in 1913; "recently the bright sun has risen upon the horizon of Ukraine and with its rays has pierced the fogs of servitude, and today we bear witness to the great strides that this people has made in such a brief time in the development of its life." On the eve of the world war that would see the establishment of a short-lived Ukrainian state, Ostashevs'kyi expresses the conviction that the Greek-Catholic clergy would have an important role to play in Ukrainian nation-building: "Today it is the desire of our people to come up to the level of healthy western European culture; to a great degree this task lies also upon the clergy; therefore a zeal for energetic work for the people and the Catholic Church must grow within us, and future generations will speak of its success."<sup>276</sup>

The political efforts of the Galician Ruthenians towards electoral reform and a Ukrainian university proved successful only in 1914, when there was too little time to profit from their victory. Their general impetus, of course, found expression in the establishment of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic in the autumn of 1918, and in the bitter Polish-Ukrainian war of the next several months. Seminary life was interrupted, with many former and future seminarians taking part in that struggle.<sup>277</sup>

With the establishment of the Polish state, the L'viv seminary came under official suspicion along with other Ukrainian institutions. Nykolai Voiakovs'kyi, a L'viv seminarian ordained in 1925, recounts that one evening in the early 1920s the seminary rector told him that the police planned to search the seminary for a

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<sup>275</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 286-287.

<sup>276</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 292-293

<sup>277</sup> See Lebedovych, Ivan. Polevi dukhovnyky Ukrain'skoi Halyts'koi Armii. Winnipeg, 1963, 213-221 (former seminarians), 221-228 (future seminarians), 229-235 (list).

cache of arms supposedly kept there by the conspiratorial Ukrainian Military Organisation, and asked him and a colleague to check the cellar. Voiakovs'kyi's search produced nothing save a dead cat, and the police never arrived.<sup>278</sup> In January 1924 the L'viv police chief wrote to the county governor, listing details concerning the political loyalty of fourteen professors at the Greek-Catholic seminary, such as their political activity, party affiliations, contacts with the underground Ukrainian university, and such.<sup>279</sup> In December 1930 the governor of Ternopil' county informed his counterpart in L'viv (with copies to the ministries of Cults and Internal Affairs) that at the L'viv seminary or St. George's Cathedral, a commission of Ukrainian scholars was assembling information about that year's pacification, to be published abroad.<sup>280</sup> A report to the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Education on Greek-Catholic clerical agitation in favour of Carpatho-Ukraine in 1938-1939 listed four former students of the Minor Seminary or Academy who had been arrested and sentenced for subversive activity between 1931 and 1938, noting that there were "many others." It also listed five current residents of the seminary who had been sentenced for activity in the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.<sup>281</sup> Undoubtedly the flood of applicants unable to obtain either a job or an education elsewhere in the 1930s imported elements into the L'viv seminary whose orientation was more political than metaphysical. In any case, the atmosphere was apparently so intense that according to a note of the religious section of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of 2 August 1938 concerning a seminary for the Lemko region, "It cannot be doubted that even a stay of a few days in Ukrainian nationalist centres, such as the Seminaries in L'viv and Peremyshl', can exert a markedly negative influence on immature seminarians, and this situation must be avoided."<sup>282</sup>

The excitement over Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomy affected the L'viv seminary in more ways than one. On the eve of 1 November

<sup>278</sup> Voiakovs'kyi, Nikolai. "Vidnovlennia dukhovnoi seminarii u L'vovi: 1920-1926," in *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, Series II, Sectio II, vol. VII (XIII), fasc. 1-4, Roma, 1971, 305-306.

<sup>279</sup> Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN), zespół Ministerstwa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego (MWR i OP), file 2006, pp. 278-279.

<sup>280</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 2006, p. 144.

<sup>281</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 2006, p. 243-244.

<sup>282</sup> AAN, Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych (MSW), file 1080, p. 6.

(the traditional day of celebration of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and the battle for L'viv) 1938, a mob attacked several Ukrainian institutions in the city, destroying the seminary's entrance gate, reception room and two adjoining rooms.<sup>283</sup>

The students' political convictions put the seminary administration in a delicate position. The Rev. Volodymyr Pelekh recounts that when, as a second-year seminarian, he was called for military registration around 1932 or 1933, he refused to speak with the officer in Polish, and was duly arrested. On the next day the rector, Rev. Iosyf Slipyj, had to come to liberate him and after some pertractations with the military authorities obtained an exemption based on physical disability for his perfectly healthy charge.<sup>284</sup>

The extent of nationalist convictions among the L'viv seminarians of the inter-war period is difficult to quantify, but it is relevant that the old acrimonious party divisions between Russophiles and Ukrainians were a thing of the past. Pelekh relates that in his time (1931-1936), "Common life among the students was pleasant and civilised..."<sup>285</sup>

In 1901 the L'viv seminarian Iaroslav Levyts'kyi wrote, "...we have hope in God that our seminary will some day be an example for other institutions."<sup>286</sup> Did the seminarians of Peremyshl' and Stanyslaviv follow their L'viv colleagues in the development of their attitudes?

Aside from the celibacy issue, which will be discussed below, there is no readily available information on prevailing attitudes in the Stanyslaviv seminary.<sup>287</sup> There is not much more regarding Peremyshl'.<sup>288</sup> An unsigned, undated manuscript, evidently intended for a student publication called *Meteor* and entitled "Deshcho pro nashu aktyvnist" ("A few words about our activity"),

<sup>283</sup> Pelekh, Volodymyr. "Mii sviatyi pratsedavets'," in Al'manakh ukrains'koho narodnoho sojuzu na rik 1989. Jersey City-New York, 1989, 112.

<sup>284</sup> Pelekh 93.

<sup>285</sup> Pelekh 92.

<sup>286</sup> Levytskyi 57.

<sup>287</sup> The archives of the Stanyslaviv seminary and eparchy are possibly in that city, now in the Ukrainian SSR and known since 1963 as Ivano-Frankivsk, or at the Central State Historical Archive in L'viv. Scattered memoirs may also exist among various emigre publications. For example, see Senytsia, Pavlo, ed. Svityl'nyk istyny. Part I. Pratsi Hreko-katolyts'koi Bohoslovs'koi Akademii, tom XXXIV. Toronto-Chicago, 1973, 788-789.

<sup>288</sup> A brief memoir on the Peremyshl' seminary is in Senytsia, 786-788.139 WAP-P, ABGK file 9450, "Deshcho pro nashu aktyvnist'." [manuscript infolder labelled "Meteor"].

provides one Peremyshl' seminarian's views on the role of future Greek-Catholic priests. Apparently dating from the early or mid-1930s, this essay paints a picture of a world full of strife, in which the Church finds itself embattled. In such a situation, writes the author, priests cannot remain passive. Like Osyp Ostashevs'kyi in his 1913 essay, this seminarlan calls on his fellows to accelerate their activity so that they may catch up with the peoples of western Europe. Specifically, they must "restructure society" and so direct public opinion as to make Christian tenets prevail in all public and private institutions. In this they must enlist the aid of the laity -- in accord with the principles of the "Catholic Action" movement -- since the activity of priests is often perceived as a mere defence of their professional interests. The author next analyses the mass-psychological reasons for the success of anti-Christian ideologies, which appeal to human weaknesses and passions. In order to promote the more demanding principles of Christianity, the clergy must expose the terrible effects of false principles. Only a priesthood trained for this spiritual battle will be able to accomplish this:

The cause of Christ requires true soldiers who would go forth in life without looking back. Therefore, may our motto for now be to educate ourselves to be such soldiers of Christ, so that some day we might join battle with Christ's enemies.<sup>289</sup>

This essay reflects Roman Catholic movements of the time, such as Catholic Action. It also appears to reflect the position of those Greek-Catholic priests who were attracted by the heroic ideal but held back from involvement in nationalist politics, which by that time had become coloured by an ideology that some considered inconsistent with Christianity, let alone Catholicism (see Chapter Eight, Section 2).

However, as the above-quoted note of the Ministry of Internal Affairs would indicate, the Peremyshl' seminary was not lacking in Ukrainian nationalist activity. At the same time, the Polish authorities exerted considerable pressure on the Church as a whole to behave loyally. In June 1939 the rector of the Peremyshl' seminary, the Rev. Ivan Kuzych, was fined 50 zloty for refusing to hang the

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<sup>289</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 9450, "Deshcho pro nashu aktyvnist'." [manuscript infolder labelled "Meteor"].

Polish flag over the seminary building on the Third of May. In a letter to the town authorities, he disavowed any lack of respect for the state, pointing out that the regulation in question had not been enforced in previous years.<sup>290</sup>

There was barely enough time between the creation of the Lemko Apostolic Administration in 1934 and the close of the period under study for the separate education of priests intended for that jurisdiction. However, documents concerning the Lemko seminarians at Cracow, Tarnów and Dubno reveal the conflicts that occasionally arose between the attitudes of the students and the requirements of both seminary administration and government authorities.

The government recognised that future priests for the Lemko Apostolic Administration could not properly be educated in Latin-rite seminaries such as those at Cracow and Tarnow, where they could not study the Eastern rite. There was a need for a special seminary for the Lemko region, preferably in Sanok. As noted above, the Ministry for Internal Affairs would not tolerate sending these Lemko candidates to the L'viv or Peremyshl' seminaries, which were hotbeds of Ukrainian nationalism.<sup>291</sup> In August of 1938 an official of the Cracow governor's office persuaded the Apostolic Administrator, the Rev. Iakiv Medvets'kyi, to agree to send some students to Tarnów, where they would study in an environment conducive to education in a religious and state spirit, far from the Ukrainian influences which had already reached students as far away as Cracow.<sup>292</sup> In October, the Cracow governor sent details of the moral and political characteristics of the nine applicants for Tarnow to the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Education, with a copy to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Political department, nationalities section). Eight of the candidates, who were morally sound and had exhibited no strong political interests, were deemed acceptable, even though only one adhered to Old Ruthenian convictions, whilst two sympathised with the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union and one had an older brother suspected of OUN membership. The ninth, however, had been expelled from the Czystochowa Seminary in Cracow "as a decided Ukrainian chauvinist, burning with hatred for everything

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<sup>290</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 9305.

<sup>291</sup> AAN, MSW file 1080, pp. 5-6.

<sup>292</sup> AAN, MSW file 1080, pp. 11-13.

that is Polish and that is connected with the Roman Catholic rite." He desired to carry on destructive, anti-Polish work among the seminarians, and therefore must not be accepted. Thus eight candidates destined for the Lemko region would be accepted at Tarnów, in addition to three students accepted in the previous year and five presently at Cracow, for a total of sixteen.<sup>293</sup>

## 2. Celibacy

Throughout the period under study but particularly after 1918, Greek-Catholic seminarians were faced with an issue that had deep social, political and cultural as well as spiritual implications and became the subject of the greatest controversy both within and without the Greek-Catholic Church in the inter-war period. This was the question of mandatory priestly celibacy. It will be discussed in connection with the Western church cultural orientation in Chapter Eight; inasmuch as it primarily concerned the seminarians, however, its beginnings will be traced here.

On Annunciation Day 1910, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn gave a sermon following liturgy in the Stanyslaviv seminary chapel in which he stressed the need for celibate priests in the Greek-Catholic Church. After this there was a call for volunteers, and at the end of the year three seminarians agreed to be ordained celibate.<sup>294</sup> In 1918, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi reserved half the places in his seminary for candidates intending to be ordained as celibates. In 1920 the bishops of all three Greek-Catholic eparchies in Galicia decided in favour of a celibate clergy. The Stanyslaviv eparchy was immediately affected, and by 1924 married candidates in L'viv and Peremyshl' were experiencing difficulties in obtaining ordination. The lay intelligentsia mostly opposed priestly celibacy, seeing it as a means of latinisation, polonisation, and destruction of the social and biological sources of the intelligentsia itself. When in 1925 the first and second year students of the Peremyshl' eparchy were told that they would not be ordained married, there was a massive secession. Similar events had taken place in Stanyslaviv. In the L'viv archeparchy, however, celibacy was never required of all candidate priests.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> AAN, MSW file 1080, pp. 30-32.

<sup>294</sup> Mel'nychuk 299 (memoir by Rev. Iosafat Omelian Ananevych).

<sup>295</sup> Śliwa, Tadeusz. "Kościoł grecko-katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939," in Zieliński & Wilk, eds., *Kościoł w II Rzeczypospolitej*. Lublin, 1980, 156-157.



According to an anonymous brochure published in 1929, the Ruthenian Provincial Synod of 1891 had rejected a surprise resolution advocating compulsory celibacy and had instead approved a counter-resolution praising priestly celibacy but leaving the choice up to each individual seminarian. However, the version of the Synod's decisions approved by the Holy See in 1895 and published in 1896 was somewhat altered in favour of celibacy, supposedly as a result of Cardinal Ledó chowski's pressure upon Metropolitan Sylvester Sembratovych.<sup>296</sup> Be that as it may, in his pastoral letter of 31 August 1918 concerning the reservation of places over the next 12 years for seminarians committed to ordination as celibates, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi declared that he needed celibate priests, primarily to evangelise Orthodox Ukraine, and recommended that prefects and catechists should preach the evangelical counsel of lifelong purity. He also made it clear that celibacy must not be coerced.<sup>297</sup> It was Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's intention, as he reportedly explained to a lay delegation on 9 September 1918, that there should be in effect two seminaries, one for celibates and one for future married priests. He assured the delegation that he intended to educate only a part of the candidates as celibates, and that he disfavoured compulsion in this matter.<sup>298</sup>

At the L'viv conference attended by Archbishop-Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, Bishop Khomyshyn and Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi in the autumn of 1920, however, a decision reportedly was made to impose celibacy on all candidate priests. This decision was kept secret until 1922, when the Rev. Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi, future auxiliary bishop of Stanyslaviv, revealed it in a newspaper article.<sup>299</sup> By then, Bishop Khomyshyn had already re-opened his seminary (in 1920) declaring that he would only ordain celibates, and in May 1921 had expelled five

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One L'viv Academy graduate of the class of 1938 recalls, however, that a certain discrimination was practised against students intending to marry.

<sup>296</sup> V oboroni pray nashoi Hreko-katol. tserkvy. L'viv, 1929, 55-57. According to the anonymous author, the Holy See's decision in 1927 to take evidence from the surviving participants in the L'viv Synod of 1891 was entrusted to the nuncio in Warsaw and never carried out. Id. p. 58. On 25 December 1925, the surviving participants of the L'viv Synod had sent a memorandum to Pope Pius XI. "Sanctissimo ac beatissimo Patri Pio Papae XI Pontifici Romano Romae" [copy in chancery files of the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Lviv, Temporary See in Rome].

<sup>297</sup> V oboroni pray Appendix p. 17.

<sup>298</sup> V oboroni pray Appendix p. 19.

<sup>299</sup> V oboroni pray Appendix p. 34.

fourth-year seminarians who had wished to delay ordination to make up their minds about celibacy. In December 1921 five seminarians had agreed to be ordained sub-deacons in the celibate state on two days' notice, but four who hesitated had been removed.<sup>300</sup>

Evhen Ren, a former seminarian at Stanyslaviv who left in 1925 over the celibacy issue, recalled over fifty years later that he and his colleagues had found Bishop Khomyshyn's arguments for celibacy insubstantial, unrealistic and rather severe, all the more so because they all looked forward to marriage and family life.<sup>301</sup> However, the Rev. Petro Mel'nychuk recounts that it was outside influences that prompted some of the seminarians to declare a strike against compulsory celibacy. Only several deacons (who were no longer eligible to marry) remained in the seminary, along with a few lower-class students who were promptly dubbed traitors. Mel'nychuk explains the limited duration of the secession by the fact that many of the seminarians were eligible for military service once they left the seminary, and could only avoid conscription by returning -- although he adds that many became confirmed in their vocations at that time. He himself was recruited into the army, but on the day before he was to take the military oath he received a friendly note from Bishop Khomyshyn inviting him to return to the seminary. After the strike, the moral atmosphere as well as material conditions improved.<sup>302</sup>

Evhen Ren corroborates the thesis that the anti-celibacy movement among the seminarians was inspired from outside. He adds that the organisers of the Stanyslaviv secession approached the Rev. Havryil Kostel'nyk, a professor at the L'viv seminary and a leader of the "Byzantinists," for a show of solidarity by the seminarians there, but were refused on the ground that celibacy was not being enforced in L'viv. "Nearly all" left the Stanyslaviv seminary, according to Ren, but soon Bishop Khomyshyn's arguments began to take their effect, and for many (though not for Ren) they prevailed over the anti-celibacy propaganda then prevalent in Ukrainian Galician society. The Bishop continued lectures regardless of the number of students attending, and gradually the halls were filled again. For some the choice was not easy: one student

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<sup>300</sup> V oboroni prav Appendix p. 34-35.

<sup>301</sup> Mel'nychuk 323-324 (memoir by Evhen Ren).

<sup>302</sup> Mel'nychuk 356-357 (memoir by Rev. Petro Mel'nychuk).

left and returned to the seminary three times, but ultimately was ordained.<sup>303</sup>

In the Peremyshl' eparchy, the mostly lay campaign against the introduction of compulsory priestly celibacy in 1925 was the brunt of a general attack on the person of Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi. In a 28-point complaint signed on 14 December 1926 by 40 laymen and sent to Pope Pius XI and the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches, the Bishop was accused of ignoring the normal selection process for seminarians and entrusting the task to one of the youngest canons -- a celibate -- who allegedly chose candidates solely according to their willingness to be ordained celibate. As a result, the first- and second-year students constituted "a motley crew of all kinds of beggars and helpless youths. The complaint continues:

Today, only those volunteer for the clerical state who do not have the material means to enroll at the university, and wishing to be accepted at the theological seminary, swear to celibacy and in their youthful lack of judgment they violate their consciences, while the Bishop prides himself, for after all the candidate volunteered to be celibate. Such celibates are an object of jest and ridicule among the mass of the faithful, current while among the current seminarians hypocrisy and cynicism have become widespread to an alarming extent.<sup>304</sup>

The anonymous author of a 1927 brochure reprinted in 1929 asserts that the imposition of celibacy in Peremyshl' and Stanyslaviv has lowered the level of the seminarians in those institutions:

...While in the L'viv archeparchy a Theological Academy is founded, studies are increased to a five-year programme, and the best scholarly forces are chosen [to teach], in Peremyshl' the level of knowledge is being systematically lowered. Young prefects lacking scholarly preparation and experience, whose only qualification is their celibacy, are being called to lecture. And in no time a twin clergy will begin to appear in Galicia: in L'viv, one with a higher education, as it should be -- in Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl', one with [only] a school-boy's "bluffing". . .<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Mel'nychuk 324-325 (memoir by Evhen Ren).

<sup>304</sup> V oboroni prav 18-19.

<sup>305</sup> V oboroni prav 47.

He goes on to point out that Emperor Joseph II gave the L'viv seminary not to the bishops but to the Ukrainian people, for its cultural elevation. The imposition of celibacy in the seminaries is depriving the people of the kind of priests they have a right to demand:

... And today, what will Ukraine get out of some of the eparchial seminaries created at the expense of Joseph's L'viv seminary and perverted by celibacy? Will the people get Shashkevyches, Ustianovyches, Mohyl'nyts'kyis, Kachalas, Taniachkevyches, Nehrebets'kyis, etc. from them? Oo the bishops have unlimited rights to these seminaries? Formally they have rights. Morally they do not. And the matter of the designation of the seminaries and the education of spiritual leaders shall remain forever a matter that is not strictly ecclesiastical, but a common ecclesiastical-popular matter. For these young forces are being prepared not for Africa, but rather for their own people. And after all it is the people that is building these seminaries and is supporting the seminarians and the clergy, with its taxes and with its bread, and it has a right to find out who they are, these leaders, and what they are bringing to it.<sup>306</sup>

It may well be that Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's reform of the seminary at the beginning of the century created high expectations among Ukrainian Galician lay society, subjecting the seminarians to greater public scrutiny. No longer dismissed as narrow-minded parasite, by the 1920s the seminarian was expected to become a national leader. The development of his attitudes over this period tells something of the degree to which the seminary prepared him to meet these expectations. In this development, the "spirit of the institution" as it evolved at L'viv, Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl' played no small role. This spirit developed in the direction of a general consensus on the questions of national identity (see Chapter Six) and the leading role of the priest in Ukrainian society (see Chapter Eight). On more specific issues such as compulsory celibacy and party politics, seminarians would remain divided after ordination (see Chapters Six and Seven).

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<sup>306</sup> V oboroni prav 60.

### 3. Discovering the West

Another dimension in the education of the Greek-Catholic clergy between the 1890s and the 1930s is represented by those who studied abroad. The secession from the L'viv seminary in 1901-1902 was the first instance of mass study abroad, but small numbers of Ruthenian seminarians were studying in central and western Europe well before this time.<sup>307</sup> For example, in 1879 the Peremyshl' eparchy had two students in Rome (presumably at the Greek College) and eleven at the Greek Catholic Central Seminary in Vienna (closed in 1893).<sup>308</sup> In 1897, nine students from the L'viv archeparchy were studying at the Greek College in Rome and three who were already ordained were at the St. Augustine Institute in Vienna (closed in 1918). In that same year, two students from the Stanyslaviv eparchy were in Rome, though a stipend for a third was available, while one (namely, the future Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn) was at the St. Augustine Institute.<sup>309</sup> Also in 1897, twelve students of the Greek College were transferred to the new Ruthenian seminary in another part of Rome. About 28 students from the three Galician eparchies studied there from 1897 through 1900. The seminary was run by Jesuits until 1904, when the Basilians took over. It was closed because of the war in 1915, re-opened in 1921, and moved in 1932 to a location near the Propaganda Fide university, where many of the students took courses. From then it was known as St. Josaphat's College. In the inter-war period, its Galician students found themselves in the company of Ruthenian or Ukrainian students from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Brazil, Canada, the United

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<sup>307</sup> See generally Blazejovskyj, Dmytro. Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges, and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576-1983). Annals of the Order of St. Basil the Great, Series II, Sectio I, Rome, 1984.

<sup>308</sup> Shematyzm vseho klyra katolyts'koho obriada hrechsko-russkoho eparkhii Peremys'koi, Sambirs'koi i Sianots'koi, Peremyshl', 1879, 190-191; Blazejovskyj 236-237. Between 1885 and 1893 there were ten places reserved at the Greek Catholic Central Seminary in Vienna for the L'viv archeparchy, nine for the Peremyshl' eparchy and six for the Stanyslaviv eparchy. Blazejovskyj 237.

<sup>309</sup> Schematismus universi venerabilis cleri archidioceseos metropolitanae ritus graeco-catholici leopoliensis pro anno domini 1897. Leopoli, 1897; Blazejovskyj 239-240. Between 1895 and 1900 inclusive, for example, there were six students at the St. Augustine Institute from the L'viv archeparchy, two from Stanyslaviv and two from Peremyshl'. Blazejovskyj 287.

States and elsewhere. There were seventeen students from the three Galician eparchies in 1932.<sup>310</sup>

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi encouraged his brighter students to study abroad, and provided scholarships. Some attended the Canisianum in Innsbruck, others studied at Fribourg, Graz, Liège, Louvain, Munich, Paris, Salzburg, Strasbourg, etc.<sup>311</sup> In 1932, for example, the L'viv archeparchy had five seminarians at St. Josaphat's College in Rome, two in Warsaw, and one each in Vienna, Innsbruck, and at the Biblicum in Rome.<sup>312</sup>

Seminary graduates were also encouraged to pursue further studies, particularly if they wished to teach at the seminaries. Many sought doctorates at Vienna.<sup>313</sup> Others continued their studies in Poland. Because the Polish authorities required catechists and secondary school teachers to have attended Polish universities, each year from 1934 the metropolitan would send two students who had completed the Academy course for further studies at the University of L'viv.<sup>314</sup>

Seminary education abroad, especially on the graduate level, produced an elite of scholars, seminary professors, and high church officials. It also acquainted students with western Catholic culture, and made the Greek-Catholic Church better known in the West. Study abroad left strong impressions on the participants in the secession of 1901-1902. Osyp Ostashevs'kyi wrote:

The seminarians' stay abroad, in great cultural centres, prepared among them a fertile ground to be sown with the idea of Christ. The secessionist seminarians' relations with seminarians of other nationalities and with lay people of sincere Catholic convictions, primarily

<sup>310</sup> Blazejovskyj 46, 129-130; Mudryi, Sofron. Narys istorii ukrains'koi paps'koi kolegii sv. Iosafata v Rymi. Rym, 1984, 20, 40. In 1936, the Rev. O. Ors'kyi of Peremyshl' wrote that the students at the Pontifical Ruthenian Seminary of St. Josaphat in Rome were erasing the differences among the "children of one mother -- Ukraine" that has been created by state borders. Iuvileinyi al'manakh ukrains'kykh katolyts'kykh bohoslaviv. Peremyshl', 1937, 12.

<sup>311</sup> Marusyn 51.

<sup>312</sup> Shematyzm hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva L'vivs'koi Arkhieparkhii 1932-1933. L'viv, 1932.

<sup>313</sup> Blazejovskyj 232, 240-241, 293-295 (list). The Rev. Ivan Hryniokh relates that Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was liberal in permitting him to pursue post-graduate studies in Innsbruck, Munich and Paris (including studies in philosophy and psychology) in the 1930s. Interview No. 4. Pelek 96.

<sup>314</sup> Pelek 96.

in Vienna, positively affected our seminarians' change of world view. They saw how our intelligentsia in general had accepted western civilisation, but only that civilisation that was far from the fundamentals of Christ's teaching; they were aware that such culture brings ruin and not good for our society. In such circumstances, the young theologians understood that above all, it must adopt Catholic religious ideas from the West and with them, to colour the national and social aspects of our people's life, and thus to react against the dark forces of growing faithlessness.<sup>315</sup>

The secessionists were, however, a special case. In 1916 a priest writing in *Nyva* criticised candidates returning from foreign studies. They may be pious and learned, he concedes, but they make poor pastors and teachers of the people. For in the West, they have become alienated from their Church and from their people's rites and customs -- indeed, from the people themselves. They have no regard for those things "that every sincere Ukrainian treasures." Although they may obtain high positions in the church hierarchy, they cannot influence the people because they have become estranged from them and from their culture.<sup>316</sup>

This last observation illustrates some of the dangers of overly rapid assimilation of foreign cultural values, and foreshadows the conflicts of the inter-war period. In these conflicts, parish priests sometimes found common cause with the laity in criticising the policies of their foreign-educated bishops. The parish clergy were nearly all trained in the three Galician seminaries, where they could benefit from the improvements in education while maintaining their ties with the village, keeping a balance between native cultural values and those borrowed from the West. Even those who then went on to study abroad were not likely to abandon that perspective.<sup>317</sup>

The improvements in primary, secondary and seminary education for Ruthenians and Ukrainians between the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the two decades between the world wars helped to train a clergy prepared to deal with the difficult choices and challenges that faced them between 1900 and 1939.

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<sup>315</sup> Ostashevs'kyi 274.

<sup>316</sup> *Nyva* no. 3, 1916, 161.

<sup>317</sup> Having completed his seminary training at the L'viv Academy in 1930, the Rev. Ivan Hryniokh found the ecclesiastical splendour of Rome alien and unimpressive. Interview No. 4.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's seminary reform in particular sought to educate a new priesthood capable of evangelising the East as well as regaining the lead in Ukrainian society. To what extent the Greek-Catholic parish clergy accepted these tasks will be explored in Chapters Six through Eight. First, however, it is necessary to examine the social and economic context in which the newly ordained priest found himself when he arrived at his first parish.



## PART TWO: THE PRIEST IN SOCIETY

### CHAPTER THREE: THE LEGAL, ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT

#### 1. The Austrian Period

The Austrian Concordat and various ecclesiastical laws governed the affairs of the Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia up to 1918 and to a certain extent under the Polish administration thereafter.

#### *Assignment to a Parish*

After ordination, a priest would be assigned to his first parish. In Peremyshl', the official eparchial journal listed parishes for which a competition was to be held.<sup>318</sup> In order to be allowed to apply for vacant benefices, priests had to pass periodic examinations in theology.<sup>319</sup> Upon being assigned to a parish, a priest signed a statement attesting that he was not indulging in simony. He also had to make a formal confession of faith. Like all Catholic priests at the time, he had to take an oath denouncing Modernism, the heresy of modifying the Church's teaching to conform to the findings of natural and historical science.<sup>320</sup>

A decree of the Austrian court chancery of 1786 provided for the rights of a patron (colator) of a parish church to participate in the selection of the parish priest.<sup>321</sup> Generally, the eparchial bishop would nominate three candidates for a vacant benefice. The patron, exercising the ius prezenty, would then choose one of the three. He had to exercise this right within four months.<sup>322</sup> Typically, the patron of a parish would be a local Polish landowner.

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<sup>318</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe - Przemyśl (WAP-P), Archiwum Biskupstwa Grecko-Katolickiego (ABGK), file 3841.

<sup>319</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5157.

<sup>320</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3900. Pope Pius X (1903-1914) required all clergy to take the oath to oppose Modernism. Holmes, J. Derek & Bickers, Bernard W. A Short History of the Catholic Church. Tunbridge Wells, Kent, 1984, 255. In the Peremyshl' eparchy, the Episcopal Ordinariat sent out instructions on 5 December 1910 requiring all priests to take this oath. WAP-P, ABGK file 5317.

<sup>321</sup> Krasowski, Krzysztof. Związki wyznaniowe w II Rzeczypospolitej: studium historyczno-prawne. Warszawa - Poznań, 1988, 104. This law was repealed by the 1925 Concordat, as well as by a decree of 1933.

<sup>322</sup> Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw (AAN), zespół Ministerstwa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego (MWR i OP), file 450, p. 91 (copy of letter

The state could also influence the choice of a priest for a given benefice. Under the law of 7 May 1874, the state had thirty days to object to an appointment.<sup>323</sup> If the state did not object, then the candidate chosen by the patron (if any) would be canonically instituted in the benefice by the bishop. He could not subsequently be removed from the parish, except for good cause. If he became ill, an assistant could be nominated, but the parish priest would retain the ius ad rem or right to the benefice. If he died, an administrator would be appointed temporarily in his place. The administrator could be removed, and was obligated to pay rent to the consistory for the parish lands.<sup>324</sup>

### *Salary (Congrua)*

The financial basis for the Church under Austria was the Religious Fund, established by decree in 1782 from the property of dissolved monasteries; later, the Fund drew on other sources. There was a separate Religious Fund for Galicia, managed by the civil authorities. Benefice holders paid dues into the Fund, in proportion to the estimated wealth of the benefice.<sup>325</sup>

In Austrian Galicia, parish priests received income from various sources. The laws established a "congrual" system, intended to secure a single basic salary for all priests. Each year, a priest would submit an account of his fixed income from all sources (including rents and sacramental fees), as well as of his expenses (including taxes), to the civil authorities. If his net income did not come up to the basic amount, the difference would be made up by a supplement from the State Religious Fund. If it exceeded the basic amount, the excess would be returned to the state. Under the law of 1898, the basic amount varied according to the size of the community; assistant priests or vicars received a smaller amount.<sup>326</sup> Under a

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of 13 September 1920 from the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Consistory in L'viv, signed by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, to the Presidium of the L'viv governor's office). This rule remained in effect into the inter-war period.

<sup>323</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 450, p. 91.

<sup>324</sup> WAP-P, ABGK 5575, pp. 212-213 ("O dukhovenstvi," talk by Fr. O. Khud'o, Svydnyk, 8 May 1939). These laws and customs evidently were applied during the period of Polish rule in Galicia as well.

<sup>325</sup> Szelażek, Adolf. Podstawy dotacji duchowieństwa katolickiego w Polsce w okresie przedkonkordatowym. Toruń, 1947, 131-132.

<sup>326</sup> Wiśtock, Jerzy. Uposażenie kościoła i duchowieństwa katolickiego w Polsce, 1918-1939. Poznań, 1981, 211-212; Szelażek, 122-126.

law of 1907, after every five years of pastoral work the priest's income would be raised by 100 crowns, up to forty years' service. Retirement pay (under the 1898 law) was increased correspondingly up to the amount of 2000 crowns. These increases would be paid out of the Religious Fund, except to the extent that they were covered by the priest's sacramental fees.<sup>327</sup>

Austrian law distinguished between church property and benefice property. Under a law of 1874, the parochial or church property was to be held by a local committee consisting of the parish priest, the patron, and the representative of the community.<sup>328</sup> However, because of the Galician bishops' failure to issue appropriate instructions, the strict separation of church property from benefice property was never effected in that province. Nevertheless, the state did retain the right to examine the finances of vacant benefices, to make inventories of property and income, and generally to supervise the parish economy.<sup>329</sup>

The Austrian law of 7 May 1874 dealt among other things with the troublesome matter of sacramental fees (*iura stolae* or *Stol-Taxe*). The amounts of the fees for baptisms, weddings, funerals, and so on had been regulated in Austrian Galicia at various times from the late eighteenth century.<sup>330</sup> As will be seen below, they remained a source of conflict between priest and parish to the end of the period under study.

Despite the guarantees of Austrian law, some priests felt that their general economic condition left much to be desired. In 1902 a priest writing in a secular newspaper complained bitterly that the consistory did not concern itself with the poverty of parish priests. "It seems," he wrote, "that in the entire Catholic world there is no clergy so helpless and neglected as our Ruthenian Catholic clergy, which in addition is burdened by family obligations."<sup>331</sup> (The economic liability of a married clergy would become a major argument of proponents of compulsory priestly celibacy, discussed below and in Chapter Seven.) Nevertheless, Fr. Vasyl' Pryshliak, reporting on the general meeting

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<sup>327</sup> Szelażek 129.

<sup>328</sup> Szelażek 120-121.

<sup>329</sup> Krasowski 102, 102 n. 114, 103.

<sup>330</sup> Szelażek 122.

<sup>331</sup> "Ruslan" (L'viv) Vol. VI, No. 22, 26 January 1902, p. 1.

of the Society of St. Andrew in L'viv in 1935, observed that before the war, Greek-Catholic priests had been largely self-sufficient.<sup>332</sup>

The condition of the parish clergy was aggravated by the military operations of World War I, which wrought economic ruin in what was already one of Europe's poorest provinces. In 1918 the episcopal ordinariat of the Peremyshl' eparchy collected reports of the economic state of the parishes in various deaneries. The acting dean of Mushyna reported that no parish in his deanery possessed property worth over 20,000 crowns. In this mountainous region the land, which was the priests' main source of income, was poor. War losses reported by the parishes included confiscation of bells as well as material damage to rectories. All but one of the 26 parish priests had reported that they would not be able to survive if the state went ahead with its planned nationalisation of 20-30% of their property. Similarly, the dean at Sokal' reported that all his parishes had suffered property damage during the war, in an average amount of 10% of the property's value. All but four of the eighteen parishes in the Sambir deanery had suffered damage, and all required repairs or new construction. All nine parishes of the Olkhivtsi deanery had suffered war damage and required repairs, and none of the parish priests received income up to the level of the state-guaranteed basic amount. The dean of Iavoriv stated that despite the poor quality of the land, which was sandy, all the priests' income was based on it, since one could not count on the poverty-stricken parishioners for much support. All 27 parishes received an income below the basic amount. During the war, church and parish property had been damaged to an average extent of 50% in all parishes.<sup>333</sup> As late as 1929, 41 churches in the Peremyshl' eparchy that had been destroyed, mostly in the war, had not been rebuilt (compared to 1290 existing churches).<sup>334</sup>

### *Church Administration*

The Greek Catholic parish priest could count on visitations by his dean and, more rarely, by his bishop and even the metropolitan. In the Peremyshl' eparchy, deans were required to send reports of

<sup>332</sup> *Nyva* No. 1, 1935, 4-5.

<sup>333</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5490, pp. 799-800, 803-804, 807-808, 835, 931-935, 947-950.

<sup>334</sup> *Schematismus universi cleri graeco-catholicae dioceseos premisliensis, samboriensis et sanocensis pro anno domini 1929*. Premisliae, 1929, 103.

their annual visitations to the Episcopal Ordinariat every January.<sup>335</sup> Canonical visitations were the subject of a 1902 pastoral letter of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi to the clergy of all three eparchies. Promising to visit five parishes in each deanery, the metropolitan warned that he could tell whether a parish priest had prepared for the visitation only in the last few days, weeks or months. He pointed out that both the material and the spiritual side of parish work were important: chalices had to be gilded and vestments cleaned, but at the same time the priest had to make sure that adults as well as children really understood the faith. He would be able to divine this from the confessions of the faithful that he would hear during his visitation. In addition, he desired to hear a typical sermon, and thus saw no need to designate the preacher far in advance. The sermon would also serve to tell him much about the quality of the pastoral work being carried out.<sup>336</sup>

In a 1905 pastoral letter to the clergy of the Stanyslaviv eparchy, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn informed them that during visitations he would judge their work with primary attention to sermons and catechesis. In particular, he would verify whether they had made the faithful and the youth aware of the Church's basic principles and given them an understanding of Christ in the mystery of the Eucharist.<sup>337</sup>

Deans, too, conducted parish visitations. In the Peremyshl' eparchy, a dean communicated his results to the episcopal consistory on a prepared form. One such form printed in 1914 consisted of four pages including questions on such matters as the pastor himself, the condition of the church and other parish buildings, pastoral work (with 23 questions to be asked of the parishioners), the state of parish records, the treasury, and the teaching of religion in the local school. A more elaborate and probably later form ran to 12 pages and included additional questions on church brotherhoods and the assistant priest, if any.<sup>338</sup>

<sup>335</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file Supl. 145 (circular of 15 May 1908 from Bishop Konstantyn Chekhovych to deanery offices).

<sup>336</sup> Poslanie pastyrskie Andree Sheptytskoho...do dukhovenstva sojedynenykh eparkhii o kanonichnoi vyzytatsii. Zhovkva, 1902, 5-7, 9-10.

<sup>337</sup> Poslanie pastyrskie Hryhoriia Khomyshyna episkopa Stanislavivskoho do dukhoven'stva svoiei eparkhii o diial'nosti sviashchennichii. Stanislaviv, 1905, 43.

<sup>338</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 4473, pp. 370-373, 43-57.

In his pastoral letter of 1902 cited above, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi promised to try to attend a meeting of parish clergy in every deanery. These meetings, known as soborchyky, were to be held at the end of every canonical visitation.<sup>339</sup> The L'viv Archiepiscopal Synod of 1897 had set down regulations on the holding of deanery meetings. As adopted at the Peremyshl' Eparchial Council of 1898, these rules required three such meetings to be held yearly in each deanery, though a mission could be substituted for one of these. The programme was to be decided by the dean, but one written and one oral presentation must be given at each meeting, for the education of the priests. The topics could be theological, pastoral, practical, historical, etc., but political topics and those that might offend must be avoided. The younger priests would be the first to give talks. The official report of the Peremyshl' Council stressed the need for continuing clerical education:

Truly, today more than ever the pastor cannot stand in one place on the road of knowledge, but as a representative of his lofty vocation, as a teacher and leader of the people, absolutely must progress constantly in the field of learning...<sup>340</sup>

The 1898 regulations were not universally heeded. Bishop Konstantyn Chekhovych of Peremyshl' sent a circular to his deans on 9 November 1905 complaining that some of them had not reported the proceedings of their deanery meetings to the Episcopal Ordinariat for years.<sup>341</sup>

Extraordinary deanery meetings were ordered by the Peremyshl' episcopal ordinariat in 1912. The deans met in Peremyshl' on 24 January, apparently to discuss priestly solidarity and the danger of schism. Deans then sent circulars to their clergy announcing the extraordinary deanery meetings, at which they would read the bishops' joint pastoral letters of 13 February 1905 on solidarity in pastoral work, of 11 January 1906 on conduct in public

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<sup>339</sup> Poslanie pastyrskie (1902) 22.

<sup>340</sup> Sobor ruskii eparkhiial'nyi peremyskyi vodpravlenyi v rotsi 1898. Lvov, 1899, 65, 67-70.

<sup>341</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file Supl. 145.

life, and of 31 March 1910 on schism. Each parish priest would be asked to report on the condition of his parish.<sup>342</sup>

### *Secular Administration*

The parish priest's relations with the government and local administration frequently involved his duty of keeping records of births and deaths. At the meeting of the Komarno deanery on 7 May 1900, it was noted that the local authorities in Rudky had asked that in military matters, parish offices should provide extracts from parish records in the German language. A Fr. Onyshkevych moved that the priests should continue to provide extracts in the Ruthenian language, as provided by law, and if the authorities objected, they should appeal the matter to the highest levels. The motion was approved unanimously.<sup>343</sup>

The language of parish extracts and of the records themselves became a bone of contention between the parish priest and the local authorities, who in most cases were Polish. In 1912 Fr. A. Holinatyi wrote in to the clerical journal *Nyva* relating his experiences with the district court in Nove Selo. He noted that theretofore, parish offices had received forms for death certificates in the Ruthenian language. A few days earlier, however, Fr. Holinatyi had received Polish-language forms. He returned them to the court, which responded with a letter explaining that as a state record office, the parish office must correspond with other authorities in the Polish language. Fr. Holinatyi complained to *Nyva* that not all Ruthenian priests were insisting on using their own language in such instances. He suggested that if the Ruthenian language were indeed disallowed in parish records, Ruthenian given names should be written in Latin transcription -- but not Latin translation -- for example, "Volodymyr" but not "Vladimirus."<sup>344</sup> As discussed below, such technical matters would become the subjects of heated controversy under Polish rule.

## 2. The Polish Period

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<sup>342</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3848. Some of the reports from the 1912 extraordinary deanery meetings from the Peremyshl' eparchy will be referred to in Chapter Six.

<sup>343</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5095.

<sup>344</sup> *Nyva* No. 5, 1912, pp. 182-183.

Under the Polish Republic, Austrian legislation remained in effect until new laws were promulgated, but was never entirely superseded. A decree of the Council of Ministers published on 25 March 1933 listed Austrian laws no longer in effect by virtue of their inconsistency with the 1925 Polish Concordat; most of these concerned property.<sup>345</sup>

The Polish Constitution of 1921 provided for freedom of conscience and the equality of religious groups. However, the Roman Catholic faith was first among equals, and the Church enjoyed internal autonomy. These provisions were re-enacted in the Constitution of 1935. The Concordat of 1925 gave the state authorities only a minor influence on church affairs, allowing the Catholic Church considerable freedom of action and internal administration. Although Piłsudski's regime and its successors included many secularising politicians who were far from pro-clerical, on the whole the government honoured the provisions of both Constitution and Concordat.<sup>346</sup>

The Concordat rendered the clergy immune from military service, legal prosecution in the civil courts, and personal income tax. It allowed them to conduct the religious education that was compulsory in state schools. Their salaries were funded from the property originally confiscated by the partitioning powers, which had passed to the Polish government after 1918.<sup>347</sup>

The Greek-Catholic bishops did not participate in the preparatory work or negotiations for the Concordat, and the Ukrainians in Poland were generally dissatisfied with the document.<sup>348</sup> In the event, however, the Concordat was not fully put into practice, as some differences between government and Church remained unresolved.<sup>349</sup>

Article 19 re-established the ius praenotificationis, entitling the government to object to the appointment of a priest to a benefice if

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<sup>345</sup> Krasowski 87-88, 101.

<sup>346</sup> Mysłek, Wiesław. Kościół katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939. Warszawa, 1966, 14-16, 33-35; Piwowarski, Władysław, "Formy duszpasterstwa parafialnego w Polsce odrodzonej (1918-1939)," in Zieliński, Zygmunt & Wilk, Stanisław, eds. Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej. Lublin, 1981, 131.

<sup>347</sup> Davies, Norman. God's Playground. Vol. II. New York, 1982, 419-420.

<sup>348</sup> Zieliński & Wilk 201 (discussion by H. Wyczawski of article by W. Wójcik cited above).

<sup>349</sup> Wójcik 34.



this should be contrary to state security. Under article 20, in such a case the bishop would have three months to decide whether to remove the priest. Should the bishop disagree with the government, the case would be referred to a committee of two priests and two representatives of the President.<sup>350</sup> In practice, the Greek-Catholic bishops circumvented the government's right to object to an appointment by nominating administrators or transferring priests from parish to parish. In the 1920s, the L'viv governor was disturbed by the government's inability to prevent the Greek-Catholic bishops from transferring nationalist priests from small parishes to politically significant ones.<sup>351</sup> However, according to one source, it was generally accepted by the end of the inter-war period that the ius praenotificationis applied to transfers as well as to appointments of newly ordained priests.<sup>352</sup> In any case, the placement of Greek-Catholic priests remained a constant source of tension between Church and state, and confirmation was often refused or removal demanded where the priest advocated separate status for the Ukrainians.<sup>353</sup>

In the L'viv county (województwo), once the patron had made his selection from among the candidates proposed by the bishop, the approval of the county would be sent to the Ministry of Religious Cults. In the case of Fr. Hryhorii Fukan'chyk, whom the Bishop of Peremyshl' sought to nominate to a parish in Uhertsy (Lisko district) in 1933, the governor objected under article 19 of the Concordat because during his tenure as administrator of that parish, Fr. Fukan'chyk had "made himself known as an intractable foe of the Polish State and People, and with his activity has made impossible the peaceable co-existence of the population of both nationalities." These assertions were based on detailed representations by the district starostwa in Lisko. The circumstances were rather unusual, since the patron had apparently lost possession of the property and could not exercise the ius prezenty. The Bishop favoured Fr. Fukan'chyk despite the fact that older priests -- who were allegedly

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350 Wójcik, Walenty. "Konkordat Polski z 1925 roku -- próba oceny," in Zieliński & Wilk, 24.

351 Krasowski 75-76, 76 n. 35.

352 Meysztowicz, Valérien. L'église catholique en Pologne entre les deux guerres (1919-1939). Cité du Vatican, 1944, 40-41.

353 Śliwa, Tadeusz. "Kościół greckokatolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939," in Zieliński & Wilk, 162.

more loyal to Poland -- had applied for the benefice. Yet it appears that the Minister of Cults did not find the evidence of Fr. Fukan'chyk's anti-Polish activity sufficient to establish a threat to state security, and declined to oppose the nomination.<sup>354</sup> In 1939 the Apostolic Administrator for the Lemko region sought to install Fr. Ivan Fenych, parish priest at Voikova in the Nowy Sącz district, at Senkova Volia in the Sianyk (Sanok) district. Passing information from the administration at Nowy Sącz about Fr. Fenych's Ukrainian nationalist activity, his hostile attitude to the Polish state and his previous troubles with the law to the Minister of Religious Cults, the Cracow governor nevertheless stated that under the Ministry's January 1929 guidelines for application of articles 19 and 20 of the Concordat, he could not formally protest the priest's nomination to the benefice. Indeed, the governors in Galicia in the late 1920s and 1930s interpreted the Concordat narrowly regarding threats to state security, and protests against nominations of Greek-Catholic priests to benefices were the exception, even in cases where the priest held Ukrainian nationalist and anti-Polish views or belonged to the Ukrainian National Democratic Union.<sup>355</sup>

### *Patronage*

Article 21 of the Concordat, which was never put into effect, provided that the matter of patronage rights would be regulated in a separate agreement. The government regarded patronage as an instrument of nationality policy. In practice, these rights were left as they had been under the Partitions, except that the time within which the patron must exercise his right was reduced to thirty days.<sup>356</sup>

In Galicia, patronage did give the ordinarily Polish patrons a certain amount of influence over parish appointments, though the mechanics of the procedure did not allow them any real control. In 1920 a conflict arose between 34 patrons of parishes in the Peremyshl' eparchy and the Greek-Catholic episcopal consistory. The patrons, represented by a lawyer, accused the consistory of

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<sup>354</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 507. What appears to be the Minister's decision is in the form of a handwritten note, crossed out, however, in pencil.

<sup>355</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 507.

<sup>356</sup> Krasowski 81, 330; WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, p. 212 (talk by Fr. O. Khud'o at Svydnyk, 8 May 1939).

proposing lists of candidates for benefices who it knew would be unacceptable to them, and of designating as unsuitable candidates who in fact were above reproach and who "did not hate everything that is Polish."<sup>357</sup> The lawyer complained to the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Religious Cults and the provincial authorities that the episcopal consistory was restricting patronage rights and assigning benefices to priests who were decided enemies of polskość and agitators schooled to struggle against Polish society. He added that the consistory was preventing some priests from competing for certain parishes, thus preventing the patrons from selecting priests who had a peaceful, conciliatory attitude towards Polish society. According to the lawyer, the Peremyshl' civic authorities asserted in 1921 that in assigning parishes, the episcopal consistory was overlooking older, apolitical priests in favour of young candidates imbued with hatred for polskość.<sup>358</sup>

In some cases, the patron was the county government.<sup>359</sup> This presumably rendered objection under article 19 of the Concordat redundant.

### *Landed Property*

The Austrian laws on state supervision of church and parish property, particularly the decree of 15 October 1858 and the law of 7 May 1874, remained in effect until the decree of the Council of Ministers of 25 March 1933 declared them inconsistent with the Concordat under article 25.<sup>360</sup>

The Concordat provided for state purchase of church property under the planned land reform, leaving specified amounts to various ecclesiastical persons and institutions. For priests, for example, from 15 to 30 hectares of property would be exempt from government purchase and subsequent parcellation. However, the agrarian reform, which in any case was slow in coming, never affected church lands, as church and state continued their quibbling year

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<sup>357</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 450, pp. 189-190, 261-270.

<sup>358</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 450, pp. 283-284.

<sup>359</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 507 (letter of 7 January 1938 from Stanisławow [Stanyslaviv] county administration to Ministry of Religious Cults). In such a case, the right of "presentation" would be exercised by the governor.

<sup>360</sup> Krasowski 87-88, 101-102.

after year.<sup>361</sup> In Galicia, where Church and clergy had some of their largest landholdings,<sup>362</sup> this might have been resented. However, since parcellation tended to favour Polish settlers rather than the local Ukrainians, the Greek-Catholic bishops -- with the exception of Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv -- avoided parcellation of church and parish lands. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi introduced parcellation in the L'viv archeparchy in the 1920s, but was persuaded to abandon it. The government had neither the funds nor the commitment to force parcellation, and the Latin-rite bishops were not interested in carrying it through voluntarily. In fact, Bishop Khomyshyn was the only bishop in Poland to carry out a full parcellation. However, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi found another way of aiding the poverty-stricken priests. Relying on his power under the Concordat to create and provide materially for new parishes, he divided existing parishes where there was a maternal and a filial church, leaving the new parish under the same administrator. The parish priest could thus receive an additional salary.<sup>363</sup>

The average size of benefice land of a Greek-Catholic parish priest in the inter-war period was 52 hectares, compared to 33 hectares for a Latin-rite parish priest. In the L'viv metropolitan province, the average Greek-Catholic benefice in 1927 measured 52 hectares, the average Latin-rite benefice 48 hectares. Typically, the priest would rent out the land, though sometimes he would work it himself.<sup>364</sup>

One source of friction among priests was the disproportion among their landholdings. In 1927 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi took the radical decision of limiting the size of a priest's benefice to 80 hectares. At 2 zloty per hectare per month, such a holding would bring 160 zloty per month — together with income from other sources, enough to support a priest and his family. Priests holding over 80 hectares were obligated to turn over 2 zloty per hectare to the curial treasury every month. The sums thus collected were then distributed to priests who had under 80 hectares.<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> Wójcik, Walenty. "Konkordat Polski z 1925 roku -- próba oceny," in Zieliński & Wilk, 25-26, 29.

<sup>362</sup> Zieliński & Wilk 203 (discussion by K. Śmigiel of article by W. Wójcik).

<sup>363</sup> Baran, Stepan. Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Munchen, 1947, 35-36

<sup>364</sup> Wisłocki 239-242, Table 46 p. 240.

<sup>365</sup> Wisłocki 243.

Some friction seems to have occurred in the Peremyshl' eparchy after the Concordat came into effect. Among the complaints raised by some laymen against Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi in a brochure of 1929 was that before nominating a priest to a parish, he allegedly demanded the income from a part of the parish property. The same source alleged that in the Stanyslaviv eparchy, the income from an apricot orchard belonging to a benefice was transferred to the eparchial cathedral, and the income from a parish field that had yielded oil was transferred to the episcopal ordinariat.<sup>366</sup>

### *Salary (Dotation)*

After 1918, the Polish state paid priests the salary that they had been receiving under Austrian administration. Various new laws were proposed. A joint clerical-state commission proposed that the basic clerical salary should be equal to that of civil servants, with supplements for the high inflation of the time and for seniority. A government plan was introduced in 1923, pending the conclusion of the Concordat. The Concordat of 1925 left clerical salaries at the same level as under the Partitions.<sup>367</sup>

From 1924, salaries were no longer paid by the state directly to the priests. Instead, the state would pay the salaries ("dotations") for the entire diocese to the bishop, who would then distribute them among his clergy. This rule was retained under the Concordat. A priest's income would depend on the size of his benefice lands. However, the rules for clerical income spelled out in the Concordat were never fully observed, causing some priests to complain. One Greek-Catholic priest in the Stanyslaviv eparchy, for example, received a salary despite the fact that he already had a 50-hectare benefice; another, in the Peremyshl' eparchy, received a salary in addition to the income from his 100 hectares of land.<sup>368</sup>

On the whole, however, the Greek-Catholic clergy found itself impoverished in the wake of wartime destruction and financial crisis. Its condition was also due in part to its dependence on the impoverished general population for sacramental fees.<sup>369</sup>

<sup>366</sup> V oboroni prav nashoi Hreko-katol. tserkvy. L'viv, 1929, 46 and note.

<sup>367</sup> Wiśtock, Jerzy. Uposażenie kościoła i duchowieństwa katolickiego w Polsce, 1918-1939. Poznań, 1981, 214-220.

<sup>368</sup> Wiśtock 226-229.

<sup>369</sup> Baran 33-35.

In 1927, the Latin-rite clergy in the L'viv and Peremyshl' dioceses received a somewhat higher total income than the Greek-Catholic clergy of the corresponding eparchies. Although the Latin-rite clergy of the L'viv metropolitan province received a lower total income in that year than the Greek-Catholic clergy, the financial needs of the latter, who in most cases were married, were considerably greater.<sup>370</sup> Thus, although dividing the annual global sums designated for the L'viv and Peremyshl' Latin-rite and Greek-Catholic dioceses in 1933 by the number of clerical positions yields a higher per capita salary for the Greek-Catholic priests, considerations of family support (even in Peremyshl', where the compulsory celibacy introduced in 1925 had only begun to have its social effect) may modify or even reverse the implications of this result.<sup>371</sup>

The average Catholic priest's monthly salary in Poland in 1935-1936, about 102 or 103 zloty, can be compared to the 130 to 260 zloty earned monthly by 85% of teachers. The latter, however, were ordinarily entirely dependent on their salaries for their support.<sup>372</sup> The average monthly salary for a Greek-Catholic priest in the L'viv archeparchy in 1933 was about 105 zloty, in the Peremyshl' eparchy about 111 zloty, based on the calculation referred to in the preceding paragraph. To this would have to be added his income from land and other sources, as noted below.

In his negotiations with the Vatican representative concerning the Concordat in January 1925, Professor Stanisław Grabski objected to the proposal that dotations should be paid in global sums to the diocesan bishops, since certain "disloyal" bishops might use their financial power to punish priests loyal to the Polish state. It is clear from the discussion that Professor Grabski had in mind the Ukrainian bishops, particularly Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi.<sup>373</sup> Certainly the government could control priests' behaviour more effectively as long as it paid their salaries directly. In 1930, the Supreme Administrative Tribunal heard the case of Fr.

<sup>370</sup> Wiślocki 229-230, Table 44, p. 229.

<sup>371</sup> This calculation is based on AAN, MWR i OP file 398. The yearly salaries that it yields -- 1264 zloty for L'viv, 1332 zloty for Peremyshl' and 1293 for Stanyslaviv -- can be compared with the 1935-1936 average of 1233 zloty for all Catholic clergy in Poland. Myslek 124.

<sup>372</sup> Myslek 124.

<sup>373</sup> Polish Institute, London, collection A44 (Papée), pp. 1/118-2/119.

Mykola Styslovs'kyi, who claimed back pay that had been withheld by demand of the L'viv governor in 1924 from May of that year until 30 October 1925, when priests began to receive their salaries from their bishops. Fr. Styslovs'kyi's salary had been docked apparently because of his Ukrainian nationalistic activity.<sup>374</sup>

Once the payment of salaries was entrusted to the bishops, however, the government sought to use its financial power to influence them to control their potentially "disloyal" clergy. Thus, in 1934 the Stanyslaviv governor Jagodziński supported the Greek-Catholic Bishop Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi's request for placement in the fifth salary category noting that the bishop had considerable influence among his clergy and was helpful to him in "realising his plans" regarding them. The government also gave direct material benefits to priests supporting the Sanacja regime.<sup>375</sup> Greek-Catholic priests' retirement salaries were manipulated in the same way, and discrimination between priests of the two rites was practised. At the same time, Greek-Catholic church authorities were also accused of financial discrimination on political grounds.<sup>376</sup> For its part, the government kept files on political activities of both Latin-rite and Greek-Catholic priests.<sup>377</sup>

The bishops' control over salary naturally permitted abuses unrelated to political considerations as well. In a 1926 letter to the Pope complaining about their bishop's conduct, a group of forty laymen of the Peremyshl' eparchy accused him of distributing salaries arbitrarily, increasing or decreasing them depending on whether he liked a given priest or whether that priest obeyed him. They noted that under previous Austrian law, a priest was entitled to an explanation of the amount of his salary and had a right of appeal.<sup>378</sup>

### *Sacramental Fees*

Sacramental fees or iura stolae were a source of both income and controversy for the Greek-Catholic parish clergy. Under the

<sup>374</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 371, pp. 113-118. Since the Tribunal declined to adjudge the case, it is not clear whether Fr. Styslovs'kyi ever received his back pay.

<sup>375</sup> Mysiek 125.

<sup>376</sup> Mysiek 126, n. 80.

<sup>377</sup> Wójcik 32.

<sup>378</sup> V oboroni prav nashoi Hreko-katol. tserkvy. L'viv, 1929, 26.

Concordat, the government could agree with the bishops of Poland to abolish the sacramental fees altogether, augmenting dotations by way of compensation. No such agreement was ever reached. In 1928, Greek-Catholic and Latin-rite priests charged the same rates in L'viv county, but in Ternopil' county the Greek-Catholic clergy charged higher fees and in Stanyslaviv county their fees were a source of many conflicts with their faithful. A funeral could cost anything from 10 zloty (L'viv county) to 400 (Stanyslaviv). There was especially great variety in the amounts of the sacramental fees charged in the Peremyshl' Greek-Catholic eparchy.<sup>379</sup>

Sacramental fees involved priests of both rites in conflicts with parishioners, especially with regard to funerals. Some Church circles denounced abuses. In 1932, Fr. Jan Zieja published a brochure addressed to his fellow priests on this question; he himself did not charge sacramental fees at all.<sup>380</sup>

#### *Miscellaneous Income*

Other sources of clerical income included state pay for catechesis (350-1000 zloty annually),<sup>381</sup> fees for masses for special intentions,<sup>382</sup> chancery fees (e.g. for issuing extracts from parish records),<sup>383</sup> customary gifts from patrons (relatively rare after the Austrian period),<sup>384</sup> oil leases,<sup>385</sup> and leases of parish land.<sup>386</sup>

#### *Net Income*

The average monthly net income of a Greek-Catholic parish priest in Galicia around 1930 was 477 zloty in the L'viv archeparchy, 459 zloty in the Peremyshl' eparchy, and 591 zloty in the Stanyslaviv eparchy. The corresponding figures for Latin-rite parish priests in

<sup>379</sup> Wisłocki 244-258, Table 49 pp. 251-253, 257.

<sup>380</sup> Mysiek 134-136.

<sup>381</sup> Wisłocki 239.

<sup>382</sup> Wisłocki 258-261.

<sup>383</sup> Wisłocki 261-262.

<sup>384</sup> Mysiek 126-127.

<sup>385</sup> Referred to in *V oboroni prav* 25. The Boryslav-Drohobych area was particularly rich in petroleum and natural gas.

<sup>386</sup> Prus, Edward. *Władyka świętojurski*. Warszawa, 1985, 128-129. Prus lists a whole range of capital investments from which the Greek-Catholic clergy made ample profits. However, he probably does not have in mind the parish clergy, except in referring to the practice of leasing extra parish land in exchange for half the crops -- a practise criticised by Fr. Kostel'nyk. Prus 129, citing *Nyva*, 1 May 1939.



the L'viv and Peremyshl' dioceses (there was no Stanyslaviv diocese) are considerably higher: 602 zloty and 608 zloty, respectively.<sup>387</sup>

An assistant priest (vicar) was paid by the parish priest out of the parish treasury. Generally, the assistant was entitled to maintenance, housing, and a monthly salary, the amount of which could be decided by the eparchial curia. The assistant could also receive a part of the income from services, depending on his participation.<sup>388</sup> It was the custom, at least in the Peremyshl' eparchy, for the assistant to receive one-third of the dotation, in money or goods, and of the income from the land (except for orchard and garden). However, he also had to pay a third of the tax. The parish priest and his assistant could sign an agreement on the division of income and expenses, to be confirmed by the episcopal consistory.<sup>389</sup>

For purposes of comparison, Wisłocki points out that the average income of a Catholic parish priest was twice the average pay of a civil servant who, unlike a Latin-rite priest (but like most Greek-Catholic priests) had to support his family from this amount. The contrast between a priest's income and that of his poorer peasant parishioners, especially in the east and south of Poland, was enormous. Wisłocki also points out that although the state dotations and contributions for masses were in standard amounts, other elements of a priest's income varied considerably. Although the dotation itself was low, the cost of living in village parishes was not high.<sup>390</sup>

#### *General Economic Condition*

However satisfactory the salary of an average priest in Poland might appear, the over-all economic condition of many members of the Greek-Catholic clergy in Galicia was not enviable. In the Stanyslaviv eparchy freshly ordained priests, who in the inter-war period were usually peasants' sons, often found themselves in such financial straits that they could not afford the journey to their first

<sup>387</sup> Wisłocki Table 53, pp. 266-267.

<sup>388</sup> Wisłocki 238. A priest who served as assistant at Ul'hivok in the Uhniv deanery in 1938-1939 received 84 zloty per month (the parish priest received 100 zloty) plus one third of sacramental fees. Interview No. 3.

<sup>389</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, p. 213 ("O dukhovenstvi," talk by Fr. O. Khud'o, Svydnyk, 8 May 1939).

<sup>390</sup> Wisłocki 268.

parish. In many such cases, Bishop Khomyshyn would provide financial aid.<sup>391</sup> In his Homiletical Lessons, which he sought to publish in 1922, Fr. Teodor Savoika, parish priest in Selys'ky in the Peremyshl' eparchy, complained that the Church and her servants all too often were given donations grudgingly. He pointed out that the hard household work which priests were forced to perform lowered the intelligence, taking time away from necessary reading. Priestly poverty, Fr. Savoika continued, could have important social implications as well:

And have our communities ever considered how, through their citizens' lack of benevolence, and the poverty of the priest, his prestige, his significance and power in the eyes of the world, of governments and people of another rite, another faith and another nationality must fall? Behold: when in some Ukrainian community a parish is funded for some persons of the Latin rite, they try to see to it that the Latin-rite priest should necessarily have more land -- at least a few morgy more -- than does ours. Why? Because everyone knows well that he who has more, holds his head higher. No one ever got rich with a skinny horse. And soon, very soon, a poor priest must fall into debt. He needs a pasture, and firewood, and straw, and something from the garden, and there's the mill, the road, and a fish at carolling-time, a hare for Christmas, and many other little things. And the strangers will very gladly give him all this, if only they see that his own people are refusing him. Payment will be taken care of somehow... And with the impoverishment of the priest there must follow the decline of religion, as we see in deepest Russia, and the decline of civilised life in the community. The decline of benign pride and loftiness of spirit in a priest is reflected in the community, and the community loses its dignity and integrity, and slowly becomes the slave of its enemies.<sup>392</sup>

In October 1933 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi wrote to the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Education that for years, he had been receiving smaller amounts from the Ministry for clerical salaries

<sup>391</sup> Mel'nychuk, Petro. Vladyka Hryhorii Khomyshyn. Rome-Philadelphia, 1979, p. 219.

<sup>392</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 4736 (excerpts from Fr. Teodor Savoika's Homiletical Lessons pp. 492, 494-496). A morg is about half a hectare.

than what was indicated in the receipts. He referred to "the difficult situation" of his clergy, especially the parish priests, who for years had been in heavy arrears for taxes as a result of "the catastrophic decline of the agricultural economy and the decrease in income of the entire society and especially the peasantry."<sup>393</sup>

The poverty of the clergy was acute in the mountainous Lemko region of the Peremyshl' eparchy. In 1933 Fr. Vasyl' Seredovych, assistant priest at Lypovets', wrote to the Peremyshl' episcopal consistory asking to be transferred. He had been at Lypovets' for one year, "in extreme poverty." His daily diet consisted of potatoes and bread. He described his life as no different from that of the poorest peasant. He was in debt for his clothes and maintenance. The parish yielded no sacramental fees. In addition, he had experienced misunderstandings and conflict with the parish priest.<sup>394</sup> In the same year Fr. Vasyl' Kondrats'kyi, parish priest in Turie Horishne for the previous three years, asked to be transferred to the lowlands. "The well-known hardship in the mountains, hunger, lack of sufficient support, lack of pastoral work, and solitude, lead the undersigned to declare that he no longer has the strength to stay in Turie," he wrote to the episcopal consistory in Peremyshl'.<sup>395</sup>

The problem was not limited to the Lemko region. In December 1934, Fr. Omelian Kvit wrote in *Nyva* that Ukrainians in Galicia were "all" poor, especially those with families, priests and laity alike. For example, they could not afford to send their children to secondary school or university. However, he remarked that some priests complained too much and were too passive. He exhorted them to subscribe to newspapers and read books lest they become spiritually as well as materially impoverished, and ineffective in their pastoral work.<sup>396</sup>

In January 1935 Fr. Vasyl' Pryshliak wrote in *Nyva* that five priests had joined the clerical Society of St. Andrew because they needed the material aid that membership afforded. He complained that the clergy of the province had not taken "decisive steps towards securing their own and their families' material existence, broadening and deepening pastoral work at the grass roots, or even

<sup>393</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 398.

<sup>394</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 4473, pp. 28-29.

<sup>395</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 4473, p. 82.

<sup>396</sup> "Na aktual'ni temy," *Nyva* No. 12, December 1934, 418.

maintaining their positions in civic cultural-educational and economic life."<sup>397</sup>

In June 1939 a priest speaking at a meeting of the Komarno deanery referred to the hard conditions of the day, particularly the impoverishment of the peasantry. He stressed that priests must share the effects of the economic crisis with the people.<sup>398</sup>

### *Church Administration*

As in the Austrian period, the church administration required deans to hold soborchyky or deanery meetings on a regular basis. In 1930 the official bulletin of the Peremyshl' eparchy reminded deans that they were to send a report of each meeting to the episcopal ordinariat, along with the minutes of the meeting and a copy of each talk given, as required by the rules of the 1898 eparchial synod. It also urged them to discuss primarily current topics and practical problems. The ordinariat was to approve the programme of each meeting in advance.<sup>399</sup>

It appears that in the Peremyshl' eparchy at least, the church authorities required detailed information on a priest applying for a vacant benefice. The form submitted by the Zhovkva deanery office to the episcopal ordinariat in February 1937 concerning Fr. Petro Skavyns'kyi, the administrator at Smerekiv, who sought permanent appointment to that benefice, included questions concerning the priest's participation in deanery meetings, the frequency with which he heard confession, his family life, his relations with the parishioners and with other priests, his punctuality, and his participation (if any) in civic and political life. The dean noted that Fr. Skavyns'kyi enjoyed the favour of both the Ukrainians and the Ruthenians in the village.<sup>400</sup> Generally speaking, it appears that like his predecessor Syl'vester Sembratovych (1885-1898), Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi gave preference in the assignment of parishes to priests of a Ukrainian orientation.<sup>401</sup>

<sup>397</sup> Nyva No. 1, January 1935, 1, 6.

<sup>398</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5S75, pp. 672, 675.

<sup>399</sup> Peremys'ki Eparkhiial'ni Vidomosti No. 4, 1930, 59-60.

<sup>400</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3900.

<sup>401</sup> Torzecki, Ryszard. "Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society," in Magocsi, Paul R., ed. Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Edmonton, Alberta, 1989, 76-77.

As under Austria, a priest could only be removed from his parish for good cause. In a number of cases, priests were asked by the L'viv metropolitan curia to resign from their parishes. In two such cases in 1931, the Ternopil' (Tarnopol) governor informed the Ministry of Religious Cults that the curia was forcing the resignation of priests who did not agree with its militantly Ukrainian nationalist line. In a third case from that year, the priest himself, a supporter of the Non-Party Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (BBWR), blamed Ukrainian National-Democrats for organising a campaign against him, and asked the Ministry to help him retain his parish, which he had held since 1909.<sup>402</sup>

In the Lemko Apostolic Administration, however, a priest could be disciplined for virtually the opposite reasons. In February 1936 Fr. Ivan Kachmar was suspended "ab officio et beneficio" for having incurred the hatred of his parishioners in Zlots'ke. According to a May 1936 report by the vicar capitular in charge of the Administration, Zlots'ke was one of the parishes where a priest of a Ukrainian orientation, guided by political rather than religious motives, had through his activity driven his Lemko faithful into the arms of the Orthodox or Protestants.<sup>403</sup>

### *Secular Administration*

The Polish government's attitude towards the Greek-Catholic Church has been characterised as polite but distrustful. The detention of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in Poznań in 1923, motivated by the authorities' reservations concerning his attitude towards the new Polish state and its claim to Eastern Galicia,<sup>404</sup> set the tone for their relations with his clergy.

Political considerations were paramount in the government's attitude towards the Greek-Catholic Church. However, no clear policy was ever formulated to deal with the nationalities question. As a recent legal commentator has said, "All the weaknesses of the nationalities policy found their reflection in the government's

<sup>402</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 449, pp. 104, 106-107, 114.

<sup>403</sup> WAP-P, Administracja Apostolska Łemkowszczyzny (AAL) file 1 (report of Fr. Joannes Polanski, vicar capitular, to Papal Nunciature in Warsaw), pp. 13, 16.

<sup>404</sup> Śliwa, Tadeusz. "Kościół grecko-katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939," in Zieliński & Wilk, 161.

religious policy." Unable to resolve the major national and religious problems with which it was faced, the government of inter-war Poland limited itself to discussing secondary matters with small groups of clergy inclined to compromise, which only resulted in alienating other groups of clergy and laity.<sup>405</sup>

This irresolute, *ad hoc* approach left room for abuses on the local level, which alienated both clergy and laity. An anonymous brochure first published in L'viv in 1925, but dealing primarily with events in the Peremyshl' eparchy, described the situation in these words:

In the church area, good priests are refused [canonical] institution in their parishes without valid reasons; though without fault, they are removed from permanent positions; and they are harassed by all sorts of administrative directives. And recently, when the priests' society of St. Paul the Apostle brought a grievance before the League of Nations for the wrongs done to their brethren, it was dissolved.<sup>406</sup>

This passage may refer, like much of the brochure, to alleged abuses by the bishop as well as by the secular authorities. In fact, the brochure hints broadly that the bishop was being manipulated by the state authorities into pursuing action detrimental to the lower clergy and the Ukrainian people in general.

Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv, an enemy of militant Ukrainian nationalism often accused of being too conciliatory towards the Polish authorities, nevertheless complained publicly of the latter's treatment of his priests. The local administration harassed the Greek-Catholic clergy, he wrote on 10 September 1930, and treated them insultingly. Laying down a set of guidelines for his clergy in dealing with the civil authorities, he called on them to defend their rights and their dignity, without being

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<sup>405</sup> Krasowski 321-2, 324.

<sup>406</sup> V oboroni prav nashoi Hreko-katol. tserkvy. L'viv, 1929, Appendix p. 2. The quoted passage was censored from the 1925 brochure "Zakhody kolo vvedennia tselibatu v nashim dukhovenstvi," published in L'viv, but was introduced into the record of the Sejm on 15 May 1925 by the Ukrainian club of deputies as interpellation No. 456 addressed to the Minister of Justice. As part of the legislative record, this and other passages could then be published, which they were when the brochure was re-issued as an appendix to the work cited at the beginning of this note. This tactic was common in cases of press censorship.

disloyal, whenever the state organs abused their authority. If necessary, priests should appeal to the highest authorities, and if that failed, they should inform the episcopal ordinariat and make the matter publicly known, even resisting the civil authorities if necessary. Bishop Khomyshyn reminded his priests to behave correctly in such situations and to maintain their dignity, never losing their emotional equilibrium or allowing themselves to be provoked. They must remain polite, but not obsequious. They should not participate in events where they would only serve as decoration or would be humiliated. In characteristically down-to-earth fashion the Bishop, a peasant's son, observed that the Polish authorities "are ready to regard and treat us as would a gentleman who pets a little dog for standing up on its hind legs and turning tricks."<sup>407</sup>

Police surveillance of the activities of Greek-Catholic priests appears to have continued throughout the period. In May 1939 the parish priest at Mistkovychi in the Peremyshl' eparchy was asked by the local police official to explain the planned meeting of priests in his village and to provide the names and places of residence of the participants. As it turned out, the gathering was a regular meeting of the Sambir deanery.<sup>408</sup>

A regular point of contact between the government authorities and the clergy was the collection of taxes. Under article 15 of the Concordat, clergy were subject to taxes equally with laity.<sup>409</sup> In practice, the Greek-Catholic clergy were subject to heavy and often unjustified taxation. In particular, the road-tax and property tax were often imposed in excessive amounts. Appeals were usually futile.<sup>410</sup>

As in the Austrian period, but to a greater extent, the main point of friction between the Greek-Catholic parish clergy and the government administration concerned the language in which parish records were kept and in which extracts therefrom, as well as relevant correspondence, were written. Of particular importance was the form of surnames (e.g., Ukrainian "Szeptyc'kyj" or Polish "Szeptycki"). The Polish authorities required that parish records be

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<sup>407</sup> Khomyshyn, Hryhorii.] Do Vsechesnoho Dukhovenstva Stanyslavivskoi Eparkhii. [Stanyslaviv], 1930, 6-10.

<sup>408</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, pp. 357-359.

<sup>409</sup> Polish Institute, London, Collection A44 (Papée), p. 2/54.

<sup>410</sup> Baran 39.

kept in Latin. They based their right to demand this on the fact that parish records were of a public, legal character. However, this demand was often ignored, even by the highest Greek-Catholic authorities. On two occasions, the metropolitan curia in L'viv recommended that parish records should be kept in the Ukrainian language.<sup>411</sup>

In 1926 Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi of Peremyshl' appealed an order of Minister Stanisław Grabski of 9 April 1926 regarding the use of Polish in correspondence with state authorities to the Supreme Administrative Tribunal. The Minister claimed that the language law of 31 July 1924 did not afford the Greek-Catholic authorities the right to use a non-state language in correspondence with the higher state authorities. The Tribunal decided in 1928 that the matter was not ripe for adjudication, since according to the Ministry of Religious Cults, Grabski's order was in fact not a directive or decision but merely an opinion, which had not bound or damaged the petitioner because it had not been applied to him.<sup>412</sup>

In his 1930 appeal to his priests, Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv noted that they often complained to him of the fines and jail sentences imposed on them for carrying on correspondence and keeping records in the Ukrainian language. He pointed out that a priest was not merely a state functionary, since he was appointed to his office by church rather than state authorities, did not take an oath of office to the state, was not dedicated exclusively to state service, did not receive sufficient pay to live from such service alone and in fact was not really being paid to keep records but in compensation for church property taken by the state. As a *res mixta*, the parish record office was subject to requirements of both church and state; nevertheless, the priest was not a state official and thus not bound by the law of 31 July 1924 nor the executive order of 24 September 1924 to use Polish as the language of all official correspondence. Bishop Khomyshyn further pointed out that on 11 December 1928 the Supreme Administrative Tribunal had overturned the sentence of a L'viv priest who had written out an extract from parish records in Ukrainian, on the ground that

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<sup>411</sup> Śliwa 162; Baran 39. The two instances to which Śliwa refers were apparently the orders of 30 September 1919 and 8 February 1924. AAN, MWR i OP file 449, p. 605.

<sup>412</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 371.



Minister Stanisław Grabski's order of 9 April 1926 contradicted existing law and had never been legally promulgated. Nevertheless, since fines or arrests were continuing, Bishop Khomyshyn laid down the following norms: (1) parish records should be kept in Latin, (2) extracts for administrative and judicial authorities of the first and second instance should be provided in Ukrainian and for authorities of the third instance as well as military authorities in Polish, (3) correspondence with authorities of the first and second instance should be in Ukrainian and with those of the third instance or the military in Polish, (4) while the state administrative authorities may inspect these records, they must not be allowed to take them away without the agreement of the episcopal ordinariat, (5) the seal of the parish office should be in Ukrainian and should be used on records, and (6) letters addressed to the "civilian record office" should be returned or sent to the episcopal ordinariat, because such an office did not exist in any parish.<sup>413</sup>

The L'viv metropolitan consistory, and particularly Bishop Ivan Buchko, defended the parish priests before the civil authorities.<sup>414</sup> As late as 1939, the Ministry of Internal Affairs expressed its annoyance to the Ministry of Religious Cults that the Peremyshl' Greek-Catholic episcopal consistory had gone so far as to use the "Ruthenian" language in correspondence regarding a birth certificate with the local civil authorities in a town in Poznań county. It pointed out that the Polish language must be used in all correspondence with civil authorities and offices beyond the L'viv, Ternopil', Stanyslaviv, Volhynia (Wołyń) and Polissia (Polesie) counties.<sup>415</sup>

The language of correspondence or of parish records was perhaps less of a burning issue than the form in which surnames were entered in those records, since a name could be entered in either a Polish or a Ukrainian form regardless of whether one used the Latin, Polish or even Ukrainian language. Changing the form of a surname was regarded as tantamount to changing the nationality of its bearer. Whether such a change constituted the adoption of a

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<sup>413</sup> Khomyshyn, Hryhorii.] Do Vsechesnoho Dukhoven'stva Stanyslavivskoi Eparkhii. [Stanyslaviv], 1930, 1-6.

<sup>414</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 449, p. 613 (letter from L'viv metropolitan consistory to municipal court in Peremyshliany, 26 March 1934).

<sup>415</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 450, p. 88.

foreign nationality or merely a return to that of one's ancestors was often a matter of dispute. It was natural for a priest baptising a person in the Latin rite to spell his name in its Polish form, and for a priest baptising a person in the Greek rite to render the name in a Ukrainian form.

In the Stanyslaviv eparchy, it was reported in 1938 that Fr. Vasyl' Maksymyk of the Rohatyn district had Ukrainianised over 550 Polish surnames in the parish records. The matter was referred to the procuracy.<sup>416</sup> In March of the following year, it was reported that an official of the Rohatyn district administration had inspected the records at eleven Greek-Catholic parish offices and had confirmed that at every office Polish surnames had been Ukrainianised. This matter was referred to the courts as a criminal case, and the offices were directed to correct the improper entries in the records. Fr. Petro Tkachivs'kyi, parish priest at Han'kivtsi in the Sniatyn district, had presented to the community administration in Zadubrovtsi a birth certificate in which the surname Żurakowski had been altered to the Ukrainian form Żurakowskyj. The local police referred this matter to the procurator at the regional court in Kolomyia for further action.<sup>417</sup>

At a meeting of the clergy of the Stara Sil' deanery on 6 June 1939, the discussion of current affairs centered on the trials and sentences imposed on priests in connection with parish records. In that year, three priests of the deanery had been penalised by suspended sentences of from six to eight months, and two others had been released after trial. The members of the deanery asked the episcopal ordinariat to defend them before the appropriate authorities.<sup>418</sup>

The legal context in which the Greek-Catholic clergy functioned did not change drastically after the fall of Austria, if only because the Polish regime did not succeed in replacing the sophisticated Austrian ecclesiastical legislation with a comprehensive and effective system. Church administration remained fairly constant throughout the period under study, but friction between the clergy and the secular authorities increased under Polish rule. The economic situation saw the greatest change,

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<sup>416</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 384, p. 162.

<sup>417</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 384, p. 159.

<sup>418</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, p. 451.

due to the ravages of the world war, the problems of the Polish economy, and the recession of the 1930s.

It is difficult to characterise the economic state of the Greek-Catholic clergy. Although there seems to have been a real worsening after World War One, the clergy's own accounts of its economic status in relation to the rest of society cannot be expected to be altogether impartial. The fact that the social complexion of this group changed during the period under study, as discussed in the next chapter, is a complicating factor. Yet the objective level of wealth or poverty of the Greek-Catholic clergy is less important here than its perception of that level. This perception was bound up with the parish priests' attitudes on various religious, political and cultural questions, which will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven. As will be seen in the final chapter, it was also an element of their view of their social and historical mission.

## CHAPTER FOUR: THE CLERICAL ESTATE

In addition to the legal and administrative strictures and the economic pressures discussed in the previous chapter, the Greek-Catholic parish priest lived and worked in the midst of a web of human relationships. First, there was the inner circle of relationships: with his family, which in some cases was part of a virtual priestly dynasty; with his fellow priests, who formed a special class within society; with his bishop, who ordained him and to whom he was responsible; and to a limited extent, with the clergy of the Latin rite. These relationships, and the changes which they underwent during the period under study, will be discussed in this chapter. Beyond the inner circle were the parish, and society in general. The priest's relationships with this outer circle will be discussed in Chapter Five.

### 1. Exclusivity

Both Polish and Ukrainian sources have claimed that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Greek-Catholic clergy in Galicia constituted something of a caste. In large priestly families, sons followed in their fathers' footsteps.<sup>419</sup> Fr. Isydor Sokhots'kyi wrote in retrospect that this closed social class cultivated Ukrainian traditions.<sup>420</sup> Writing in 1911, the Polish priest Fr. Jozef Borodzicz contrasted the Latin-rite clergy, which like Melchizedek was called to the priesthood, with the Greek-rite clergy, which like Aaron simply inherited it.<sup>421</sup> An anonymous author writing in the "Gazeta Kościelna" in the following year characterised the Greek-Catholic clergy as a "caste" -- closed in upon itself, conservative, jealous of its material interests, bound up with the family, and worldly.<sup>422</sup>

Upon completing seminary, a candidate who wished to marry had to do so before ordination. It was customary for such a person to

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<sup>419</sup> Śliwa 150. Sokhots'kyi, Isydor.

<sup>420</sup> Sokhots'kyi, Isydor. *Shcho daly hreko-katolyts'ka Tserkva i dukhovenstvo ukrains'komu narodovi?* Philadelphia, 1951, 31-32.

<sup>421</sup> Borodzicz, Jozef. *Na Rusi galicyjskiej Schyzma się gotuje!* Chrzanów, 1911, 35. Fr. Borodzicz uses the term "caste." Melchizedek is mentioned in the Bible at Genesis 14:18, Psalms 110:4 and Hebrews 5.

<sup>422</sup> Z.X.Y. *Prawosławie w Rosyi i jego podłoże w Galicyi*. Lwów, 1912, 3.

immediately set about to find a wife, usually the daughter of a priest.<sup>423</sup> Of a number of marriage certificates of candidate priests in the archive of the Peremyshl' eparchy from 1900-1901, nearly all indicate that the candidate, whether the son of a priest or a peasant, married a priest's daughter.<sup>424</sup> In his memoirs, Fr. Tyt Voinarovs'kyi recounts that having completed his studies in 1878 at the age of 22, he had two years before he could be ordained, and thus could travel about the province visiting families with eligible daughters. He finally married a priest's daughter in 1880, was ordained at the beginning of the following year, and about a month later began his duties as assistant priest to his father-in-law. A little over a year later, after his wife's untimely death, he became assistant priest to his wife's grandfather at Kolodiivka near Stanyslaviv.<sup>425</sup>

The custom of intermarriage among priestly families naturally led to the formation of a caste. In the nineteenth century, this had constituted the one coherent educated elite of Galician Ruthenian society, though in the final decades a secular intelligentsia consisting mostly of professionals (particularly lawyers) began to assert itself. The clergy were generally regarded as a higher class. Fr. O. Prystai recounts that as a secondary school student in the 1880s he fretted about spending his summer holiday at the home of a priest because he did not have the requisite manners and polish.<sup>426</sup> The memoirs of the priest's son and politician Evhen

<sup>423</sup> Korolevskij, Cyrille. Metropolitte André Szeptyckij, 1865-1944. Pratsi Ukrains'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva tom XVI-XVII. Rome, 1964, 48. Msgr. Petro Mel'nychuk of the Stanyslaviv eparchy notes that Bishop Khomyshyn, an opponent of a married clergy, used to recount how as rector of the L'viv seminary in 1902-1904 he had observed that "the final weeks of the school year at the seminary were very difficult in terms of maintaining student discipline, because no one was occupied with his studies, no one prepared properly for examinations or prepared his soul for the priesthood, but for marriage... nearly every seminarian had the addresses of all the married priests who had daughters or of other persons who the seminarians knew had eligible girls; it was towards this, and not towards their theological studies, that their minds were turned." Mel'nychuk, Petro. Vladyka Hryhorii Khomyshyn. Rome-Philadelphia, 1979, 255.

<sup>424</sup> Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe-Przemyśl (WAP-P), Archiwum Biskupstwa Grecko-Katolickiego (ABGK), files 3708-3709.

<sup>425</sup> Voinarovs'kyi, Tyt. "Spohady z moho zhyttia," in Istorychni Postati Halychyny XIX-XX st. Shevchenko Scientific Society Ukrainian Studies vol. 8. New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto, 1961, 16.

<sup>426</sup> Prystai, O. Z Truskavtsia u svit khmaroderiv: spomyny zmynuloho i suchasnoho. (L. Mydlovs'kyi, ed.) vol. I. L'viv-New York, 1933, 203. The young Prystai was relieved, gratified and even inspired to find that Fr. Iakiv Singalevych treated all persons as equals and addressed them in a warm and familiar manner on both private and public occasions, avoiding formal expressions like "panie dzieju." Id. 203-204, 206. For the histories of two

Olesnyts'kyi contain a vivid picture of clerical life in the Stryi area in the 1890s, contrasting it with that of the clergy in Podillia (Podolie) to the east:

In the villages, the entire strength of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the district lay in the clergy. There was much of it, but it did not present a very happy sight. True, here there was no aristocratic clericalism, as in Podillia. The local clergy generally consisted of good people who were hospitable and kind-hearted in their social relations -- and that was all. Social life was possible and pleasant here. Gatherings and receptions at priests' homes had a different character here than in Podillia. There, everything was puffed up and full of the consciousness of one's high dignity, sycophantic towards higher ranks and haughty towards lower ones. Here there were people who had not become overly accustomed to haughty thinking, rather being eager for merriment with a drink or at cards. The latter flourished especially in the mountains around Skolie, where famous specialists appeared, especially in the game of ferbel'. There were not many interested in serious debate, and still fewer in serious systematic work, although -- as it later turned out -- there were people here who given good leadership knew how to set to work and accomplish something good after all. Altogether it was harder to find serious thought or initiative among these people than blind obedience, which they never denied to whoever knew how to win their confidence.<sup>427</sup>

Olesnyts'kyi goes on to describe the priest Fr. V. Davydiak, an energetic and resourceful man, well-educated and well-read, who like most priests in the area was a Russophile but who unlike most Russophiles of the time was not an obscurantist, and did not shun Ukrainian publications. He was also an excellent conversationalist, distinguished by his pleasant manners, friendliness and wit, who "knew how to enjoy himself." In fact he was adept at cards, won a good deal of money, and was known in Skolie as the "king of ferbel."

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prominent Galician priestly families, see Maksymchuk, Ivan O . Narys istorii rodu Petrushevychiy. Chicago, 1967; and Tarnavs'kyi, Fylymon. Spohady, (Bazylevych, Anatol ' M. & Danylevych, Roman I., eds. ) Toronto, 1981, 22.

<sup>427</sup> Olesnyts'kyi, Evhen. Storinky z moho zhyttia. L'viv, 1935, Part II, pp. 13-14.

Olesnyts'kyi also describes Fr. Lev Shankovs'kyi, parish priest at Duliby and dean at Stryi, who was sincere, generous, very hospitable and very merry in company, and at whose house there were always guests. Though a Russophile at heart, he kept his beliefs to himself and lived well with both Ukrainians and Poles. Fr. Shankovs'kyi and Fr. Volodymyr Martynkiv, dean at Skolie, made a jolly pair in society, and both could joke, sing, and dance; indeed, "it seemed that they could make a dead man happy." At the same time they were not fit for public life, and no one expected that they should be.<sup>428</sup>

The Greek-Catholic priestly "caste" was heavily Old Ruthenian in cultural orientation, with occasional Russophile tendencies bordering on the political, as will be discussed in Chapter Six. What is relevant here is the fact that the demise of the Old Ruthenians and Russophiles in the first decades of the twentieth century coincided with the demise of the priestly caste. It would appear that this group underwent social as well as ideological extinction.

A rough picture of the demise of the priestly caste can be drawn by counting the number of family names that appear with a given frequency in the "schematisms" or registers of priests and parishes of the three Galician eparchies at different points in the forty-year span between 1900 and 1939. Although one cannot assume that several priests with the same surname, particularly a common one, will be related, it is reasonable to suppose that a surname appearing five or more times in the schematism of a given eparchy in most cases will belong to a priestly family. Comparing the schematisms for the Peremyshl' eparchy for 1896 and 1934, and those for the L'viv archeparchy for 1897 and 1932-1933, one finds that (1) the absolute number of surnames appearing five or more times in the schematism decreased sharply in each case (from 22 to 8 in Peremyshl', from 24 to 6 in L'viv), (2) the "disappearing" families were not replaced, "new" families appearing with the same frequency being very few (only four "new" family names appeared five or more times in the 1934 Peremyshl' schematism, only three "new" names in the 1932-1933 L'viv schematism).<sup>429</sup> In the 1936

<sup>428</sup> Olesnyts'kyi, Evhen. Storinky z moho zhyttia. L'viv, 1935, Part II, 14-15, 18-19.

<sup>429</sup> Schematismus universi venerabilis cleri ruthenorum catholicorum dioceseos premisliensis, samboriensis et sanocensis pro anno domini 1896.

schematism for the Lemko Apostolic Administration (created in 1934), despite the fact that the Lemko area was known for its large priestly families, only one surname appears more than three times.<sup>430</sup>

An example of a priestly clan that gradually disappeared from the clergy altogether is the Korosten's'kyi family, two members of which already appear in the Peremyshl' schematism of 1828. In the nineteenth century they intermarried with the Il'nyts'kyi and Levyts'kyi families, both well represented in the Peremyshl' eparchial clergy. The 1879 schematism lists five members of the Korostens'kyi family, the 1896 schematism, four. All these were married or widowed. Three appear in the 1902 schematism, but none in 1928 or 1929. The last family members in the priesthood appear to have been two brothers (both members of the Kachkovs'ky Society and therefore presumably Old Ruthenians) who died in 1921 and 1926.<sup>431</sup>

What happened to the sons of such families? Many entered other professions; some entered politics. Such prominent Galician Ukrainian politicians as Oleksander Barvins'kyi (1847-1927), Evhen Olesnyts'kyi (1860-1917), Kost' Levyts'kyi (1859-1941) and the Western Ukrainian dictator Evhen Petrushevych (1863-1940) came from clerical families.<sup>432</sup> The same is true of prominent individuals born somewhat later, such as the composer Filiaret Kolessa (1871-1947), the politician Dmytro Paliiv (1896-1944), and the nationalist leaders Stepan Bandera (1909-1959) and Iaroslav Stets'ko (1912-1986).<sup>433</sup> The

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Premisliae, 1897. Schematismus universi venerabilis cleri archidioceseos metropolitanae ritus graeco-catholici leopoliensis pro anno domini 1897. Leopoli, 1897. Shematyzm hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva L'vivs'koi Arkhieparkhii 1932-1933. L'viv, 1932. Shematyzm hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva zluchenykh eparkhii peremys'koi, sambirs'koi i sianits'koi na rik bozhyi 1934. Peremyshl', 1934.

<sup>430</sup> Shematyzm hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva Apostol'skoi Administratsii Lemkovshchyny 1936. L'viv [1936] (reprinted 1970). This was the Venhrynovych family, which dates back to the seventeenth century and contributed 17 priests as well as 11 priests' wives (letter dated 16 December 1989, and genealogical chart dated 3 December 1989, from Mr. Tyrsus Wenhrynowicz of Damice, Poland). Detailed information on ten priests of this family can be found in WAP-P, ABGK Supl. 177.

<sup>431</sup> WAP-P, ABGK Supl. 182, pp. 309-311. See also the schematisms cited above.

<sup>432</sup> Sokhots'kyi, Isydor. "Budivnychi novitn'oi ukrains'koi derzhavnosty v Halychyni," in Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX-XX st. 102, 118, 137, 159.

<sup>433</sup> Utrysko, Myron, ed. Boikiyshchyna. Shevchenko Scientific Society Ukrainian Archive series vol. XXXIV. Philadelphia-New York, 1980, 94, 104; Kubijovyc, Volodymyr, ed. Encyclopedia of Ukraine. Vol. I. Toronto-Buffalo-



Petrushevych family included some ten priests in the nineteenth century, not counting a few sons-in-law who were also priests. But it appears that in the twentieth century most of their descendants became lawyers or teachers.<sup>434</sup> Indeed, Fr. Sokhots'kyi claims that most of the "professors" who constituted the first generation of secular Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia and of the "lawyers" who followed them and led Ukrainian politics in the twentieth century were sons of Greek-Catholic priests.<sup>435</sup> It has been estimated that although in the inter-war period, the majority of the Ukrainian intelligentsia was of peasant origin, during the first decade of this period around twenty per cent were of priestly origin.<sup>436</sup>

Mel'nychuk asserts that married priests generally had only one or two children, and only rarely three or four; few of these entered the clergy, and sons often became Radicals or Communists.<sup>437</sup> In 1916, *Nyva* complained that many priests' sons had become enemies of the Church and especially of the clergy, and blamed this on their fathers' failure to teach them that the Church was closely tied to the people. The sons regarded their fathers' priestly work as motivated simply by pecuniary gain, and concluded that the clergy were the enemies of the common folk.<sup>438</sup> A Polish writer concerned with Russian Orthodox influence in the Greek-Catholic Church pointed out in 1912 that priestly families could be a source of destructive ideas, noting that free love was first preached in Galicia by a priest's daughter, and that a priest's son headed the Radical movement.<sup>439</sup>

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London, 1985, 169; Armstrong, John A. Ukrainian Nationalism (2nd. ed. ) Littleton, Colorado, 1980, 54.

<sup>434</sup> Maksymchuk, Ivan O. Narys istorii rodu Petrushevychiv. Chicago, 1967, passim.

<sup>435</sup> Sokhots'kyi 39.

<sup>436</sup> Stępień, Stanisław. "W Kręgu Badań nad Społeczeństwem II Rzeczypospolitej. Społeczność Ukrainśka." Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne. r. IV-V, 1987, 160.

<sup>437</sup> Mel'nychuk, Petro. Vladyka Hryhorii Khomyshyn. Rome-Philadelphia, 1979, 248.

<sup>438</sup> o. S.M. z B. "Natsional'ne vykhovannia klyru." *Nyva* No. 3, 1916, p. 163.

<sup>439</sup> Z.X.Y. Prawosławie w Rosyi i jego podłoże w Galicyi. Lwów, 1912, 102.

The first reference is presumably to the feminist and socialist Nataliia Kobryns'ka (1851 or 1855-1920), daughter of the parish priest Fr. Ivan Ozarkevych (1826-1903), who herself was married to a parish priest (Fr. Teofil' Kobryns'kyi, d. 1882). See Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Martha, "Natalia Kobryns'ka: Formulator of Feminism," in Markovits, Andrei S. & Sysyn, Frank E., eds. Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia. Cambridge, Mass., 1982, 196-219, esp. 197, 199. The priest's son was probably Iuliian Bachyns'kyi, born 1870, son of the L'viv canon, vicar-

Whether or not Oedipal rebellion was an important phenomenon in Galician clerical families, it is significant that sons began to enter other professions. As will be seen in Chapter Five, the Old Ruthenian convictions and the social conservatism of the clergy, as well as their reputed aloofness from the common people, may well have played a role in deterring priests' sons from following in their fathers' footsteps. Economic ruin and political discreditation of Old Ruthenians and Russophiles during and after the World War were probably more important factors.<sup>440</sup> In the meantime, the economic hardship and employment discrimination suffered by the peasantry and lower middle class in particular brought fresh blood into the clergy.

## 2. Celibacy

One phenomenon to which the fall of the priestly dynasties cannot be attributed is the introduction of compulsory priestly celibacy, discussed in Chapter Two. For compulsory celibacy to diminish the number of priestly families would require at least 25 years, since the absence of priests' sons from the clergy could only be assumed after the lapse of the number of years in which a candidate would otherwise marry and have a child and in which his son would complete his studies and be ordained. Thus, even the introduction of partial celibacy in the L'viv seminary in 1918 could not have affected the existence of priestly families in the L'viv archeparchy until 1943; the introduction of compulsory celibacy in Stanyslaviv in 1920 could not have registered its effects until 1945, and that in Peremyshl' in 1925 would only have made itself felt in 1950. Furthermore, the priestly family as a horizontal unit -- that is, in the fraternal rather

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general and seminary rector Fr. Oleksander Bachyns'kyi (1844-1933). The younger Bachyns'kyi, author of Ukraina Irredenta (1896), moved to the Ukrainian SSR in 1929 and was arrested there in 1934.

<sup>440</sup> Evhen Olesnyts'kyi says in his memoirs that the Shankovs'kyi family "were reduced to beggars" by the war, when the villages of Duliby and Hrabovets' were burnt to the ground in the military operations of 1914 and 1915. The church, the rectory, all the parish buildings and the school at Duliby were destroyed. Fr. Petro Shankovs'kyi, the only son of the Old Ruthenian Fr. Lev Shankovs'kyi and his successor as dean of the Stryi deanery, had abandoned Russophilism and become an active Ukrainian. He served both Duliby, where he lived, and Hrabovets'. Because of a false denunciation, Fr. Petro Shankovs'kyi was arrested by the Austrian military tribunal in Stryi and spent three weeks in jail. Olesnyts'kyi, Evhen. Spohady z moho zhyttia. L'viv, 1935, Part II, 20.

than the filial relationship -- naturally existed as long as the last generation of priests' sons survived.

However, the imposition of compulsory priestly celibacy in two eparchies and the encouragement of celibacy in the third did affect the social complexion and status of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy in other ways. Most obviously, the number of married priests declined. In 1879, 604 of the 770 secular priests of the Peremyshl' eparchy were married and 131 widowed, with only 35 celibates.<sup>441</sup> Twenty-three years later the picture had not changed substantially: there were 654 married priests and 200 widowers out of 897 priests in 1902, with only 43 celibates.<sup>442</sup> In the Stanyslaviv eparchy in 1897, 425 of the 534 parish priests were married and 101 were widowers, with only eight celibate priests.<sup>443</sup> Between 1914 and 1938, however, the picture changed dramatically in all three eparchies. In the L'viv archdiocese, the number of celibate priests jumped from 38 to 154 (14.67% of the eparchial clergy in 1938); in Peremyshl', from 13 to 206 (25.3% of the eparchial clergy in 1938); in Stanyslaviv, from 61 to 245 (46.7%). Overall, the number of celibate priests in the Galician province increased by a factor of nearly six (from 112 in 1914 to 605 in 1938), from 9.55% of the clergy to 25.25%. By 1938, married priests numbered 1,541 or 64% of the clergy, and widowers 244 or 10.75%.<sup>444</sup>

What one cannot quantify is the change in the motivations of men entering the priesthood in this period. In the Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl' eparchies, a vocation to the priesthood meant a commitment to celibacy. This was a radical break with the tradition of the priestly caste -- and with the expectation of a comfortable family life. It required a willingness to sacrifice the prospect of continuing the kind of life one had grown up with, and to enter an unfamiliar state of being which moreover would resemble that of the traditional competitors, the Polish clergy. In any case, according to Cyrille Korolevskij it was only a small minority of Greek-Catholic priests that favoured celibacy, and only some of these wished it to be

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<sup>441</sup> Schematismus universi venerabilis cleri ruthenorum catholicorum dioeceseos premisliensis, samboriensis et sanocensis, pro anno domini 1879. Premisliae [1879?], 198.

<sup>442</sup> Schematismus (1902), 195. The actual number of parish priests (presbyteri in cura animarum) is 864, but this figure is not broken down by marital status.

<sup>443</sup> Schematismus universi cleri greco-catholicae diocesis stanislaopoliensis pro anno domini 1897. Stanislaopoli, 1897.

<sup>444</sup> Śliwa 157.

compulsory; the overwhelming majority opposed it.<sup>445</sup> When on 31 August 1918 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi announced in his official bulletin that half the places in the L'viv seminary would be reserved for those committed to celibacy, the first deputation to attempt to persuade him to withdraw the order was composed of priests.<sup>446</sup>

According to the lay protest to Rome against the imposition of priestly celibacy in the Peremyshl' eparchy, the clergy passed various resolutions against this action at their deanery meetings, and in both the Peremyshl' and the Stanyslaviv eparchy celibates as well as married and widowed priests appealed to Church authorities against their bishops' actions in this regard.<sup>447</sup>

The debate over compulsory priestly celibacy was at least formally a matter of canon law,<sup>448</sup> and also figured in the controversy between "Byzantinists" and "Westernisers" (see Chapter Seven, Section 1). Here it is relevant to note the arguments of a socio-economic nature, which loomed large in the public discussion. In replying to the prominent lay representatives Oleksander Barvins'kyi (a priest's son) and Iulian Romanchuk (a son of a priest's daughter), who after the failure of a larger delegation to dissuade him from his decision on celibacy visited him on 16 September 1918, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi pointed out that under current conditions, there were many positions in which a married priest could not survive. For example, there were catechetical posts not yielding sufficient income to support a family, some 200 parishes so ravaged during the war that the rectory could not possibly house a family, and many posts for an assistant priest who would not even have his own kitchen and must live in a small room in the parish priest's home, not to mention missionary positions for which a married priest could not even apply. The metropolitan also rejected the argument -- frequently advanced by the laity -- that priestly celibacy would cut off the socio-biological sources of the lay

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<sup>445</sup> Korolevskij 49-50. Korolevskij refers to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's 1928 memorandum to Pope Pius XI, in which he explains some of the difficulties in the introduction of celibacy among the Galician Ukrainians, such as the lack of a tradition of celibate clergy and the antipathy for the one example of clerical celibacy with which they were familiar: the Polish priest.

<sup>446</sup> V oboroni prav nashoi Hreko-katol. tserkvy. L'viv, 1929, Appendix, 17.

<sup>447</sup> V oboroni prav 19, 21.

<sup>448</sup> A recent work arguing that priestly celibacy is in fact part of the tradition of the Eastern Churches is Cholij, Roman. Clerical Celibacy in East and West. Leominster, Herefordshire, 1988.

intelligentsia, pointing out that celibate priests would be better able to provide education for peasant sons and daughters. Finally, he asserted that the great majority of married priests actually favoured the increase in numbers of celibates.<sup>449</sup>

The imposition of compulsory celibacy in the Peremyshl' eparchy in 1925 does seem to have caused a drop in ordinations -- from 44 in 1925 and 43 in the following year (third and fourth year students presumably would have been reluctant to drop out at that stage) to ten in 1927, six in 1928, 17 in 1929 and 18 in 1930. Although the number of ordinations reached 34 in 1938, it did not regain the level of 1925.<sup>450</sup> This made it all the more difficult to fill the many vacancies in the Peremyshl' eparchy.<sup>451</sup>

Proponents and opponents of priestly celibacy disputed the comparative zeal with which married and unmarried priests carried on pastoral work. According to some accounts, married priests were more dedicated to working with their parishioners than celibates, who tended instead to continue their education.<sup>452</sup> However, Bishop Khomyshyn argued that a celibate priest was more inclined to make sacrifices, even of his life, than one with family responsibilities. He was also readier to engage in social work: it was celibate priests, and not married priests or laymen, who worked in Catholic orphanages.<sup>453</sup>

Married as opposed to celibate priests seem to have enjoyed the approval of a good part of the laity. In the anonymous brochure of 1929 directed against Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi's imposition of celibacy and other alleged abuses, the theory was put forth that compulsory priestly celibacy was a Polish plan to undermine the Greek-Catholic clergy, who "through family ties have become fused with the people and have become its strength."<sup>454</sup> This in turn was part of a broader plan of social and political domination:

For while in earlier times, celibacy might have been only one of the auxiliary methods by which to destroy the enemy, today its has become

<sup>449</sup> V oboroni pray Appendix, 20-22.

<sup>450</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5157 (notes for reply to inquiry of L'viv county administration, December 1938).

<sup>451</sup> V oboroni pray 20-21.

<sup>452</sup> V. Mashchak, "Vydy dushpastyrs'kykh zainiat' pered 1-oiu i 2-oiu Svitovoju Viinoiu" (unpublished manuscript).

<sup>453</sup> Mel'nychuk 249-250.

<sup>454</sup> V oboroni pray 60.

foremost and urgent. In Soviet Ukraine, the social structure of the village has already changed, while here change is coming too, though by other ways. And some day the priest's household will share the fate of today's estate: it will be called upon to become a center of culture, an aid to social order, not only a religious-moral bastion but a patrician of national life. For without patricians no people can exist. If it lacks its own, it must have others'. But in doing this it will give those others dominance over itself.

Our neighbours understand this well and, as a counterweight, they hurriedly build kościółki and, per fas et nefas, they obtain land for the maintenance of pastors. They also understand that the home of our married clergy must be a powerful factor, and that it must be neutralised. And the surest way to convert the clergy to a plebeian psychology, to atomise it, to tear it away from its broad native horizons, to draw it away from the peasant or else to drown it in the peasants' mire, to ingratiate oneself "with cap and pap" and to make it the handle of the axe that is to undercut the very trunk of the people, the peasant mass, is -- aside from material subversion -- **celibacy**. **Only boundless naivete fails to see this, while boundless venality fails to admit it.**

The "unseen hand" whispers to us that celibacy, as a high virtue, is an **end** in itself, which shall become an abundant source of grace. But in fact celibacy is not an end, but a **means** by which they can achieve their end. And the end? To deprive the Ukrainian peasant people of its spiritual and material basis, to bring about its total impoverishment and to conquer it once and for all.<sup>455</sup>

The author of the brochure also claimed that, contrary to the assertions of the Polish publication *Czas* ("an organ of the Cracow Jesuits and Stańczyks"), the Ukrainian peasantry was not indifferent to the issue of priestly celibacy. Rather, it was "extremely hostile to priestly celibacy," since it desired to see its pastors as examples of family morality. The author, presumably a member of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, associated celibacy with the stereotype of Polish corruption and hypocrisy, by contrast with the equally stereotypical morality of the Ukrainian peasant:

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<sup>455</sup> V oboroni prav 61.

[Our people] is scandalised and looks with contempt on the "housekeepers" and "cousins" of Polish priests. Our people does not understand "two sets of books" in morality: one from the pulpit, another in practice, to which the Poles have become accustomed with regard to their priests. And it is precisely for this reason that our peasantry will most decisively oppose celibacy, as a blow against village morality and as a bridge to Latinism and to Poland.<sup>456</sup>

### 3. Solidarity

Socio-economic changes in Galician society as well as the imposition of compulsory celibacy undermined the priestly caste and paved the way for the creation of a new type of clergy. In the meantime, there was a danger that the priests' *esprit de corps*, their sense of professional solidarity, might suffer. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi recognised this danger even before he had assumed the Metropolitan seat. In his first pastoral letter as Bishop of Stanyslaviv in 1899, addressed to the clergy of the eparchy, he lamented the fact that the clergy had lost its sense of solidarity along with its leadership of society. The clergy was often divided among itself, due to the development of political, scholarly and literary life. Sheptyts'kyi ended his letter with a call for "MORE MUTUAL SOLIDARITY!" and an appeal to his priests to be "of one spirit."<sup>457</sup> In his 1902 pastoral letter to the clergy on canonical visitations, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi again emphasised the importance of priestly solidarity, and decried the party strife and other political and national conflicts that divided the clergy.<sup>458</sup>

On 13 February 1905 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, Bishop Konstantyn Chekhovych of Peremyshl' and Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv issued their first joint pastoral letter to

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<sup>456</sup> V oboroni prav. Appendix, 29, 1. The passage quoted separately was censored by the procuracy of the L'viv circuit court from the 1925 brochure "Zakhody kolo vvedennia tselibatu v nashim dukhovenstvi," but published in the appendix to the 1929 brochure cited above after it (and other censored passages) had been made public by an interpellation in the Sejm addressed to the Minister of Justice by the club of Ukrainian deputies on 15 May 1925.

<sup>457</sup> Tvory Sluhv Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho. Vol. I. Pastyr's'ki lysty (2.VIII.1899-7.IX.1901). Toronto, 1965, 22, 27.

<sup>458</sup> Poslaniie pastyr'ske Andreia Sheptyts'koho Mytropolyta Halytskoho, Arkhiiepyskopa L'vovskoho, Epyskopa Kamentsia Podol'skoho do Dukhoven'stva Soiedynenykh ieparkhii O kanonichnoi vyzytatsii. Zhovkva, 1902, 20-22.

their clergy, "On Solidarity." They flatly stated that in their province "a clergy, as a solid body" did not exist. "Clergy" was but a concept: it existed only in theory. Among the reasons for this were the lack of a priestly spirit, as well as political party strife and language differences which reflected the divisions among the laity. In particular they criticised priests who published articles in the press attacking Church authorities and institutions as well as one another. Aside from matters of material or practical interest, the Greek-Catholic priests could only form a majority in support of an enterprise if it was wrapped in "patriotic clothing." The bishops advised their clergy to concentrate more on spiritual matters such as reading the Bible, praying, making confession and conducting spiritual exercises. This would lead to greater solidarity.<sup>459</sup>

One cause of friction among priests was their interference in each other's parishes. Populist priests would sometimes found reading rooms propagating their ideology in the parishes of the conservative Russophiles, much to the latter's annoyance. This caused so much conflict that on 27 July 1908, the L'viv Metropolitan Ordinariat issued a regulation prohibiting parish priests from interfering in the affairs of each other's parishes.<sup>460</sup>

"The Problem of the Unification of Forces of the Ruthenian Clergy" was the theme of an address presented at the general meeting of the Society of St. Paul the Apostle on 8 December 1910 in L'viv by Fr. Iosyf Botsian. Fr. Botsian stressed that unity amongst the Ruthenian clergy was necessary in the face of multiple threats from a hostile press, a religiously indifferent intelligentsia, schismatic propaganda, and a "soul- snatching polonising attack on our rite and our clergy." If the course of the past twenty years were to continue, he declared, then in another twenty years there would be no more need for the Greek-Catholic clergy. Idle, they would be entirely discredited, as among the Czechs and the French. But it was not a matter of defending the clergy's position, influence or interests as a professional class, but of defending the faith of the people from the

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<sup>459</sup> Poslanie pastyrskie Andreia Sheptytskoho ... Konstantyna Chekhovycha ... Hryhoriia Khomyshyna ... do dukhoven'stva svoikh eparkhii O solidarnosti. Zhovkva, 1905, 4-5, 11-14, 22, 24-25, 28.

<sup>460</sup> Levyts'kyi, Kost'. Istoriiia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukrainistiv 1848-1914. L'viv, 1926, 494-495.



twin threats of atheism and Orthodoxy. It was this that required unity, that demanded "closed ranks facing two fronts."<sup>461</sup>

Evidently, the Greek-Catholic parish clergy's engagement in civic and economic work in the nineteenth century had led to a certain secularisation of their outlook, to the detriment of spirituality and priestly solidarity.<sup>462</sup> An anonymous priest looking back in 1937 to the early years of the century wrote that some priests preferred to associate with atheists, Radicals and schismatics of their own political party while regarding priests of another party as enemies. Priests filled the periodicals of the time with "lampoons, calumny, malicious gossip, baseless attacks against priests and even Bishops." The priests' overzealous involvement in the reading-room movement divided them further. It would even happen that while one priest was celebrating Mass, his neighbour would come to the village and, without his knowledge or approval, hold a meeting at the reading-room.<sup>463</sup>

Priestly solidarity was one of the topics to be discussed at the extraordinary deanery meetings ordered by the Peremyshl' episcopal ordinariat in early 1912. Dean Teodor Merena stated at the Korosno deanery meeting on 3 February 1912 that despite the bishops' appeal of 1905, not all the priests of his deanery communicated with each other, and hatred remained. They were undermining each other's authority in the eyes of the faithful.<sup>464</sup>

In the period before World War One, much of the divisiveness among the Greek-Catholic clergy stemmed from conflicts between Old Ruthenians and Russophiles on the one hand, and populists on the other. These movements will be discussed in Chapter Six. In the 1920s and 1930s, they were supplanted by other cultural and political trends. However, the problem of clerical solidarity had not been eliminated. In 1927 Fr. Ivan Shpytal' addressed a meeting of the clergy of the Staryi Sambir deanery, saying that solidarity was

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<sup>461</sup> Botsian, "Problemi z'iedynenia syl ruskoho klrya." *Nyva* No. 1, 1911, p.14.

<sup>462</sup> Himka, John-Paul. The Greek-Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia (reprint of "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building, 1772-1918," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* vol. VIII, no. 3/4, 426-452, and another article) Cambridge, Mass., 1986, 443-444.

<sup>463</sup> Prosvitnyi rukh v Halychyni. L'viv, 1937, 56, 59, 61. The author probably refers to events in the Stanyslaviv eparchy.

<sup>464</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3848, p. 16.

needed in the face of anti-Christian threats and of the declining significance of the clerical state in society.<sup>465</sup>

The lack of solidarity appears to have been one aspect of a general problem of priestly morale. Various observers diagnosed this condition differently and attributed it to different causes. In August 1905 Bishop Khomyshyn blamed poor seminary education for the "mechanical and cold" character of pastoral work and the clergy's lack of initiative. Lacking a strong apostolic spirit, the clergy could not struggle against destructive currents and instead sought strange harmonies between Christian principles and trends hostile to the faith. Priests' families followed secular fashions, and "rarely can you find a priestly family that would say their morning and evening prayers together."<sup>466</sup>

At Lent in the following year, an anonymous author (probably a priest) blamed the centralism of earlier church administrations for the passive character of the priesthood. The consistory at L'viv had ceased to be a representative organ of the clergy, and was reduced to a humble bureaucratic office. Accustomed to taking orders, the priests were incapable of taking any initiative. The hierarchy, for their part, were "crushed by our difficult times;" they did not even dare to think about raising the prestige and authority of their Church from second-rate status. Pastoral letters about solidarity had been to no avail; what was needed was a spirit of independent action which, arising from an awareness of the threat to the Greek-Catholic Church and of that Church's lofty mission, would "electrify the entire collective organism of our clergy." The clergy bore all the signs of death, like Lazarus -- but like Lazarus, it would awaken to its historic mission.<sup>467</sup>

The laymen of the Peremyshl' eparchy who complained in 1926 to the Pope about their bishop blamed him for the demoralisation of their clergy through discriminatory distribution of benefices, honours, offices and favours.<sup>468</sup> The anonymous, probably lay author of the 1929 brochure cited above painted a strange and melancholy picture of clerical life in the Stanyslaviv eparchy:

<sup>465</sup> AP-P, ABGK file 5343, pp. 1147-1148.

<sup>466</sup> Poslaniie pastyrskoe Hryhoriia Khomyshyna epyskopa stanyslavivskoho do dukhoven'stva svoiei eparkhii o diial'nosti sviashchennykhii. Stanyslaviv, 1905, 11-14.

<sup>467</sup> Brat Virnyi. De ie ruskvi klyr? L'viv, 1906, 13-15, 26-29, 37-39.

<sup>468</sup> V oboroni prav 23.

In Stanyslaviv the clergy today is already divided, weakened, humiliated, totally converted into a "Church obedient." Only two priests, if they are friends, can converse sincerely, when they have the good fortune to meet. If a third is present it is already dangerous, for one cannot know whether he might not make a denunciation. More numerous meetings are permitted only in the presence of a "man of confidence." And as for these "men of confidence" -- who can enumerate them and who can grasp their task? The eparchial funds serve different persons and different aims. One can only read what the authorities permit. Participation in civic organisations is possible only secretly, or with a planned anti-civic goal. All of life is confined to the sacristy....<sup>469</sup>

Writing in the January 1935 issue of *Nyva*, Fr. Vasyl' Pryshliak observed that poverty aggravated the problem of morale: "We see that together with economic decline comes moral depression." He described the threats and pressures that demoralised and sometimes divided the priests of the L'viv archeparchy:

Finally the morally negative factors, which are visibly growing stronger, strike us from all sides -- from our flock, from leftist elements, from sectarian religious subversion, and in addition from external factors.

... we regret to state that the present moment is the least propitious for our efforts. For not only has it nurtured material need, but it methodically strives to break the spirit of our clergy. Here and there it makes breakthroughs, destroying personalities, and we look in helpless dismay at the lack of discipline of certain individuals who compromise both the clerical state and their sacred mission.

Contrary to the canons and professional discipline, our prestige is infringed, for aspirations and ambitions thrive. Not infrequently, the contacts of some of us go so far that they draw outside factors, hostile to us, into the whirlpool of their professional affairs -- and there rises to the surface an unpleasant embarrassment and the humiliation not only of an individual, but of the entire clerical state, in

which they somehow found themselves by chance.<sup>470</sup>

In *Nyva's* April-May issue of that year, Fr. Pryshliak wrote that his fellow priests were for the most part scattered and passive. Even those who contributed to *Nyva* confined themselves to academic questions instead of tackling live, contemporary issues.<sup>471</sup>

In the Stanyslaviv eparchy, the jailing of priests for "falsification" of parish records contributed to low morale. "The very great and almost universal material poverty and moral depression creates in some priests a kind of indifference to general church matters, so that almost nothing interests them," reported *Dobryi Pastyr* in its chronicle for the year 1939.<sup>472</sup>

Efforts were made to remedy the problems of divisiveness and demoralisation. There were priestly societies, charitable funds, and publications. In their 1905 joint pastoral letter on priestly solidarity, the Greek-Catholic bishops of Galicia complained that general meetings of the Society of St. Peter or St. Paul drew only ten to twenty priests, and rarely took any positive action. The widows' and orphans' funds depended on the work of a few, and it took all the pressure that could be exerted by the deaneries, consistories and ordinariat to compel priests to make donations. When a clerical newspaper appeared, they noted, out of nearly 3,000 priests one or two hundred at most would subscribe, and hardly any would send contributions.<sup>473</sup> In 1906 the pseudonymous author of the pamphlet *De ie ruskyi klyr?* ("Where is the Ruthenian clergy?") reported that the Society of St. Paul the Apostle, which ought to crystallise the clergy's thinking about its ideal and its mission, had many members but so few active ones that only 24 had attended the annual general meeting that year.<sup>474</sup>

Priestly apathy was not the only problem. The Society of St. Paul the Apostle, which published the journal *Nyva* from 1904, was dissolved by the government in 1925, evidently because it protested government action to the League of Nations. In its place was founded the Society of St. Andrew the Apostle. The Theological Scholarly

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<sup>470</sup> *Nyva* No. 1, 1935, 5.

<sup>471</sup> Pryshliak, Vasyl'. "Novi Zavdannia Tov. sv. Andreia." *Nyva* No. 4-5, April-May 1935, 122, 124.

<sup>472</sup> "Khronika," *Dobryi Pastyr*, 1939, p. 105.

<sup>473</sup> *Poslanie pastyrskie ... O solidarnosti*. Zhovkva, 1905, 23.

<sup>474</sup> Brat Virnyi. *De ie ruskyi klyr?* L'viv, 1906, 23-25.

Society, founded in 1923, published the journal *Bohosloviia* and also took over *Nyva*. In the Peremyshl' eparchy, a priests' mutual aid society known as Peremys'ka Eparkhiial'na Pomich, founded in 1918, included nearly the entire clergy. There were accusations, however, that Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi had founded this Society to counter-act the Fund for Priests' Widows and Orphans. In Stanyslaviv, the Society of Celibate Priests of St. Josaphat, which published "Dobryi Pastyr" and initiated "Nova Zoria," comprised the entire eparchial clergy. There was also a mutual aid society which provided funds for funerals and aided widows of priests.<sup>475</sup> Nevertheless, in 1935 Fr. Lev Hlynka expressed the opinion that eparchial priestly societies were not enough; what was needed was a single priests' organisation for the entire Galician province to defend the material and moral interests of the clergy.<sup>476</sup>

Among the editors of *Nyva* after World War One were Fr. Iaroslav Levyts'kyi (see Chapter 2), Fr. Havryil Kostel'nyk (1920 to October 1929), Fr. Petro Khomyn (November 1929 to January 1938), and Fr. P. Kozits'kyi (February 1938 to the last issue in 1939). In the 1930s the journal was frequently censored, and the entire issue for May, 1934 was confiscated, though some copies were distributed.<sup>477</sup> As had been frankly stated in that year's January issue, every editor of a Ukrainian publication was surrounded by prohibitions, censorship and the danger of fines. Both ecclesiastical and governmental pressures forced the editor of a religious journal in particular to keep to the narrow limits of permissible content.<sup>478</sup> By the late 1930s the journal had taken on a rather sedate character, avoiding polemics and dedicating more attention to historical subjects.

In December 1937, *Nyva* criticised Bishop Khomyshyn's instructions to his clergy not to participate in secular organisations. One year later Bishop Khomyshyn announced in his official bulletin that his clergy were henceforth forbidden to subscribe to *Nyva*

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<sup>475</sup> Sliwa 157-158; *Nyva* No. 1, 1939, 23; *V oboroni prav* 24, 27, Appendix p. 2; Mel'nychuk 211, 258.

<sup>476</sup> Hlynka, Lev. "Potreba spil'noi organizatsii ukrains'koho katolyts'koho dukhovenstva," *Nyva* No. 4-5, 1935, 137-141.

<sup>477</sup> *Nyva* No. 5, 1934; No. 6-7, 1934, 201, 240.

<sup>478</sup> *Nyva* No. 1, 1939, 140-144.

"directly or indirectly," or to read it. The resulting debate continued into 1939.<sup>479</sup>

Bishop Khomyshyn did have his own publication for the clergy, the weekly newspaper "Nova Zoria," published from 1926. For two years it was edited by the seminary rector Fr. Tyt Halushchyns'kyi, a Basilian. Then the well-known journalist Osyp Nazaruk, a former free-thinker and anti-clericalist, took over and continued a spirited attack on the Bishop's opponents, especially *Nyva*. "Nova Zoria" soon had a print run of 5,000. Later it began to appear twice a week, and claimed 10,000 subscribers.<sup>480</sup> Unlike *Nyva*, "Nova Zoria" was directed at a broader audience, including the secular intelligentsia.

#### 4. Priests and Bishops

It was not only in the Greek-Catholic Church that conflicts occasionally arose between the lower clergy and their bishops. In societies where the episcopate was drawn from the aristocracy, differences were inevitable. The fact that bishops were drawn from the monastic clergy added a further dimension to these differences, in both the Eastern and the Western Church.<sup>481</sup> In the Greek-Catholic Church, the Basilian monastic order had become the sole source of bishops, though after the L'viv provincial synod of 1891 non-monastic priests (such as Bishop Khomyshyn) could be consecrated as well.

One way in which bishops differed from parish priests was education (see Chapter One). Generally, future bishops were sent abroad to study. Those who went to Innsbruck or Rome to be educated by the Jesuits naturally came under western and specifically Latin influences sometimes resented by the rank and file clergy. When the students of the Ruthenian seminary in Rome were

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<sup>479</sup> *Nyva* No. 1, 1939, 20.

<sup>480</sup> Mel'nychuk 212-213, 216.

<sup>481</sup> Pospelovsky, Dimitry. The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime, 1917-1982. Vol. I. Crestwood, New York, 1984, 44-45. With regard to the Russian Church, Pospelovsky attributes this conflict to the "learned" or "academic" monasticism required of those aspiring to episcopal careers, a worldly phenomenon borrowed in the seventeenth century from the Roman Catholic Church by the Kiev Academy and having nothing to do with genuine monasticism. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi referred to the hostility of priests towards monks, who were accused of ambition, in his first pastoral letter as Bishop of Stanyslaviv, on 2 August 1899. "Nasha prohrama," in Tvory Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho. Vol. I. Pastyr's'ki lysty (2.VIII.1899-7.IX.1901) Toronto, 1965, 21.

transferred in 1904 from the tutelage of the Jesuits to that of the Basilians, the objection remained, for the Basilians (particularly after their reform by the Jesuits in 1882) were known for their latinising tendencies.<sup>482</sup>

The political role of the episcopate was another potential source of friction with the lower clergy. The attempts of Metropolitan Syl'vester Sembratovych (1885-1898) to find a political accommodation with the Poles, which failed along with Barvins'kyi's "New Era," were opposed by the lower clergy, and created a gulf between priests and bishop.<sup>483</sup>

In the joint pastoral letter of 1905 to the clergy, the three eparchial bishops criticised the improper understanding of priestly solidarity which pitted the clergy against their bishop. Too often priests would fail to inform their bishop of their fellows' errors (after reproaches in private and at a deanery meeting had failed). Yet they accused the bishops of failing to solidarise with them. "You wish us bishops to be in solidarity with you, but you do not consider yourselves obligated to help us in that which is the most difficult part of our duties in correcting those who are falling or who have fallen," they wrote. Furthermore, there were priests who criticised "every step of the bishop" in the press. "When enemies publicly attack us, there are those among you who are glad of this!"<sup>484</sup> A Polish observer wrote in 1912 that the Greek-Catholic clergy were divided from, and hostile to, their bishops.<sup>485</sup> In his 1910 address before the Society of St. Paul the Apostle in L'viv, Fr. Iosyf Botsian (who less than four years later would be consecrated Bishop of Lutsk in a Kiev hotel room by his fellow prisoner Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi) denounced the habit of criticising the civic and even the church activity of one's bishop, which on the part of intemperate priests would sometimes culminate in a declaration of no confidence in him. Confidence in the bishop and unity with him, said Fr. Botsian, was "the first and necessary condition" for the unification of the clergy.<sup>486</sup>

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi sought to bring the eparchial clergy closer to the episcopate, visiting the priests of the L'viv archeparchy

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<sup>482</sup> V oboroni pray Appendix, 16.

<sup>483</sup> Korolevskij 60.

<sup>484</sup> Poslanie pastyrskie ... O solidarnosti. Zhovkva, 1905, 16-17, 18-19.

<sup>485</sup> Z.X.Y. Prawosławie w Rosyi i jego podroże w Galicyi. Lwów, 1912, 98.

<sup>486</sup> "Problem z'iedynienia syl ruskoho klyra," Nyva No. 1, 1911, 11-13.

every summer beginning in 1902 and continuing, with interruptions, until his illness prevented further travel in 1932. In this time, according to Korolevskij, he managed to visit each deanery.<sup>487</sup> Episcopal visitations were not always appreciated by the parish priests. It did occur that during a visitation the priest would prevent persons with a grievance against him from seeing the bishop. In their 1905 pastoral letter the bishops pointed out that the parish clergy should regard them as friends, not enemies. "Truly, the behaviour of many towards us is at times so insincere that it would appear that distrust of authority has become a general rule."<sup>488</sup>

The clergy had their own complaints against their bishops. As suggested by the remarks of the pseudonymous pamphleteer of 1906 cited above, there was a feeling that the hierarchy was not doing enough to protect the Church. Nor, in his opinion, did the bishops protect their clergy from attacks by the laity and by the Polish clergy.<sup>489</sup>

Writing in 1934, Henryk Ignacy Lubieński attributed the conflict between the Greek-Catholic bishops and clergy to the persistent influence of Byzantine Orthodox tradition. In discipline, he stated, Greek-rite priests differed greatly from Latin-rite clerics. Historically, Greek-Catholic priests had often demonstrated hostility to their bishops, such as to Metropolitan Sembratovych; now Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv was the victim. Most of the Greek-Catholic clergy, even in his own eparchy, opposed his pronouncements. They concurred, or at any rate silently acquiesced, in the campaign to overturn his authority and to discredit him publicly. They brought secular Ukrainian society into the fray, inspiring press campaigns against their bishops. But the bishops themselves were not without fault, noted Lubieński; when the clergy of two eparchies signed a petition protesting against a decision of the bishop of the third, their bishops did not object.<sup>490</sup>

The clergy, as represented by the editors of *Nyva*, defended their right to dissent publicly from their bishops' orders. Surely, they wrote in 1939, they were not obligated to agree to everything "like a

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487 Korolevskij 57.

488 Posłanie pastyrskie ... O solidarnosti 17.

489 Brat Virnyi 9-10, 26, 28.

490 Lubieński, Henryk Ignacy. "Kościoł Grecko-Katolicki w województwach południowo-wschodnich." Sprawy Narodowościowe. Rok VIII, Nr. 5- 6 (October-December 1934), 549, 553.



dumb herd." After all, the bishop's ideas were not infallible. In matters that did not directly concern dogma or the bishop's authority, it was permissible to express a different opinion in the press. As long as they did not violate the general discipline of the Church, the priests could advocate an ideology different from that of their bishop. As for Bishop Khomyshyn's order forbidding his clergy to read *Nyva* -- the point of departure of this editorial -- it was unheard of that one bishop should forbid his clergy to read a publication that was published by permission of another.<sup>491</sup>

Despite the controversies over celibacy, participation in secular organisations and *Nyva*, Bishop Khomyshyn appears to have had close and cordial relations with his clergy. Fr. Roman Lobodych (ordained in 1917), rector of the Stanyslaviv cathedral from 1930 to 1935, recalls that the bishop frequently visited his priests, particularly those who were ill or in prison, and helped them financially. Although he opposed a married clergy, he placed married priests from the other two eparchies in wealthier parishes near towns, so that they could support their families and send their children to school. He also cared for deceased priests' widows and orphans. As a result, writes Fr. Lobodych, the Stanyslaviv eparchial clergy were especially respectful and obedient.<sup>492</sup>

While the attacks against Bishop Khomyshyn may indeed have come primarily from the other eparchies, in the 1920s Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi faced a virtual rebellion by his own eparchial clergy. He was attacked by both priests and laymen for alleged misconduct in a variety of matters: the introduction of compulsory celibacy, administrative abuses (particularly his conflicts with the cathedral chapter), eparchial finances, the events leading to his removal from the patronage of the Institute for Girls in Peremyshl', and abuses regarding an orphanage in that town.<sup>493</sup> The bishop was also accused of tactless conduct towards the clergy, notably when at the ceremony of the coronation of an icon of the Mother of God in Sambir on 27 August 1928, he reportedly interrupted a sermon of Fr. Symeon Kul'chyts'kyi, loudly commanding him to "climb down" from the pulpit.<sup>494</sup>

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<sup>491</sup> "Nasha oborona" (editorial). *Nyva*, No. 1, 1939, 24-25.

<sup>492</sup> Mel'nychuk 310-311.

<sup>493</sup> *V oboroni prav* 8-9, 12-19, 21-29, 43, 67-68.

<sup>494</sup> *V oboroni prav* 49.

Clerical collusion in the lay attacks on Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi is alleged in the 1927 reply to the bill of complaints of the Peremyshl' secular intelligentsia (actually addressed to the Pro-Nuncio in Warsaw) by Luigi Cardinal Sincero, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church. In this reply, Cardinal Sincero spoke of "some sort of ill-concealed understanding or conspiracy between some priests and laymen, aimed at causing the removal of their own Bishop-Ordinary from his see -- which is clearly apparent from the complaint itself."<sup>495</sup>

However, not the entire clergy of the Peremyshl' eparchy was ranged against their bishop. At a secret meeting held in Peremyshl' on 24 November 1926, 46 priests signed six resolutions in defence of Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi. Among them were resolutions censuring the "systemetic press attacks against bishops," and calling on the clergy to defend them. They also decided to send a telegram of support to Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi, and to support church publications such as Bishop Khomyshyn's "Nova Zoria." It may be significant that the apparent initiators of the meeting, and many if not most of the signatories to the resolutions, were deans or other higher clergy.<sup>496</sup>

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<sup>495</sup> V oboroni prav 38. The 1926 complaint of the 40 laymen (possibly with clerical collusion) appears on pp. 3-37 of this book, the response of the Eastern Congregation (9 May 1927) on pp. 37-41.

<sup>496</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file Supl. 156, pp. 1-6. Among the signatories were Fr. Ivan Shpytal' (see above) and Fr. Myroslav Ripets'kyi (see Chapter 1).

## CHAPTER FIVE: CLERGY AND LAITY

It seems that there is no other state in human society that would have such a varied fate as the clerical state. On the one hand, high honour amongst the people, esteem even from strangers because of our clerical garb alone, but on the other hand disdain and hatred from elements hostile to the Church, and vexation from the Radical and socialist press. Just as honour for the priest for the lofty mission which he is fulfilling amongst the people, and for his high office, is completely natural, so hostility and hatred towards the clergy cannot at all be justified.<sup>497</sup>

Thus wrote Fr. Iuliiian Dzerovych in the clerical journal *Nyva* in 1912. His words may recall the complaint of Iaroslav Levyts'kyi about public perceptions of L'viv seminarians made in 1901, and quoted in the first chapter. Unlike seminarians, however, ordained parish priests lived their entire lives in the midst of civil society. They encountered the laity on a daily basis and to an extent were dependent on them for support. The Greek-Catholic parish clergy's relations with their parishioners in town and country, both in the pastoral setting and beyond it, are the subject of this chapter.

### 1. Pastoral Work

In a province with as high a birth-rate as Galicia, one would expect that adequate pastoral care would have required a growth in the number of priests. The over-all number of Greek-Catholic priests did in fact grow during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>498</sup> In inter-war Poland, the ratio of priests of all rites to faithful improved, and between 1934 and 1937, the number of Catholic diocesan priests of all rites grew by 2,824.<sup>499</sup> However, it appears that the number of Greek-Catholic parish priests remained fairly constant between 1900 and 1939. According to one source, there were 2,483 Greek-Catholic priests distributed over 1,875 parishes in "Little

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<sup>497</sup> Dzerovych, Iuliiian. "Peresudy i bezosnovni zakydy suprotiv dukhoven'stva." *Nyva*, No. 3, 1912, 65.

<sup>498</sup> *Enciclopedia Cattolica*. Vol. X. Città del Vaticano, 1953, 1489.

<sup>499</sup> Piwowarski, Władysław. "Formy duszpasterstwa parafialnego w Polsce odrodzonej (1918-1939)," in Zieliński, Zygmunt & Wilk, Stanisław. *Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej*. Lublin, 1981, 131. Fr. Piwowarski cites calculations by L. Dyczewski.

Poland" in 1914.<sup>500</sup> Fr. Tadeusz Śliwa states, however, that "immediately before World War I" there were 2,478 Greek-Catholic priests in the province, of whom 2,235 were parish priests.<sup>501</sup> A government source indicated in 1935 that there were 2,198 Greek-Catholic secular priests in Poland, with 1,854 parishes.<sup>502</sup> In 1938-1939 there were 2,284 Greek-Catholic priests in Poland, with 2,491 parishes.<sup>503</sup> Śliwa counts 2,232 Greek-Catholic parish priests in 1937-1938.<sup>504</sup> Accepting his figures as true, it would appear that the number of Greek-Catholic parish priests was remarkably static throughout most of the period under study. Śliwa remarks, however, that after the first world war the number of priests diminished, to be replaced subsequently by younger priests of a different ideological persuasion.<sup>505</sup> Thus, quantitative stability may disguise qualitative change.

Yet as mentioned in the previous chapter, the density of the network of Greek-Catholic parishes and churches in relation to the population was considered to be greater than that of the Latin rite, giving the former an advantage in pastoral competition. According to a 1929 report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in L'viv county the Latin-rite population was somewhat larger than the Greek-rite population (1,284,000 as against 1,141,000), but the number of Latin-rite parishes was much smaller than that of Greek-rite parishes: 386 as compared with 697. Also, there were 39 Latin-rite churches and chapels in the county as against 113 Greek-rite churches and chapels.<sup>506</sup> (It must be remembered, however, that the large Polish population was heavily concentrated in the city of L'viv, where the Latin-rite churches could be visited by Roman Catholics more easily

<sup>500</sup> X.M.St. Cerkiew unicka we wschodniej Małopolsce w czasie inwazyi rosyjskiej (1914-1917). Lwów, 1920, 8.

<sup>501</sup> Śliwa, Tadeusz. "Kościół grecko-katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939," in Zieliński, Zygmunt & Wilk, Stanisław. Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej. Lublin, 1981, 155.

<sup>502</sup> Krasowski, Krzysztof. Związki wyznaniowe w II Rzeczypospolitej. Warszawa-Poznań, 1988, Table 1, p. 58. Krasowski's source is an appendix to a 1935 letter of the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Education to the state statistical bureau.

<sup>503</sup> Kubijovyc, Volodymyr, ed. Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopaedia. Vol. II. Toronto, 1971, Table I, p.193.

<sup>504</sup> Śliwa 156.

<sup>505</sup> Śliwa 150.

<sup>506</sup> Polish Institute, London. Collection A44 (Papee), file 122/2 (Undersecretary of state Alfred Wysocki to Polish Embassy to the Holy See, 18 March 1929).

than if they had been in the less densely populated countryside.) In 1914 there were 1,854 Greek-Catholic parishes in Poland; in 1938, 1,970.<sup>507</sup>

It would follow that in Galicia, Greek-Catholic parishes had smaller populations than Latin-rite parishes, resulting in greater availability of pastoral care. This is confirmed by comparing the figures cited further in this paragraph with the average number of faithful per Latin-rite parish in Galicia around 1910, which was 4,362.<sup>508</sup> However, the average Greek-Catholic parish population grew in two of the three Galician eparchies. Before World War I, the average number of faithful per Greek-Catholic parish was 1,773 in the L'viv archeparchy, 1,749 in the Peremyshl' eparchy, and 2,343 in the Stanyslaviv eparchy. Before World War II the corresponding numbers were 1,067.62, 1,982.17, and 2,484.54.<sup>509</sup> Yet Fr. Śliwa's figures would yield an over-all average of about 1,983 Greek-Catholic faithful per parish in 1914, and only about 1,927 in 1938. While these figures indicate greater availability of pastoral care for the Greek-Catholics, the concentration of the Polish population and of Latin-rite churches in the towns and cities would have enhanced the apparent availability of pastoral care for the Latin rite somewhat.

More relevant to the question of pastoral care, however, is the number of faithful per parish priest. On the basis of Fr. Śliwa's figures,<sup>510</sup> in 1914 there were on the average about 1,645 Greek-Catholic faithful per parish priest, rising to about 1,700 in the late 1930s (though an alternative figure cited by Śliwa would yield 1,495). This would confirm the expectation that given a fairly constant number of parish priests and a rising population, the ratio of priests to faithful would have deteriorated somewhat.

Some notion of parishioners' access to their priest is given by figures on the number of parishes consisting of more than one village. In the Peremyshl' Greek-Catholic eparchy in 1928, for example, out of 688 parishes only 189 consisted of one village, while 499 included more than one village. In the Stanyslaviv eparchy in 1925, out of 417 parishes only 196 were limited to a single village,

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<sup>507</sup> Śliwa 151.

<sup>508</sup> Olszewski, Daniel. "W okresie ucisku i głębokich przemian społecznych (1864-1914)," in Kłoczowski, Jerzy, ed. Chrześcijaństwo w Polsce: zarys przemian 966-1945. Lublin, 1981, 252.

<sup>509</sup> Śliwa 151.

<sup>510</sup> Śliwa 151, 155-156.

while 221 comprised more than one village.<sup>511</sup> The distances that a priest had to travel to reach his faithful were aggravated by the mountainous terrain in parts of the Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl' eparchies. The unavailability of a Greek-Catholic priest was an invitation for transfers to the Latin rite or even conversions to Orthodoxy.<sup>512</sup>

At least as important as the availability of pastoral care was its quality. In 1901, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi called on the clergy of the metropolitan province to cultivate a spirit of sacrifice, going beyond their obligations to engage in social and cultural work, so as to bridge the social gap that separated the clergy from the people. Priests must help the people educate themselves and improve their material life. At the same time, they must double their efforts to teach the Gospel; otherwise, he warned, the economic and educational movement would turn against them and the Church.<sup>513</sup>

The Greek-Catholic bishops were evidently not satisfied with the general level of pastoral care. In their joint pastoral letter of 1905 on priestly solidarity, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and his fellow bishops indicated some of the typical failings of the parish clergy: neglect of preaching and catechesis, malicious gossip, failure to see to it that their families and servants attended liturgy on Sundays and holidays, a lack of reverence at the altar, incomplete or careless recitation of sacramental formulae, hasty confessions, hurried celebration of the liturgy.<sup>514</sup>

About six months later, Bishop Khomyshyn bluntly told his clergy that they had been taken unawares by the various anti-Christian currents of the day, mostly because of deficient preparation in the seminary. Their pastoral work was inadequate: "In sermons -- banality and longwindedness, in confession of the faithful a deficiency of spiritual guidance, in church singing a noisy barbarism, in ritual a lack of taste and a chaotic disunity, and in many churches a lack of aesthetics, dirt and neglect, which all combine to repel the faithful rather than to attract them." He

<sup>511</sup> Śliwa 151.

<sup>512</sup> See WAP-P, ABGK file 3900 (correspondence of parishioners of Chystohorb, Sianyk [Sanok] district, regarding their request for a parish priest; letter of 14 February 1937 from inhabitants of three villages forming a single parish, asking for a parish priest, lest the faithful all transfer to the Latin rite).

<sup>513</sup> Tvory sluh'y Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho. Vol. I (pastoral letters 2.8.1899-7.9.1901). Toronto, 1965, 186-187.

<sup>514</sup> Poslanie pastyr'ske ... O solidarnosti. Zhovkva, 1905, 19-20.

reminded his priests that in order to be able to influence their flocks, they must first educate themselves. They must learn to preach plainly and effectively, stressing Catholic and not simply "Christian" teaching. In particular, Bishop Khomyshyn prescribed steps for sounder catechesis.<sup>515</sup> In a pastoral letter addressed to his eparchial clergy six years later, in 1911, Bishop Khomyshyn mentioned their pastoral work among the positive recent developments in what were generally evil times for the Church.<sup>516</sup>

A major problem in pastoral activity before World War One was the threat of Orthodox conversions. Russophiles and proponents of Orthodoxy had found compelling arguments for their cause in the frequent conversions of Greek-Catholics to the Latin rite, mentioned above. In 1912 Fr. E. Krynyts'kyi, parish priest at Bobiatyn, wrote to the Peremyshl' episcopal ordinariat that priests should sign public protests against the schism, and appeal to the public authorities to defend the Greek-Catholic Church by banning "Russian spies and agitators" and their periodicals and organisations. He also called for priestly solidarity, and the splitting of some of the overly extensive deaneries to ensure better control.<sup>517</sup>

In addition to the effects of general devastation, pastoral work was impeded in the wake of the world war because of the arrest and deportation of a large number of Greek-Catholic priests, and the flight of others (see Chapter Six). Some also died of typhus. This left many of the remaining priests in charge of several parishes.<sup>518</sup>

In the inter-war period, Catholic pastoral work throughout Poland aimed at (1) deepening religious life, (2) forming a defensive and an offensive attitude towards groups advocating a world view hostile to Catholicism, (3) solving the social question, (4) raising the level of culture and education, and (5) providing a civic-patriotic education. A prime means of defending the Church's positions and increasing its social influence was the "apostolate of the laity."

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<sup>515</sup> Poslaniie pastyrskoe Hryhoriia Khomyshyna Epyskopa Stanislavivskoho do dukhoven'stva svoiei eparkhii o diial'nosti sviashchennichii. Stanislaviv, 1905, 9-13, 29-36, 56-57.

<sup>516</sup> Poslaniie pastyrskoe Hryhoriia Khomyshyna Epyskopa Stanislavivskoho do dukhoven'stva svoiei eparkhii o napriamkakh nynishnoi khvyli. Stanislaviv, 1911, 15-17.

<sup>517</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3848 (report on Tartakiv deanery meeting, 25 February 1912).

<sup>518</sup> I.H., bohoslav. "Dvadtsiat' lit na vladychomu prestoli," in Iuvileinyi al'manakh ukrains'kykh katolyts'kykh bohoslaviv. Peremyshl', 1937, 65.

Catholic priests were heavily involved in helping to organise various lay societies, such as the Apostolate of Prayer, Marian Sodalties, and Catholic Action.<sup>519</sup> Much of this involved social and political issues, so that it was difficult to distinguish pastoral from socio-political activity.<sup>520</sup> A significant portion of the parish clergy in the countryside, however, reacted with passive resistance to these organisational novelties, which disrupted the traditional style of pastoral work.<sup>521</sup>

The pastoral activity of the Greek-Catholic clergy was on the whole similar to that of the Latin-rite priests. They followed Latin models of spiritual life, and like their Polish fellow-priests experienced a revival of pastoral work in the 1930s. Among the organisations they helped form was the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament in L'viv, and the Apostolate of Prayer; the latter existed in over half the parishes of the Stanyslaviv eparchy. Church brotherhoods and temperance societies were also common.<sup>522</sup>

The Apostolate of Prayer, founded in southern France in 1844, had reached Polish lands in 1871. It was strongest in the Austrian partition, existing in almost every parish. In the 1930s the Apostolate experienced a rapid development, counting some 750,000 members throughout Poland in 1936. It was directed by the Jesuits. In each diocese, the Apostolate was under the jurisdiction of the bishop-ordinary, who appointed a diocesan director. On the parish level, it was the parish priest who supervised its activity. The devotional practices were simple, focusing on offering oneself to the Heart of Jesus. However, the concept of dedicating one's entire life and activity to Christ, combined with monthly intentions prescribed in Rome, sometimes involved members in social and political issues; thus, in March 1933 the Apostolate opposed communism and plutocracy, in October 1936 it assailed Freemasonry, and in February 1938 it denounced Godless communism. The Apostolate of Prayer has been described as a means for the clericalisation of social life,

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<sup>519</sup> Piwowarski, Władysław. "Formy duszpasterstwa parafialnego w Polsce odrodzonej (1918-1939)," in Zieliński & Wilk, 140-143.

<sup>520</sup> Zieliński & Wilk 226 (Fr. W. Piwowarski's comment in discussion of his paper).

<sup>521</sup> Zieliński & Wilk 220 (A. Stanowski's comment in discussion of Fr. Piwowarski's paper).

<sup>522</sup> Śliwa 158-159.



and the clergy have been accused of using such devotional groups to mobilise religious feelings for political aims.<sup>523</sup>

The Greek-Catholic Church devoted much attention to the use of lay organisations in pastoral work.<sup>524</sup> Brotherhoods, which enjoyed a venerable tradition in the East Slavic lands, continued to play a major part in parish life. Of the modern types of lay organisations, Catholic Action aroused considerable interest in the 1930s, though it is difficult to determine how much practical work was actually achieved. Created in 1905 by Pope Pius X and encouraged by Pope Pius XI, the movement represented an attempt by the Church to break out of its isolation in response to the moral and spiritual ruin of Europe. In September 1930 Cardinal Hlond introduced Catholic Action into Poland, and a conference of bishops meeting in L'viv in January of the following year established a statute for the organisation in Galicia. The Polish branch of Catholic Action was re-organised in 1934, and by 1936 claimed 519,666 members throughout Poland, mostly in the countryside. The basic principle of Catholic Action was the cooperation of the laity with the Church in apostolic work. While avowedly apolitical, or rather suprapolitical, the movement aimed to increase the influence of Christian morality on political life.<sup>525</sup> In a joint pastoral letter to the clergy and laity, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and three of the Galician bishops recommended Catholic Action as a means to save the faithful from moral and spiritual ruin.<sup>526</sup> The Greek-Catholic clergy apparently regarded the movement as a way to increase the Church's influence in a society dominated by political parties. While the movement transcended social and political divisions within Ukrainian society, the Greek-Catholic variant of Catholic Action developed independently of the Polish movement. The anti-communist and nationalist stance of the Greek-Catholic variant attracted the secular Ukrainian intelligentsia to what was in principle a form of the lay apostolate. However, in a letter of October

<sup>523</sup> Mysłek, Wiesław. Kościół katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939. Warszawa, 1966, 484-489.

<sup>524</sup> Hadzevych, On. "V spravi osnovuvannia khryst.-kat. tovarystv," Peremys'ki eparkhial'ni vidomosti [PEV] no. 3, 1928, 34-37; V.K., "Nashi zanedbannia i zavdannia," PEV No. 5, 84-88.

<sup>525</sup> Piwowarski 143; Ors'kyi, Onufrii. "Shcho take Katolyts'ka Aktsiia" [ms.], WAP-P, ABGK file 9451. This is the draft of a lecture given by Fr. Ors'kyi at the Catholic Action course in Peremysyl' on 4 September 1934.

<sup>526</sup> Pastyrs'kyi lyst ... do sviashchenstva i virnykh. [n.l., n.d.] 18-19.

1931 to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, Fr. Roman Berest wrote that there was a lack of qualified laymen, which would force the clergy to do most of the work. Unfortunately, the clergy itself lacked enthusiasm and organisational ability.<sup>527</sup>

In the Peremyshl' eparchy, an attempt was made to remedy this problem. Articles were published about the Catholic Action movement,<sup>528</sup> and a pastoral course on Catholic Action was held in Peremyshl' on 4-7 September 1934. Each deanery was to send two priests to this course, and over 115 attended. A variety of pastoral topics was covered by nine speakers during the three-day course.<sup>529</sup>

Greek-Catholic priests in Galicia recognised that they had to go beyond the church and the rectory in order to have sufficient contact with the faithful. For example, in 1928 Fr. Iosyf Marynovych suggested at a meeting of Peremyshl' Eparchial Aid (a priests' society) that other points of contact such as the school, the reading-room, and the village cooperative should be utilised.<sup>530</sup> The meeting decided that new pastoral methods should be discussed at deanery meetings, that model sermons should be printed in the eparchial bulletin and homiletic handbooks disseminated, and that the Apostolate of Prayer should be propagated. Priests should also work in reading-rooms and cooperatives and try to draw the intelligentsia into activity beneficial to Church and people.<sup>531</sup> Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi, who attended this meeting, favoured the introduction of modern pastoral methods, and established Catholic Action in his eparchy in 1931. He also stressed the importance of the press, dedicating three or four pastoral letters to this topic.<sup>532</sup>

In the mid-1930s the Greek-Catholic bishops called on their clergy as well as the faithful to prepare for a struggle against the

<sup>527</sup> Prus, Edward. *Władysław Świątojurski*. Warszawa, 1985, 114-116, 118. Prus quotes excerpts from letters of Fr. Roman Berest (in another place, "Berestka") and Dr. Markiiian Dzerovych (of 10 December 1936, to "Meta"), citing the Central State Historical Archive of the Ukrainian SSR in L'viv, f. 408, op. 1, spr. 151, ark. 231-235 for the former, and for the latter f. 406, op. 1, spr. 80, ark. 1-5.

<sup>528</sup> Holyns'kyi, Petro. "Katolyts'ka Aktsiia," PEV nos. 4, 5, 6, 8-9, 11 (1930), 1,2,3 (1931); Ors'kyi, Onufrii. "Iak pidhotovliaty grunt dlia Katolyts'koi Aktsii v parokhii," PEV no. 8-9, 1930, 132-140.

<sup>529</sup> *Dushpastyrs'kyi kurs Katolyts'koi Aktsii v Peremyshli*. Peremyshl', 1934.

<sup>530</sup> Marynovych, Iosyf. "O vazhnosti i potreby kontaktu dushpastyria z parokhiiianamy," PEV no. 5, 1929, 90-102. *dushpastyr parokhii* No. 5, 1929, 90-102.

<sup>531</sup> PEV no. 2, 1929, 25.

<sup>532</sup> Nazarko, Irynei. Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi, ChSVV iepyskop peremys'kyi 1916-1946. Toronto, 1954, 37, 39.

"enemies of God" who were infiltrating social organisations and threatening the faith. They recommended that priests and laity work together in Catholic Action to avert the danger.<sup>533</sup> Yet in 1935 Fr. Vasyl' Pryshliak, while recognising that the new "religious offensive" would require "a new attitude of spirit, new tactics, new armament and training" -- and a new pastoral and theological approach -- lamented the fact that in their pastoral work, most of the Greek-Catholic clergy had not gone beyond academic manuals and were not interested in developing their activity in a contemporary spirit. Catholic Action was not widely understood, and the clergy remained in a state of incomprehensible calm, indifference, or complacency.<sup>534</sup> Similar sentiments were expressed anonymously in *Nyva* by a 70-year-old priest in 1934. Many priests had become indifferent, apathetic. Their formalistic style of work resembled that of bureaucrats, and they were not accessible to their faithful. More active priests, on the other hand, often proved ineffective because in the seminary they had not been prepared for practical work. This was particularly true in Peremyshl' and Stanyslaviv. The new German pastoral methods meant nothing to them. Meanwhile, in the West priests were being re-educated through special pastoral courses. Furthermore, the Greek-Catholic clergy were also falling behind their Polish neighbours in this respect. He suggested that rather than waiting for their superiors to remedy the situation, the priests themselves should draw up a plan for their continuing pastoral education. "Let us not allow the enemy to prevail with modern weapons!"<sup>535</sup>

The need for modern pastoral methods was felt by Fr. Stefan Hrynevets'kyi, speaking at the Iaroslav (Jarosław) deanery meeting on 23 May 1939 on "The Obligations of the Pastor at the Present Time." The priest must set an example by living a holy life, but he must also develop his knowledge, both theological and secular. As in the past, the Church must prove that all human knowledge can serve to explain and defend the Catholic faith. The most important condition of effective pastoral work, however, was familiarity with

<sup>533</sup> Pastyr's'kyi lyst Andreiia Sheptyts'koho . . . Hryhoriia Khomyshyna . . . Iosafata Kotsylovs'koho . . . Hryhoriia Lakoty . . . do sviashchenstva i virnykh. [n.l.][1936?].

<sup>534</sup> Pryshliak, Vasyl'. "Novi Zavdannia Tov. sv. Andreia," *Nyva* no. 4-5, 1935, 123.

<sup>535</sup> o. I. Ia. "My vynni. Iak zaradyty?" *Nyva* no. 2, 1934, 57-60.

the parish itself -- with the people, their character, their world view. In addition to maintaining contact with parishioners through social organisations, Fr. Hrynevets'kyi recommended maintaining a file of parish statistics. This would also help him in conducting pastoral work in the home, a technique proved effective in the West.<sup>536</sup> Fr. D. Kuzmins'kyi, speaking at the Sambir deanery meeting in May of the same year, suggested that in addition to prayer, example, and work in religious societies, priests should obtain motion picture projectors and tour the villages with Christian films on moral and religious topics.<sup>537</sup>

Faced with a moral decline which they attributed to the world war, and with social, ideological and sectarian threats to the faith, Greek-Catholic priests of the 1930s continued to seek more effective pastoral methods.<sup>538</sup> A common means to foster their flocks' spiritual development was to organise missions by visiting monastic preachers, typically Basilians or Redemptorists. To further the religious education of their faithful, priests founded parish libraries, which contained a mix of religious and secular literature.<sup>539</sup> A special opportunity to raise the moral and spiritual level of the faithful, which had strong political overtones as well, was the 950th anniversary of the Baptism of Rus' in 1938.<sup>540</sup>

A separate aspect of pastoral work was familiarising the faithful with the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. This was especially important in Galicia, where rural poverty and, in the 1930s, urban unemployment brought about a political radicalisation of society. In 1931, on the fortieth anniversary of the encyclical "Rerum novarum" (and before the appearance of the encyclical letter "Quadragesimo anno" on 15 May of that year), the Bishop of

<sup>536</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, pp. 401-409.

<sup>537</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, p. 358.

<sup>538</sup> See, e.g., the talks given at meetings of the Bukiv deanery in 1935 and 1936 by Fr. Izydor Tymniak (assistant priest in Vyslok Vyzhnii ) and Fr . Roman Starodub, respectively. WAP-P, Apostolska Administracja Lemkowszczyzny (AAL) file 39, pp. 33-35, 56-59.

<sup>539</sup> In the spring of 1927, the need for parish libraries was discussed at the Turka and Mostys'ka deanery meetings. WAP- P, ABGK file 5343, pp. 167-174, 369-370. In his report on the state of the Chesniv deanery for 1927, dated 19 March 1928, Fr. Severyn Metellia stated that every parish had a library for the use of the faithful. WAP-P, ABGK file 3757. For a list of parish libraries in six deaneries of the Apostolic Administration for the Lemko region as of about 1942, and descriptions of their holdings, see WAP-P, AAL file 56.

<sup>540</sup> Priestly interest and activity regarding the jubilee are reflected in the reports on deanery meetings held in the Peremyshl' eparchy in 1938 and 1939, in WAP-P, ABGK file 5575.

Peremyshl' issued a letter which was to be read out by every parish priest on one of the Sundays in May in place of a sermon.<sup>541</sup> At a meeting of the Stara Sil' deanery in June of 1939, the assembled parish priests resolved to explain to their faithful the Papal encyclicals on the social question.<sup>542</sup>

The requirement that priests concern themselves with matters which, like the social question, lay outside the confines of traditional pastoral duties, compelled them to "come out of the sacristy" and into society. There they faced a bewildering variety of social, cultural and political issues. Some of these issues will be discussed in Chapters Six through Eight. First, however, it is necessary to survey the clergy's social relationships beyond the sacristy.

## 2. Relations with the Secular Intelligentsia

By 1900, the secularisation of Ruthenian Galician society was well under way. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi seems to have accepted this process as natural, but felt that the Church had to retain its position of leadership in the moral and spiritual domain. In concrete terms this meant that some kind of accommodation would have to be found between the clergy and the secular intelligentsia. This was not a simple matter, however, as a significant portion of the intelligentsia was anti-clerical. Many had come under the influence of western European socialist ideas as transmitted by their countrymen from Russian Ukraine such as Mykhailo Drahomanov and Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, and interpreted by local intellectuals like Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk. Anti-clericalism led in some cases to outright atheism. On the other hand, the persistence of Russophile notions among the Greek-Catholic clergy alienated many Populists who otherwise might be sympathetic to religion and the Catholic Church.<sup>543</sup> Later, when the clergy generally abandoned

<sup>541</sup> PEV no. 4, 1931, 53-59 (order no. 2220). For an English translation of Rerum Novarum, see Kirwan, Joseph, trans. Rerum Novarum. London, 1983. Some of the ideas of "Rerum Novarum" had already been transmitted through the pastoral letters of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi which, however, were concerned specifically with the problems of Galicia. See Krawchuk, Andrii. "Sheptyts'kyi and the Ethics of Christian Social Action," in Magocsi, Paul R., ed. Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Edmonton, Alberta, 1989, 247-268. For the text of Quadragesimo anno, see Acta Apostolicae Sedis, vol. 23, no. 6 (1931), 177-228.

<sup>542</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, p. 453.

<sup>543</sup> For a discussion of Ruthenian politics, especially socialism, in Galicia in the second half of the nineteenth century see Himka, John- Paul. Socialism

Russophilism and gradually joined first the populist, then the Ukrainian national movement, they were able to form a rough coalition with the bulk of the secular intelligentsia, who for the most part had tempered their social radicalism. Only the radical left-wing intelligentsia on the one hand, and the radical right-wing nationalists on the other, remained at odds with the clergy. (These issues will be discussed in detail in Chapters Six and Seven.)

In his first pastoral letter upon assuming the episcopal see of Stanyslaviv in 1899, Andrei Sheptyts'kyi addressed the problem of the clergy's relations with the secular intelligentsia. Admitting that the former were losing ground to the latter with regard to social influence, he declared that the clergy would not try to regain the lost ground: "The times when the priests alone represented the Ukrainian intelligentsia are past, never to return!" In matters of faith and morals, however, they must retain their leadership of society. Thus, the clergy were obligated to oppose the Radicals' doctrine of atheism and the socialists' rejection of the Christian concepts of family and property. For more and more of the intelligentsia were becoming non-believers, or regarded Christianity with rationalistic indifferentism, which essentially was paganism. To convert them, wrote Bishop Sheptyts'kyi, priests must pray, but they must also come to understand the intelligentsia and their ideas. In conversations as well as sermons, they must set out Christian dogmas with precision.<sup>544</sup>

One of Sheptyts'kyi's first pastoral letters upon assuming the Metropolitanate of Halych in 1901 was directed to the Ruthenian intelligentsia. Rejecting the notion that Christianity was a purely private matter, he asserted that it was a norm of social life that could play a unifying role in a society threatened by the loss of ethical principles and divided in terms of social ideals.<sup>545</sup>

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in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890). Cambridge, Mass., 1983, 40-70, 106-179. See also Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia Under Austrian Rule," in Markovits, Andrei S. & Sysyn, Frank E., eds. Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia. Cambridge, Mass., 1982, 23-67.

<sup>544</sup> "Nasha prohrama (Pastyrs'kyi lyst do dukhovenstva Stanyslavivs'koi Ieparkhii)," Tvory Sluhly Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, vol. I (Pastyrs'ki lysty 2.VIII.1899-7.IX. 1901 r.). Toronto, 1965, 20-28.

<sup>545</sup> "Do ukrains'koi [rus'koi in original] intelligentsii," Tvory vol. I, 212-214.

In his August, 1905 pastoral letter to his clergy, Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv asserted that on the whole, the secular intelligentsia remained in the Church, but had allowed itself to be terrorised by a few Godless individuals. Most of the intelligentsia were passive, he wrote, and not even a small group could be found who would dedicate themselves to Christian work. Meanwhile, the press and belles-lettres continued to assail Christian morality, the faith, and the Church.<sup>546</sup>

The friendly social relations between the largely Old Ruthenian or Russophile clerical caste and the secular intelligentsia in one district of Galicia were mentioned in the previous chapter. These of course were not universal, particularly with the growth and increasing militancy of the populist and radical socialist movements. An example of the sort of conflict that could arise was that which occurred in the Lemko region in 1902 between Fr. Teofil' Kachmarchyk, Fr. Ivanyshov and other lay and clerical Russophiles on the one hand, and Vasyl' Iavors'kyi and Petro Linyns'kyi on the other. The latter were government officials and deputies as well as lay activists with a Ukrainian populist orientation, who had organised a Ruthenian students' home in Nowy Sącz for the poor, ignorant Lemko population. Their efforts were attacked by the Russophile priests, who reportedly called them atheists. "From ancient times," wrote Iavors'kyi, "our Clergy has not shut itself off from secular people with a Chinese wall, as in the West, where 'schweigt der Laie'; on the contrary, our clergy sought to join the laity to them..." Fr. Kachmarchyk, however, had "dug a chasm between the clerical and lay people." The lay activists wished to work with the people, and they sought cooperation, not obstruction, from the clergy.<sup>547</sup>

To some Polish critics of the Greek-Catholic Church, conflicts between the emerging Ukrainian secular intelligentsia and their clergy proved the latter's ineffectiveness. Spiritually weakened by the Josephinist tradition, Greek-Catholic priests had little influence on

<sup>546</sup> Poslaniie pastyrskie Hryhoriia Khomyshyna Episkopa Stanislavivskoho do dukhoven'stva svoiei eparkhii o diial'nosti sviashchennichii. Stanislaviv, 1905, 7-8.

<sup>547</sup> Otverte pys'mo s'yitskykh rusyniv-narodovtsiv do vsch. dukhoven'stva dekanativ mushyns'koho i bitskoho. na ruky o. Hryhoryia Kopystians'koho parokha v Snitnytsi. Dekana mushyns'koho. pochet. kryloshanyia i proch. proch. L'viv, 1903.

the people and none on the intelligentsia, wrote an anonymous author in 1912. He quoted a Fr. Szczepkowicz, who had stated that the Ruthenian intelligentsia, which opposed the clergy and Christianity itself, were pushing the priests out of the educational and economic institutions which the clergy had helped to found. In 1908 "Prosvita" (the enlightenment society founded in 1868 by Greek-Catholic priest Fr. Stepan Kachala) had published a brochure advocating free-thinking and secular schools, and the daily newspaper "Dilo" had demanded emancipation of school youth from religious influences.<sup>548</sup>

In 1916, "Fr. S.M. from B." confronted the problem squarely, if pseudonymously, in the pages of *Nyva*. The clergy were complaining that the intelligentsia had become alienated from the Church, indifferent, even hostile. However, it was the priests themselves who were at fault, for they had failed to educate and inspire the intelligentsia, to draw them closer to the Church. "The best proof of this is all those members of the intelligentsia who, having married Polish women, so readily abandon what is theirs.... Sometimes when they enter a [Greek-Catholic] church they at times act as if they were in a Chinese or Indian pagoda." It was not that they were atheists or Freemasons; many, indeed, were more or less religious, and some would defend the Church on behalf of the people. The problem was that they did not understand the close ties between Church and people.<sup>549</sup>

The alarm expressed by some of the Greek-Catholic parish priests and bishops about the anti-clerical attitudes of the intelligentsia were not greatly exaggerated. In 1921 Anton Korczok characterised the Ukrainian Galician intelligentsia as often indifferent to religion, opposed to the Union, and even atheistic. Priests' sons had converted to Orthodoxy or joined the Freemasons. The Ukrainian press was anti-religious.<sup>550</sup>

In the Peremyshl' eparchy in the 1920s some members of the intelligentsia blamed Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi and his chosen clergy for

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<sup>548</sup> Z.X.Y. Prawosławie w Rosyi i jego podłoże w Galicyi. Lwów, 1912, 95-97, 132-133.

<sup>549</sup> *Nyva* no. 3, 1916, 162-163. Two lines following the first sentence quoted in the text were censored. As noted above, the author may have been Fr. Severyn Matkovs'kyi, parish priest at Bosyr.

<sup>550</sup> Korczok, Anton. Die Griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien. Leipzig-Berlin, 1921, 147.



the ongoing conflicts. Unlike the earlier strife in the Lemko region, this was not a battle between Russophiles and populists, but apparently a power struggle between the higher clergy and a group of intelligentsia joined by dissatisfied priests. One of the disputes involved the ancient brotherhood of St. Nicholas at the Peremyshl' Greek-Catholic Cathedral, which cared for pupils and students. Among the priestly and lay members was nearly the entire Ukrainian intelligentsia of the town. Fr. Konstantyn Bohachevs'kyi, one of Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi's appointees (and a future bishop and metropolitan in the United States) allegedly removed the more prominent members of the intelligentsia from the brotherhood, leading it "nearly to its downfall."<sup>551</sup>

The clergy also encountered the lay intelligentsia in various secular organisations. As mentioned in Chapter One, the L'viv seminary prepared candidate priests for parish life through extra-curricular activities such as the reading-room and similar clubs, and in 1926 the "Prosvita" Society in L'viv invited seminarians to give talks at various reading-rooms throughout the city.<sup>552</sup> Although "Prosvita" was intended for the education of the peasant masses, it was directed by the clerical and lay intelligentsia, and became a battleground of their conflicting interests. The conflict became acute in the first years after the world war, when a number of branches of "Prosvita" came under the domination of extreme left-wing elements. The purging of these elements from the organisation in the mid-1920s made clerical cooperation again possible. However, the influence of nationalist elements in the 1930s caused new tensions between the lay and clerical "Prosvita" activists.

In the meantime, a debate arose amongst the clergy regarding participation in secular organisations. Some favoured more active participation, arguing that this could increase the Church's influence and avert a take-over by Radical, Communist or other hostile elements. Others felt that by taking part in organisations already controlled by anti-Catholic elements, priests would be publicly lending their support and approval to hostile movements. In

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<sup>551</sup> V oboroni prav nashoi Hreko-katol. tserkvy. L'viv, 1929, 10. This was one of the complaints cited in a petition signed by forty laymen and sent to Pope Pius XI in Rome in 1926.

<sup>552</sup> Senytsia, Pavlo, ed. Svityl'nyk istyny. Part I. Pratsi Hreko-katolyts'koi Bohoslovs'koi Akademii, tom XXXIV. Toronto-Chicago, 1973, 503.

1927 a contributor to "Nova Zoria" identifying himself only as "a young priest" wrote that the clergy must frequently visit social organisations and play a leading role in them, lest they be lost to the anti-Christian camp. Priests must "pour a Christian spirit" into Ukrainian institutions; otherwise, there would be sects in every village, the churches would be empty, and the faithful would turn to Communism. Indeed, the clergy must "take active part in all manifestations of civic life -- even if we are not invited." They must be active in the reading-rooms; this was a matter of their very survival. In particular, "Prosvita" must be saved from the enemy.<sup>553</sup> In the Peremyshl' eparchy Fr. Iosyf Il'nyts'kyi said at the Turka deanery meeting in May of 1927 that priests should be in the community councils, and the dean urged his priests to draw the intelligentsia closer to the clergy, since the intelligentsia were in a position to influence the spirit of the people.<sup>554</sup> At the Rudky deanery meeting in that same month, however, opinions were divided: Fr. Onyshkevych felt that the priests should be active in Ukrainian institutions, but Fr. Kondrats'kyi advised that they should decisively break all ties with the Ukrainian intelligentsia, since it was hostile to clergy and Church. Having been driven by the intelligentsia out of the very institutions they had created, the priests should instead form exclusively priestly institutions.<sup>555</sup>

In the Stanyslaviv eparchy, the debate ended when, as mentioned above, Bishop Khomyshyn decided that his clergy must found their own organisations and avoid participation in secular institutions. He proceeded to set up his own press and reading-room society under the name "Skala" -- "the Rock." In 1937 a priest of the Stanyslaviv eparchy anonymously wrote a book, published by "Skala," in which he sought to demonstrate the error of priests who had participated heavily in lay organisations. He cited the example of a priest who had served the same parish for 35 years. His first task had been to found the parish reading-room. "The priest must come out of the sacristy," this priest used to say, "and go out among the people into the reading-room..." Yet after 30 years of tireless work he was excluded from the organisation. The author concluded that a priest

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<sup>553</sup> Molodyi sviashchenyk. "Pratsia chy baiduzhnist'?" "Nova Zoria" no. 4 (55), 30 January 1927, 5.

<sup>554</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5343, pp. 167-168.

<sup>555</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5343 pp. 573-575.

must influence the reading-room not as a mere member or even a director, but as a priest, speaking from the pulpit or in the confessional with the benefit of his clerical authority. He must also pray for the reading-room and its members.<sup>556</sup>

The author, who evidently had been active since the early 1900s, criticised priests who used to associate with "various kinds of gentlemen from town, often Radicals, atheists and schismatics, open enemies of the Bishop, the Church and the clergy," simply because they were reading-room activists and patriots, and prided themselves on being called "active" priests who "were with the people." Such priests had misled the faithful by tacitly approving of the activities of the enemies of the Church. At a deanery meeting in the early 1900s, he recounted, a priest had advocated founding a reading-room in every parish. When one of his colleagues objected that the local Prosvita activists were Radicals, he had confidently replied that "the Devil isn't as terrible as he is made out to be," and that they would take care of the Radical threat. He then proudly exhibited his reading-room, which contained various anti-clerical publications and portraits of writers like the anti-clerical Ivan Franko. Asked why there were no missionary tracts or holy pictures in the room, he replied that such questions were redolent of clericalism, which he regarded as even more harmful than Radicalism. The majority of the priests present agreed. On another occasion around 1910, four priests took part in a civic rally held on the Sunday of the Sacred Heart, while 200 paces away a solemn service and procession were taking place.<sup>557</sup> The anonymous author from the Stanyslaviv eparchy felt that in their zeal to cooperate with the secular intelligentsia, the clergy had simply been deceived:

Our secular intellectuals, popular activists in our cities and towns, the so-called 'gentlemen from town,' from our various branch institutions, cleverly concealed their leftist convictions for a while and calmly collaborated with the clerical activists until, as they say, they 'got their feathers,' that is, until with the help of the priests they gained the confidence of the blind masses and a strong position in the institutions. Now, thanks chiefly to the activist priests, who used to support them before the

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<sup>556</sup> *Prosvitnyi rukh v Halychyni*. L'viv, 1937, 33-36.

<sup>557</sup> *Prosvitnyi rukh* 60-66.

people at all times and places, they have attained significant influence and have ceased to hide their leftist views and in their impetus they are going too far. It is becoming all too obvious that many of them are abusing their positions in popular institutions for ruinous and openly atheist agitation, to the harm of Church and people.<sup>558</sup>

Meanwhile the priests who had founded the reading-rooms and other popular institutions and had brought the intelligentsia into them were being forced out by that same intelligentsia. The "Prosvita" reading-room was "no longer a field of work, but a field of battle." Yet it was prudence, not cowardice, to retreat from this pointless battle and retrench in a stronger, defensible position. Such a position was Bishop Khomyshyn's reading-room network "Skala." But first, priests must break with the lay intelligentsia, withdraw from the secular reading-room organisations, and avoid the company of the enemies of the Church.<sup>559</sup>

Whether or not the attitudes of the intelligentsia in the L'viv and Peremyshl' eparchies resembled what Bishop Khomyshyn and his clergy perceived them to be in Stanyslaviv, clerical attitudes there were altogether different. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1938 Bishop Khomyshyn forbade his clergy to read *Nyva* (published in L'viv with the approval of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi) because in the previous year it had disagreed with his prohibition of clerical participation in secular organisations and public events.<sup>560</sup> *Nyva* expressed what was probably the opinion of most parish priests in the L'viv and Peremyshl' eparchies, if not in the Stanyslaviv eparchy, on this point. As will be seen below, priests continued to be active in organised social life. Several priests ordained in the Peremyshl' eparchy in the 1930s responded in interviews or questionnaires either that they had entertained good relations with the secular intelligentsia or that there was no Ukrainian intelligentsia in their parishes at all; one, however, had experienced difficulties with a lay Russophile.<sup>561</sup>

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558 *Prosvitny rukh* 123-124.

559 *Prosvitnyi rukh* 124 -132.

560 *Nyva* no. 1, 1939, pp. 20, 21-22.

561 Questionnaires 1-7, interviews 1-3.

### 3. Relations with the Countryside

"Peasantry" is a misleading term for the majority of a village priest's parishioners. They varied from well-off farmers of serf ancestry who lived better than many members of the petty gentry, to landless day-labourers. Some were in the process of entering the town or village intelligentsia -- typically through the reading-room founded by the local priest. Thus, they were not a clear-cut or monolithic group. However, because the sources refer to them separately (sometimes as "peasants" or "villagers," sometimes as "the people"), and because their occupation with agriculture or crafts did distinguish them from the professionals of the intelligentsia, they will be dealt with here -- with some reservations -- as if they constituted a "peasant class."

"Peasant" attitudes towards the clergy remain an object of mystery, and the myth of the inscrutable peasant has done little to elucidate the matter. Evhen Olesnyts'kyi wrote that when he arrived in Stryi in 1891, the peasantry in the surrounding countryside was benighted and lacking in national or political consciousness. The peasants listened to the priests and followed their example, for what the priest said they considered sacred.<sup>562</sup> On the other hand, in 1912 a Polish author, the pseudonymous "Z.X.Y.," remarked that it was not strange that the Ruthenians' "respect" for the Greek-Catholic priest was like that of the schismatics for their pop. For the peasants trusted the landlord or the Jew or even the Radical more than their parish priest. In every parish, he claimed, the sacristan or the parish council opposed the pastor. In every secular activity -- political, educational, economic -- the priest was being pushed aside, or else kept on merely for appearances. Often at meetings one could hear the slogan, "Away with the priests!"<sup>563</sup>

This description resembles the relations between clergy and intelligentsia described in the preceding section. Was it typical of the priest's relations with his peasant faithful? Certainly conflicts did occur in the economic sphere, and those should be examined first.

In a January 1901 pastoral letter to the clergy "On the Dignity and Obligations of Priests," Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi declared that the clergy must come closer to the people, so that they might "fill the

<sup>562</sup> Olesnyts'kyi, Evhen. Storinky z moho zhyttia. L'viv, 1935. Part II, 21.

<sup>563</sup> Z.X.Y. Prawosławie w Rosyi i jego podłoże w Galicyi. Lwów, 1912, 98-99.

chasm that because of differing social status could divide the priests from the faithful." In particular, the priest must allow his own feelings of mercy to be awakened by a closer familiarity with the plight of the peasantry:

Let him once enter a smoky hut where the poor live; let him look at the hard bed on which they sleep; let him take a breath of the close air which they breathe; let him touch those hands, black and cracked from hard labour, of people who are his brothers; let him taste a piece of the dry bread which is their sustenance; let him ask how much they earn a day, what they live from, what their work is like, what are their entertainments, their pleasures.<sup>564</sup>

Marxist authors have made much of the economic conflicts between the Greek-Catholic clergy and their parishioners.<sup>565</sup> Priests commonly hired labourers to help till their land, or rented it out -- often to the wealthier peasants, since the poor could not be counted on to pay the rent. In such a situation, occasional disputes were inevitable.<sup>566</sup> The contrasts in wealth between some priests and some peasants aroused resentment. Oleksander Bryk recounts that in his village of Kolodiivka, the priest had a nice rectory and large farm buildings, 60 morgy (about 30 hectares) of land, and hired three permanent labourers in addition to three female servants, as well as seasonal workers in the summer. The state paid him a supplement of 200 florins a year to bring his income up to the guaranteed minimum. With more than a hint of irony, Bryk recalls that when on the priest's initiative the congregation built a new church, the priest was rewarded by being elevated to canon.<sup>567</sup>

The main source of economic conflict between priest and peasant, however, were the sacramental fees (treby or iura stolae; see Chapter Three). In the village of Balyntsi, the parish priest who preceded Fr. Tyt Voinarovs'kyi had alienated his parishioners in the 1890s by striking a peasant for giving him less than the customary

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<sup>564</sup> Sheptytskyi, Andrei. O dostoinstve i oboviazkakh sviashchenikov. Zhovkva, 1901, 16-17.

<sup>565</sup> See, e.g., Dobrychev, Volodymyr. U tini sviatoho Iura. L'viv, 1970, 96-97; Haidosh, A. & Kyryliuk, L., eds. Dokumenty rozpovidaiut'. Uzhhorod, 1971. See also Himka, John-Paul. The Greek-Catholic Clergy and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia. Cambridge, Mass., 1986, 11-12.

<sup>566</sup> Myslek, Wieslaw. Kosciol katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939. Warszawa, 1966, 138-140.

<sup>567</sup> Bryk, Oleksander. Moi zhyttievi studii. Winnipeg, 1956, 25.

payment for blessing a house. The peasants had thereafter punished those of the community who would order masses from this priest.<sup>568</sup> As was seen in Chapter One, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi warned the L'viv seminarians in September 1901 that they must not expect to live as burdens upon their parishes -- as pastors who milk and shear their sheep but cannot tend them.<sup>569</sup> In his January 1901 pastoral letter to the clergy he had warned his priests that they might have to make sacrifices in order to avoid giving the people an impression of greed. Priests must not make their services conditional on contributions by the faithful, lest they become merchants dealing in holy things.<sup>570</sup>

These admonitions regarding excessive sacramental fees did not eliminate the problem. In February 1912 Fr. E. Krynyts'kyi, reporting to the Peremyshl' episcopal ordinariat on the Tartakiv deanery meeting, remarked that when a Greek-Catholic priest raised his sacramental fees, he might discover that a Russophile agitator or schismatic priest, enjoying Russian financial support, had promised to perform the sacraments free of charge. In a letter written in the following month Fr. Anatolii Beskyd, dean at Iaslo, remarked that "we must beat our breasts" for the excessive charges for pastoral services.<sup>571</sup> Evidently sensitive to the problem, in 1927 the Peremyshl' episcopal ordinariat sent a circular letter to its parish priests recommending moderation in taking sacramental fees, since misunderstandings might lead to apostasy, and warning that it would strictly apply canonical regulations to priests who demanded excessive fees.<sup>572</sup> Another warning was published in the eparchial bulletin in 1931, noting that the number of complaints from the faithful had increased. With falling prices and unemployment, they had come upon hard times, and priests should defer to them.<sup>573</sup> In February 1934, a pseudonymous 70-year-old priest wrote in *Nyva*

<sup>568</sup> Voinarovs'kyi, Tyt. "Spohady z moho zhyttia," in *Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX-XX st.* Naukove Товариство ім. Шевченка, Библиотека Українознавства no. 8. New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto, 1961, 24-25.

<sup>569</sup> List Pasterski najprzewielebniejszego X. Andrzeja Szeptyckiego Metropolity Halickiego do przełożństwa i kleryków Seminarium duchownego we Lwowie. Żółkiew, 1902, 5.

<sup>570</sup> Sheptyts'kyi, Andrei. O dostoinstve i obov'iazkakh sviashchenikov. Zhovkva, 1901, 25.

<sup>571</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3848.

<sup>572</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3757 (circular letter of 14 June 1927).

<sup>573</sup> PEV no.10-12, 1931, pp. 129-130 (order no. 7095). The reference is evidently to falling agricultural prices, which affected farmers adversely.

that there were many materialists among the clergy, who sometimes demanded "mercilessly high payments for church treby." In this time of material and spiritual crisis, such individuals stood out in sharp relief, and one or two of them in a town or a deanery sufficed to hinder the work of the rest of the local clergy.<sup>574</sup>

The problem of sacramental fees eventually may have abated somewhat. At a meeting of the Komarno deanery on 8 June 1939, Fr. Roman Honchuk gave a talk on the proper conduct of a priest with doubters, free-thinkers and sectarians in which he described the economic situation in the deanery. Sacramental fees, he felt, were not as much of a problem as some laymen would like to think, for the clergy had learned not to ask too much and had adapted to economic circumstances. Since the amounts of sacramental fees were not fixed by law, he added, one had to adapt to local customs and to the ability of the faithful to pay. In any case, one must avoid conflicts with the parish.<sup>575</sup>

Lay perceptions of clerical wealth were not necessarily any more or less accurate than the clergy's impression of its own poverty (see Chapter Three). Fr. Honchuk observed:

Nevertheless, in most parishes the status of priest is an object of envy. When the faithful see that the benefice fields are larger, and barns perhaps somewhat bigger than theirs, they think that priests are rich. But the material state of a pastor has greatly worsened.

Agriculture had become unprofitable due to the high costs of cultivation, high taxes, and low prices for farm products. Furthermore, income from various priestly services, and customary payments in kind, had fallen.<sup>576</sup>

Parish economics were only one aspect of the clergy's relations with the village, though perhaps the most problematical. Peasant attitudes in matters of faith and morals, while more important from the Church's point of view, are difficult to divine. As is so often the case, most of the evidence comes from outsiders -- including those purporting to speak on the peasants' behalf -- whether priests or secular intelligentsia.

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<sup>574</sup> o. I. Ia. "My vynni. Iak zaradyty?" Nyva no. 2, 1934, 57.

<sup>575</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, pp. 674-675.

<sup>576</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, p. 675.



At the February 1912 meeting of the Mokriany deanery at Hrushiv, the gathered priests expressed the view that the intelligentsia's indifference to religion had begun to affect the villagers. Furthermore, schoolchildren and university students on holiday at their families' farms were sowing the seeds of anti-religious teachings, and often "in one blow destroy the work of the parish priest."<sup>577</sup> At the Sambir deanery meeting in May of 1939, Fr. D. Kuzmins'kyi, speaking on "How to Raise the Village from Religious-Moral Decline," blamed poverty, Bolshevik and Radical agitation, and the laziness and bad examples of some priests for the sorry state of affairs.<sup>578</sup>

Greek-Catholic priests, who to an increasing extent came from the peasant-farming community, were well aware of the economic hardships of village life. They thus could continue the socio-economic work so typical of their nineteenth-century predecessors with an additional zeal derived from experience. The clergy of the Stanyslaviv eparchy were urged to take the lead in such work by their then Bishop Andrei Sheptyts'kyi in 1899.<sup>579</sup> Typical of socio-economic work was the founding of reading-rooms, discussed above, as well as of temperance societies, agricultural cooperatives, financial institutions, insurance funds, and cultural circles. The efforts of individual priests in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are well documented.<sup>580</sup> The clergy also participated in public relief efforts. For example, the Ukrainian Committee for Aid to the Unemployed and the Poor, based in L'viv and presided over by a layman, enjoyed the patronage of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and Bishops Kotsylovs'kyi and Khomyshyn. At the parish level, the priest

<sup>577</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3848.

<sup>578</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, p. 358. See Mel'nychuk 339-340.

<sup>579</sup> "Nasha prohrama (pastyrs'kyi lyst to dukhovenstva Stanyslavivs'koi Ieparkhii)(1899)," in Tvory sluhv Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, vol. I. Pasytrs'ki lysty (2.VIII.1899-7.IX.1901). Toronto, 1965, p. 26.

<sup>580</sup> See, e.g., Himka, John-Paul. The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia. Cambridge, Mass., 1986, 443; Olesnyts'kyi, Evhen. Storinky z moho zhyttia. L'viv, 1935, Part II, 19-20 (Fr. Petro Shankovs'kyi); Pekar, Atanasii V. Ispovidnkyky viry nashoi suchasnosti. Ukrains'ka Dukhovna Biblioteka no. 60. Toronto-Rome, 1982, 100-101 (Fr. Iosyf Ostashevs'kyi, 1890-1948), 114-115 (Fr. Mykhailo Hanushevs'kyi, 1880-1962); Voinarovs'kyi, Tyt. "Spohady z moho zhyttia" (memoir of Fr. Voinarovs'kyi, dated 1936), in Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX-XX st. New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto, 1961, 15-75; Utrysko, Myron, ed. Boikivshchyna. Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka seriia Ukrains'kyi Arkhiv, vol. XXXIV. Philadelphia-New York, 1980, 83-114 (biographical notes on several priests active in community life).

or his assistant would appoint lay helpers to carry on the Committee's charitable work.<sup>581</sup>

The clergy's socio-economic work was sometimes criticised. In 1899, Metropolitan Sas-Kuilovs'kyi chided parish priests for founding reading-rooms, which he regarded as harmful.<sup>582</sup> The clergy's concern with socio-economic affairs could be perceived as a symptom of their secularisation.<sup>583</sup> In 1937, a priest of the Stanyslaviv eparchy described the early years of the century, when the "reading-room fever" had reached its height, in the following words:

Each tried to outdo the other in founding as many reading-rooms as possible and to have as many as possible under his influence.

Let those of us who are older, who were witnesses to this, recall how at times such activist priests neglected even the most essential pastoral obligations at the altar and in the pulpit and the confessional, and let us pass this on to those who are younger, who never saw all this, but who now are reaping its bitter harvest. How many Masses were shortened then, or rather rattled off, how many vespers, sermons, and catechisms were omitted, how many people were sent away from the confessionals, because the "reading-room priests" were in a hurry to get to the rally, to a secular poll, to a meeting, to a session. When the season of reading-room events arrived, then on Sundays and holidays the "activist priest" only had time to serve Mass early in the morning, and beyond this he was always outside the parish. -- He knocked about the most remote corners, for to miss any "reading-room meeting," poll, rally, or "popular festival" was considered a major crime and misdemeanor. It was fitting, as it were, "to be with the people" always and everywhere, in order to give people a good example and to encourage them! ...<sup>584</sup>

As discussed above, excessive clerical engagement with the reading-room movement also came under criticism (at least in the Stanyslaviv eparchy) because in the hands of the intelligentsia, that

<sup>581</sup> PEV no. 1, 1932, pp. 2-5 (order no. 7446).

<sup>582</sup> Himka, John-Paul. The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia. Cambridge, Mass., 1986, 9-10.

<sup>583</sup> Himka 443-444.

<sup>584</sup> Prosvytnyi rukh v Halychyni. L'viv, 1937, 57-58.

movement had been turned against the clergy. However, it is not clear whether these conflicts between priests and intelligentsia involved the peasants as well.

The Greek-Catholic priest participated in the life of the village in a variety of other ways. For example, he might serve as the local notary.<sup>585</sup> To some extent he took part in social life. The Old Ruthenian clergy's social life in the Stryi deanery in the 1890s described in the previous chapter, however, presumably involved middle-class laity rather than peasants. This may have changed with the demographic changes in twentieth-century Galicia. In the village of Khorobriv near Sokal', Fr. Mykhailo Zheplyns'kyi was popular because he did not refuse invitations to the festivities accompanying christenings and weddings. His successor, Fr. Osyp Pshepiurs'kyi, was not well received by his parishioners because of his Polish-sounding name -- despite the fact that he had served as a chaplain in the Ukrainian Galician Army. Eventually, however, he was accepted, and his wife Iryna was particularly well liked because of her participation in the villagers' amateur musical and theatrical life and in the Ukrainian Women's League.<sup>586</sup>

Some priests continued to maintain a distance from the village population. This was often true of the remnants of the predominantly Old Ruthenian or Russophile caste. Oleksander Bryk recounts that in the early 1900s, the villagers regarded the priest as a government official who had nothing in common with them besides the fulfillment of his duties. They considered him part of the gentry. The fact that the local Poles, who referred to the villagers as rusini-kabany ("Ruthenian wild pigs"), considered the priest (a celibate) an exceptional porządny rusin ("proper Ruthenian"), hardly endeared him to them. Furthermore, the priest did not once set foot in the reading-room -- and was not expected to. To his credit, however, he

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<sup>585</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5419. Fr. Roman Isaichyk, parish priest at Iavornyk, was elected notary in 1912. The episcopal consistory in Peremyshl' asked him to resign, since the position did not comport with priestly dignity. However, Fr. Isaichyk argued that it was better that he be notary instead of his predecessor, a Jewish tavern-keeper who exploited the people and plied them with liquor during civic meetings. Fr. Isaichyk was supported in this by his dean, Fr. Anatolii Beskyd of the Iaslo (Jasło) deanery. The episcopal consistory seems to have accepted his argument, albeit with some reservations.

<sup>586</sup> Ivan P. Kostyuk. "Moie selo Khorobriv." "Ukrains'ke Slovo" (Paris), 24 May 1987.

did give 25 kreuzer to Christmas carollers who were collecting for the reading-room.<sup>587</sup>

The separate and superior social status characteristic of the Old Ruthenian priests gradually ceded to populist egalitarianism. After all 40 priests at a deanery meeting in Fl'orynka in 1898 had agreed to join the Ruthenian Hostel Society in Nowy Sącz, a general meeting was held, attended by 42 priests, 25 ladies, 119 peasants and 18 peasant women. At the "memorable" dinner, peasants cried with joy and went home to tell their families how "for the first time they had dined with the iegomosti, ieimosti and gentlemen at the same table."<sup>588</sup> At the same time, sensitivity to their social status relative to town and village did not altogether disappear among the Greek-Catholic clergy even after the world war. Fr. Stefan Harasovs'kyi told his fellow priests from the Belz deanery in June of 1927 that "in town the parishioners would be scandalised to see their pastor behind a plough, but in the village they are more understanding in this respect, though they are not edified by such an example!"<sup>589</sup> One can compare the complaint of the mid-nineteenth-century Russian parish priest I.S. Belliustin that a priest who had to plough the land and haul manure could hardly maintain an attitude of dignity before his parishioners.<sup>590</sup>

The clergy occasionally were the object of social criticism for their alleged moral hypocrisy. Fr. Iuliian Dzerovych, noting in his article in *Nyva* that the clergy's errors were the subjects of newspaper articles, books, and even theatrical performances, replied that priests had the same failings as laymen, and should not be judged more harshly, nor should the faults of a few be ascribed to the many. Furthermore, the clerical state treated its wrongdoers more severely. It was unfair for the laity to condemn in the clergy what it condoned among its own.<sup>591</sup> At the Belz deanery meeting referred to

587 Bryk, Oleksander S. Moi zhyttievi studii. Winnipeg, 1956, 29, 36-37.

588 Otverte pys'mo s'vitskykh rusyniv-narodovtsiv do vsch. dukhoven'stva dekanativ mushyns'koho i bitskoho. na ruky o. Hryhoryia Kopystians'koho parokha v Snitnytsi. dekana mushyns'koho. pochet. kryloshanyia i proch. proch. L'viv, 1903, 9-11. Iegomos't' is the archaic Galician village form of address for a priest, ieimos't' (or iimos't') for his wife.

589 WAP-P, ABGK file 5342, p. 681.

590 Belliustin, I.S. Description of the Clergy in Rural Russia (Gregory L. Freeze, trans.) Ithaca, N.Y. and London, 1985, 126-127.

591 Dzerovych, Iuliian. "Peresudy i bezosnovni zakydy suprotiv dukhoven'stva." *Nyva* no. 4, 1912, 123-124

above, Fr. Stefan Harasovs'kyi reminded the gathered priests to warn his children and servants against sin, to encourage them to pray, and in the evenings to read religious-moral books to them aloud.<sup>592</sup>

Political differences were naturally a source of conflict between priest and parish. Fr. Tyt Voinarovs'kyi was among those who could overcome such differences. Upon arriving in 1894 in the parish of Balyntsi, where the Radicals were influential, he began to patiently discuss politics with his parishioners. Soon they were visiting him every Sunday afternoon to talk over what they had read in the Radical newspapers. Having himself carefully read each newspaper, Fr. Voinarovs'kyi was prepared for the debate, and eventually succeeded in refuting every Radical idea brought up by his parishioners that was contrary to Christian teaching. Thus, he recounted in his memoir, the Radicals lost their following in Balyntsi.<sup>593</sup> When the future bishop Fr. Hryhorii Khomyshyn arrived in Kolomyia in the Stanyslaviv eparchy, he found the town almost totally Radicalised. The intelligentsia rarely attended church, and a few were declared atheists. A number treated priests as equals or even inferiors, particularly if they did not belong to their political party. To gain the support of the intelligentsia, a priest often had to be active in party life, to the detriment of the Church. However, Fr. Khomyshyn succeeded in attracting the intelligentsia with the quality of his preaching.<sup>594</sup>

Conflicts between clergy and laity occasionally broke out over the issue of ritual and cultural orientation (see the following chapter). In January 1913, eight parishioners in Mokrotyn in the Peremyshl' eparchy lodged a complaint against their priest, Fr. Dionizii Dombrovs'kyi, on account of his Russophile behaviour. In particular, he had allegedly dissolved the parish Apostolate of Prayer because this was "Polish," and had ordered his faithful to stop using rosaries because this constituted polonisation of the people. He had discontinued services to the Sacred Heart, supplications and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, since these were borrowings

<sup>592</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5342, p. 689.

<sup>593</sup> Voinarovs'kyi, Tyt. "Spohady z moho zhyttia," in Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX-XX st. Naukove Товариство ім. Шевченка, Библиотека Українознавства, no. 8. New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto, 1961, 24-27.

<sup>594</sup> Mel'nychuk, Petro. Vladyka Hryhorii Khomyshyn. Rome-Philadelphia, 1979, 23-24.

from the Latin rite, and had even replaced the metal cross on the altar with a wooden three-barred cross. Fr. Dombrovs'kyi had apparently alienated some of his parishioners by circulating Russophile newspapers like "Holos Naroda," and had spoken against the Basilians and their newspaper "Misionar," telling the people not to visit their monastery at Zhovkva. He had opposed the local branch of the "Sich" gymnastic association on the ground that it was a Radical group, and had publicly chided girls for attending its gatherings. Finally, he had dissolved the choir because of its "Sich" sympathies. The parish was demoralised, stated the complaint, and the temperance society showed no signs of life.<sup>595</sup>

Of course, the historical record contains instances of excellent relations between priest and parish. In 1933, for example, 33 parishioners from Stare Selo wrote to the Bishop of Peremyshl' asking that Fr. Mykhailo Dochylo's transfer to another parish be revoked. Reminding the Bishop of the sectarian and Communist influences at work in the eparchy, as well as the polonisation of the village youth, they pointed out Fr. Dochylo's many accomplishments. Now their church was decorated with flowers and embroidery, and a collection had been taken up for a new church. The priest was popular with the children, who now attended services eagerly. He had helped to improve the state of the local cooperative, put the church choir in order, and with his sermons had drawn young people away from Communist agitators and back to the Church. One no longer heard secular songs in the village during Lent, young men took their hats off before their elders, and not one person had joined the Baptists. In the neighbouring parish of Myl'kiv, also served by Fr. Dochylo, even the Poles had begun attending the Greek-Catholic church in order to hear his sermons.<sup>596</sup>

Apart from the conflicts of the 1920s between clergy and intelligentsia in the Stanyslaviv eparchy, relations between the members of "Prosvita" reading-rooms and the Greek-Catholic clergy were usually friendly. Members of the "Prosvita" branch at Hrebenets' joined with other villagers in March of 1933 to request the Peremyshl' Episcopal Consistory to send them a permanent priest. Although the local Russophiles desired only an Orthodox priest, and

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<sup>595</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 5419.

<sup>596</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 4473.

others did not want one at all because they did not wish to give up the use of the parish lands, the authors of the letter felt that a permanent priest was particularly important because of Baptist proselytising. Fr. Kliufas, who only visited occasionally, would be welcome, despite his large family.<sup>597</sup> In February 1937, members of the "Prosvita" reading-room in Uhertsi Nezabytovs'ki requested the Episcopal Consistory in Peremyshl' to keep Fr. Vasyl' Paslavs'kyi in their parish, because of his fine religious and educational work. The church brotherhood now had 250 members and received many religious publications at the reading-room. Fr. Paslavs'kyi had taken up a collection to cover the belfry with tin, and funds were being collected to build a church hall, which the parishioners needed for meetings of the brotherhood and for "religious-national presentations."<sup>598</sup> The head and secretary of the "Prosvita" reading-room at Pavlova wrote to Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi in early 1937 on behalf of the parish youth of Maidan Syniavs'kyi (Majdan Sieniawski), asking for a priest. He would have to be fearless, they wrote, since the Ukrainians were in danger of being polonised through the local Latin-rite church, while on the other hand the influence of the Communists was spreading too. What was needed was an educated, hard-working priest who loved his people.<sup>599</sup>

Relations between a pastor and his flock could be complex, so that trivial matters sometimes assumed great importance. Among the various issues dividing Fr. Volodymyr Prystai and his parish at Vyslok Horishnyi in 1932-1933 were the accounts involving the purchase of sacramental wine, the state of the parish land and hedges, and a speech defect that impeded the priest's preaching. Meanwhile, the parish was threatened by sectarian and Communist agitation. Furthermore, the village elder opposed Fr. Prystai because after the elder had refused to have the village girls wash the floor of the church, the priest's wife had stopped sending him milk or presents on the occasion of the slaughtering of pigs -- both apparently local customs. Some of the conflicts at Vyslok Horishnyi also involved the parish council, an institution established under

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<sup>597</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 4473.

<sup>598</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3900.

<sup>599</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 3900.

Austrian law and continued during the period of Polish administration.<sup>600</sup>

It would appear that as the Greek-Catholic parish clergy abandoned Russophile ideology and gradually came to accept populist and nationalist ideas, their relations with the village improved. The influx of peasants' sons into the clergy may also have contributed to mutual understanding.

The priest arriving at his urban or rural parish faced a host of hardships in his relations with the laity, whether intelligentsia or villagers. On the whole, these hardships were never eliminated. The seminary memoirs of Fr. Nykolai Voiakovs'kyi, who was ordained in 1925 and served as parish priest near Horodok from 1927 to 1939, mention that the Greek-Catholic clergy had to endure "derision and ironic treatment, pointed jeers, malicious criticism and hurtful needling."<sup>601</sup> As late as January 1939, the editors of *Nyva* -- in the midst of a comment on the conflict with Bishop Khomyshyn -- described the life of the Greek-Catholic clergy in the following words:

Today our clergy is so humbled, so humiliated, all kinds of moral and material blows assail it from all sides, its name is blackened in the press, denunciations rain down upon it, lawsuits are conducted against it, heavy money fines are imposed upon it, about which our daily press reports constantly and of which [the clergy] does not need to be maliciously reminded to its humiliation. We would like to find another such clergy in the world that suffers so much humiliation, so much derision and debasement!<sup>602</sup>

Written in the heat of polemic, this description is no doubt exaggerated. It may have been valid only as to a part of the clergy, and only in some times and places. Yet it echoes Fr. Iulian Dzerovych's comment of 1912, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, and Fr. Vasyl' Pryshliak's complaint of 1935, quoted in the preceding one. It conveys something of the social atmosphere in which the Greek-Catholic parish priest lived, worked, and thought.

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<sup>600</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 4473.

<sup>601</sup> Nykolai Voiakovs'kyi. "Vidnovlennia dukhovnoi seminarii u L'vovi: 1920 -1926." *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni. Series II, Sectio II*, vol . VII (XIII) fasc. 1-4. Roma, 1971, 307.

<sup>602</sup> "Nasha oborona." *Nyva* no. 1, 1939, 25.



It is in this atmosphere that the ideas to be discussed in the following two chapters were developed, debated and put into practice.

Neither the problem of clerical relations with a secular intelligentsia and a politically awakening peasantry in a time of secularisation and nationalism, nor the attempted solutions described above, were exclusively Galician phenomena. Similar problems and approaches are to be found in other Catholic as well as Orthodox contexts, and indeed in non-Christian societies with a strong traditional clergy. The kind of stress between clerical and secular elites vying for popular support -- and between them and the masses -- described above and in Chapter Eight are typical of societies undergoing modernisation.

## PART THREE: CRISES OF IDENTITY

### CHAPTER SIX: RELIGIOUS, NATIONAL AND POLITICAL IDENTITY

The period 1900-1939 saw the transformation of the Greek-Catholic clergy. In part, this was a conscious transformation, beginning with the reform of the seminary (see Chapters One and Two) and continuing with attempts to modernise the clergy and bring it closer to the Ruthenian and then Ukrainian popular movement. In part, this transformation consisted of a series of clerical responses to changing conditions such as the secularisation of Ruthenian-Ukrainian society, economic hardship, the rise of the village intelligentsia, the sharpening of political conflicts with the Poles, and the growth of militant nationalism. Running parallel with the development of Ukrainian national consciousness, the clerical transformation interacted with it. Both processes were affected by (and sometimes contributed to) political events such as the world war, the creation of a short-lived Western Ukrainian Republic, and the war with Poland.<sup>603</sup> The conditions and events of this turbulent period compelled the Greek-Catholic priest to make difficult practical choices, which in turn forced him to define his moral and political principles more sharply, though always in the light of the Church's teachings and the directives of the hierarchy. In this process, the clergy redefined their cultural orientation, their national identity, and their political stance. In short, during this period they developed a somewhat revised world view, a prominent feature of which was a new sense of their own identity.

This identity, forged through "crisis" or choice, had several aspects with their own paths of development. In the first decades of the century, the Old Ruthenian cultural tendency of much of the clergy culminated in political Russophilism and religious schism. Both these tendencies waned among the clergy after the debacle of the first world war, raising the necessity of a new orientation. Gradually, the clergy adopted a Ukrainian national identity. As Ukrainian national consciousness became associated with various political movements, the clergy searched for its place in the

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<sup>603</sup> For a history of twentieth-century Poland, see Rollet, Henry. *La Pologne au XXe Siècle*. Paris, 1984. On Galicia, see pp. 52-54 and 118-120.

changing political landscape. At the same time, Galician Ukrainians sought a cultural expression for their newly discovered national identity. The clergy took part in this search, seeking a specifically Ukrainian Catholic orientation, which was both cultural and religious.

### 1. Old Ruthenians. Russophiles. Schismatics

The oldest members of the Greek-Catholic clergy in 1900 had been ordained at the birth of the Old Ruthenian or Russophile movement. This movement was a response to a change in the policy of the Habsburg monarchy and in the balance of power in Austrian Galicia. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the government had favoured the Ruthenians and their Greek-Catholic Church as a counterweight to the Poles and their Church organisation. The Ruthenians and their hierarchy consequently behaved with the greatest loyalty to the Emperor, earning the epithets of Kaisertreu and "Tyroleans of the East." In the period of constitutionalism, however, imperial policy began to change, and in the era of Galician autonomy (after 1867) the Poles clearly had the upper hand in Galician politics, achieving considerable influence in Vienna as well.<sup>604</sup>

Deprived of imperial support and helpless before the dominant Polish gentry and growing middle class, some of the Ruthenians began to look to Russia for support. From the 1860s, the Greek-Catholic higher clergy, centered at St. George's Cathedral in L'viv adopted a Russophile orientation. This movement, whose members came to be known as "Old Ruthenians," had political and religious implications.<sup>605</sup> Politically, it carried the tacit threat of intervention

<sup>604</sup> For a survey of Ruthenian and Ukrainian political life in Austrian Galicia, see Kubijovyc, V., ed. Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia vol. I. Toronto, 1963, 698-707.

<sup>605</sup> For a biography of a prominent Old Ruthenian priest, see Aristov, F.F. "Amvrosii A. Polianskyi. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo," in Vavryk, V.R., ed. *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik Galitsko-Russkoi Matitsy*. L'viv, 1930, 11-21. Fr. Polianskyi was born in 1854 at Smol'nyk in Galicia. Upon completing his studies at the L'viv seminary in 1877 he married, and after ordination served as assistant priest in Komarno. In 1882 he became a prefect at the L'viv seminary, and chairman of the editorial commission of the Kachkovskii Society, a Russophile popular-educational organisation that formed reading-rooms throughout Galicia. He taught religion in a secondary school in Drohobych and served as parish priest in different villages. Fr. Polianskyi's selected works were published in Moscow in 1915 under the editorship of F.F. Aristov, in the series Biblioteka Karpato-Russkikh Pisatelei.

by a major rival of the Habsburgs. This threat was taken seriously enough by the Austrian authorities to provoke treason trials in 1882 and 1914. Religiously, it bore the related implication of Orthodox sympathies -- which became a reality when emigre Galician clergy under Fr. Markiel Popel' participated in the liquidation of the Union in Russian-held Kholm (Chełm) in 1875, and when Fr. Ivan Naumovych joined the Orthodox Church along with the entire Galician village of Hnylychky (Skalat district) in 1882.

However, the Russophilism of the Old Ruthenians was primarily a cultural movement, rarely involving religious apostasy or political disloyalty.<sup>606</sup> In part it was a reaction against the Polish cultural orientation that much of the Ruthenian Greek-Catholic clergy had adopted in previous decades. In part it was an attempt to stave off polonisation in both the secular and church domains in an era of Polish dominance in virtually all spheres of Galician life.<sup>607</sup> The movement set up its own network of reading-rooms under the auspices of the Kachkovsky Society, set up in 1874. It was culturally conservative, however, in the sense that it favoured using the "etymological" rather than the phonetic orthography. This was also a reflection of its politically conservative, anti-populist stance. Rather than seeking to write in a manner that conveyed popular speech, the Old Ruthenians used an artificial written language incorporating elements of Church Slavonic and Russian. Incomprehensible to the masses (and comical to the new secular intelligentsia), it became the written language of much of the priestly class well into the twentieth century. In the strictly religious sphere, Russophilism included a movement for purification of the Greek-Catholic rite, which at least since the Synod of Zamość in 1720 had undergone gradual

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<sup>606</sup> At a February 1912 meeting of the Zhovkva (Żółkiew) deanery -- one of the extraordinary deanery meetings called to discuss, among other things, the danger of schism -- Fr. Petro Durkot, apparently an Old Ruthenian, complained that the Basilians were publicly accusing local Old Ruthenian priests of tending to schism. *Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu* (WAP-P), *Archiwum Biskupstwa Grecko-Katolickiego* (ABGK) file 3848.

<sup>607</sup> At a meeting of the Liubachiv (Lubaczów) deanery on 27 February 1912, at which schismatic and Radical agitation were discussed, Fr. Severyn Metellia introduced a resolution to the effect that schismatic agitation was caused not by Orthodox agitators or priests, but by political relations: Polish church periodicals like "Przegląd Powszechny" and "Gazeta Kościelna" evinced a disdainful and even hostile attitude towards the Greek-Catholic Church and clergy, which caused the Ruthenian people to seek to protect their nationality from aggressive polonisation, even to the extent of throwing themselves into the arms of schism. WAP-P, ABGK file 3848.

"latinisation."<sup>608</sup> In general terms, the Russian orientation afforded Ruthenians, both lay and clerical, at least a sense of power through identification as a branch of the numerous and mighty Russian nation.<sup>609</sup>

According to an Austrian military source, in 1909 one-third of the Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia were Russophile, two-thirds Ukrainophile.<sup>610</sup> According to Cyrille Korolevskij, when Andrei Sheptyts'kyi ascended to the metropolitan see of Halych in 1901, the Russophiles, composed of clergy and intelligentsia, constituted a third of the population of the Peremyshl' eparchy, nearly a third of that of the L'viv eparchy, and less than a third in the Stanyslaviv eparchy.<sup>611</sup>

The Russophile movement naturally attracted the interest and the generous financial support of imperial Russia. Scholarships were provided for study in Russia, and student housing was organised in various towns of Galicia. Pilgrimages were organised to Kiev and to the monastery at Pochaiv (Pochaev), near the Galician border. The Stauropegial Institute in L'viv became a Russophile stronghold, and operated a major publishing house. The Ruthenian National Home and the Galician Ruthenian Matitsa were the two other major Russophile institutions.<sup>612</sup>

The growth of Russophile sympathies among the Greek-Catholic clergy alarmed the Viennese authorities and led to the resignation of Metropolitan Iosyf Sembratovych in 1882. In that year, a reform and revitalisation of the Basilian order, the traditional source of bishops, was undertaken by the Jesuits. In 1885 Syl'vester Sembratovych was elevated to the metropolitan throne. In 1891 a

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<sup>608</sup> Korczok, Anton. Die Griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien. Osteuropa Institut in Breslau -- Quellen und Studien -- fünfte Abteilung -- Religionswissenschaft. 1. Heft. Leipzig-Berlin, 1921, 123-124. In April 1918 Fr. Petro Durkot (see note 4 above), parish priest at Dobrosyn, wrote to the Zhovkva deanery that if the government authorities could accept correspondence written in the old orthography, he hoped that the spiritual authorities, too, would not require him to learn the new one in his old age. WAP-P, ABGK file 5490.

<sup>609</sup> See generally Himka, John-Paul. Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890). Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983, 40-44.

<sup>610</sup> Die Habsburgermonarchie. vol. III pt. I. Wien, 1980, 580. This was an estimate by the XI Korpskommando.

<sup>611</sup> Korolevskij, Cyrille. Metropolite André Szeptycky. Pratsi Ukrains'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva, vol. XVI-XVII. Rome, 1964, 69.

<sup>612</sup> See generally Korczok, op. cit., 136-146. For a good description of Russophile life in Galicia around the turn of the century, see Galitskaia Rus' prezhde i nyne. St. Petersburg, 1907.

provincial synod was held in L'viv to settle questions of ritual and discipline. The Julian (Old) Calendar was retained, as was the custom of ordaining married men.<sup>613</sup> To some extent clerical Russophilism was brought under control in Galicia, although individual Old Ruthenian priests survived up to World War Two.<sup>614</sup>

In the Lemko region, an Orthodox movement continued well into the twentieth century, with mass conversions from about 1911 to 1914.<sup>615</sup> Emigrants returning from the United States and Canada, where the Russian Orthodox Church had made massive inroads among the Ruthenian emigrant population, contributed to the Orthodox movement in this region.

Something of the life of Old Ruthenian parish priests was described in Chapters Four and Five. As was discussed in Chapter Three, this was a dying class. Although Old Ruthenians remained dominant in the metropolitan and episcopal consistories and cathedral chapters at least until the first world war, there, too, their influence waned. The socio-economic factors in the demise of the priestly caste were mentioned in Chapter Three. Priests' sons entered the free professions; priestly life became harsher; the war ruined some families, the recession others. The advent of compulsory priestly celibacy ended prospects of a continuation of the

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<sup>613</sup> For a summary history of the Greek-Catholic Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see the article "Ruteni" in the *Enciclopedia Cattolica* vol. X. Città del Vaticano, 1953, 1488-1489.

<sup>614</sup> Parish priest Fr. I. Hnatyshak, asked to present a talk on "How we should utilise the Jubilee of the Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine in Pastoral Work" at the Nyzhankovychi deanery meeting of 17 November 1938, did not appear at the meeting because he did not recognise Ukraine. Undaunted, his dean, Fr. Ivan Sendzik, requested the episcopal ordinariat in Peremyshl' to have him write a paper on this theme and read it at the following meeting. WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, p. 80. Fr. Hnatyshak was evidently an Old Ruthenian. At a deanery meeting in the Stanyslaviv eparchy in December 1938, Fr. Evhen Chubaty, an Old Ruthenian from Svarychiv, got into an argument with one Fr. Kostiuk, a Ukrainian nationalist, regarding the latter's sermon on the 950th anniversary of the Baptism of Rus'. Fr. Kostiuk ended with the assertion that Old Ruthenian priests were dying out, while consciously Ukrainian priests were taking the fore. Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN), Ministerstwo Wyznan Religijnych i Oswiecenia Publicznego (MWR i OP) file 384, p. 156. Although it seems unlikely that there should have been any causal connection between residual Galician Russophilism and the absorption of the Greek-Catholic Church into the Russian Orthodox Church in 1945-1946, this topic deserves exploration.

<sup>615</sup> For example, in 1912 it was reported that the entire village of Dolhe, part of the Radotsyn parish, which was under an Old Ruthenian priest, had converted to Orthodoxy. Orthodox tendencies were observed in other villages in the Lemko region. *Nyva* 1912, 98-99.

priestly dynasties, and many potential priests presumably were deterred from entering seminary.

There were other reasons, however, for the decline of the Old Ruthenians. These were connected with the development of the Russophile tendency itself after 1900, and with the events of World War One.

Around the turn of the century the Old Ruthenians began to lose ground to the "novokursnyky," a new generation of Russophiles with a significantly different outlook.<sup>616</sup> The "novokursnyky" took an overtly political stance, identifying with the interests of the Russian state.<sup>617</sup> They were also more inclined to schism.

Thus, the Old Ruthenian movement, originally conceived as a means of cultural-ecclesiastical self-preservation consistent with both Catholicism and loyalty to the Habsburg empire, gave birth to a series of apostasies on the one hand, and to a disloyal political orientation on the other. Both these tendencies reached their consummation during the Russian invasions of World War One.

The reaction of Polish society to these developments was mixed. On the one hand, as mentioned in the Introduction, the Polish clergy saw the Old Ruthenians as potential or even crypto-schismatics. Some regarded their sympathies for Russia as proof that their Catholicism was bogus.<sup>618</sup> This in turn provided a rationale for converting the Ruthenians to the more "truly" Catholic Latin rite. On the political side, some Polish nationalists recognised Russophilism as an anti-Polish ideology, which sought the favour of Poland's traditional enemy to the East. From 1900, however, the newly emergent Polish National Democrats, a radically right-wing nationalist movement headed by Roman Dmowski, tended to support the Russophiles, as did the large landowners or "Podolians" of

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<sup>616</sup> Baran, Stepan. Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Munich, 1947, 31, 53.

<sup>617</sup> Stefan Kieniewicz makes essentially the same distinction in pointing out the difference between the (Old Ruthenian) "St. George's Circle" and the "Muscophiles," in his review article, "Rudnytsky's Essays in Modern Ukrainian History in the Eyes of a Polish Historian." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* vol. XI no. 3/4 (December 1987) 525.

<sup>618</sup> See, for example, X.M.St. Cerkiew unicka we wschodniej Małopolsce w czasie inwazyi rosyjskiej (1914-1917). Lwów, 1920, 8-23. The author, a priest, states that out of 2,483 Greek-Catholic priests, 30 (not counting the Stanyslaviv eparchy) apostasised during the Russian invasion, 61 left for Russia voluntarily, 350 were arrested by the Austrians, 350 fled before the invasion, and the fate of 120 was not certain. Of the remaining 1,572, asserts the author, only 76, or 1/32 of the clergy, actively defended the Union. Id. 22-23.

Galicia, and a good part of the Latin-rite clergy. Politically, these groups correctly saw the Russophile Old Ruthenians as a conservative force opposed to both the Ukrainophile populists and the socialist Radicals.<sup>619</sup>

From its beginnings the Russophile movement competed with the populist and socialist tendencies. As John-Paul Himka has shown, Ruthenian populism took a turn for the moderate in the late 1860s, due to clerical influence. This resulted from the need of the urban populist intellectuals for a bridge to the masses in the countryside. Such a role could only be played by the parish priests, who had access to the peasants and who by founding reading-rooms and teaching the people to read made it possible for the populists, and later the Radicals, to reach them. In exchange for this service, the clergy exerted a tempering influence on the populist movement. In the late 1880s, however, Radical populism asserted itself as a militantly anti-clerical socialist force.<sup>620</sup>

Polish populism developed along similar lines in Galicia. The "populist" or peasant movement led by Fr. Stojałowski in fact exhibited anti-clerical tendencies as well as elements of socialism, nationalism, and anti-Semitism. It was, however, not as socially radical as its counterpart in the Russian partition, nor closely comparable to nineteenth-century Russian populism. Polish populism in Galicia generally represented the interests of landed peasants. In inter-war Poland the "Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe" would become an influential if ideologically amorphous party which contributed men like Wincenty Witos and Stanisław Mikołajczyk.<sup>621</sup>

In 1899, a number of Ruthenian right Radicals and populists formed the National Democratic Party which in its various subsequent incarnations became the dominant party in Ruthenian and Ukrainian Galician politics for the next forty years. However, the Radicals remained a force, with some eventually joining the Communists and others forming the Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party. The Social Democratic and Social Christian parties exerted less influence. All of these, however, opposed the novokursnyky, both

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<sup>619</sup> Baran 52-53.

<sup>620</sup> Himka, John-Paul. Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890). Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983, 45, 69-70, 139-140, 171-172.

<sup>621</sup> See generally Narkiewicz, Olga A. The Green Flag: Polish Populist Politics, 1867-1970. London-Totowa, New Jersey, 1976.



for their social conservatism and for their rejection of the Ukrainian orientation.

Despite Polish support, the Russophiles began to lose their political influence as suffrage was extended in Austria. The 1907 reform of the electoral system in Parliament enabled the populists to gain at the expense of the Russophiles. After the assassination of Viceroy Potocki by a Ukrainophile student in April 1908, his successor Michał Bobrzyński discontinued the policy of supporting the Russophiles, pursuing a more even-handed policy which allowed the populists to assert themselves. In particular, he took steps which culminated, with Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's cooperation, in the electoral reform finally enacted under the next viceroy, Witold Korytowski, in January 1914.<sup>622</sup>

It has been asserted that as Bishop of Stanyslaviv in 1899-1900, Sheptyts'kyi favoured the Russophiles.<sup>623</sup> It appears that as Metropolitan, he maintained a neutral stance. The Russophiles did control the higher ecclesiastical posts in Galicia. The populists, on the other hand, were hostile to Sheptyts'kyi despite his actions on behalf of the Ruthenian cause. Furthermore, populism was still associated with anti-clericalism, though by this time there were many populist priests as well. The Metropolitan's condemnation of the 1908 assassination of the Viceroy Potocki was resented by many lay populists.<sup>624</sup> His order of 27 August 1908 forbidding priests to interfere in each other's parishes was interpreted as being directed against populist priests conducting activity in the parishes of their Russophile neighbours. Nevertheless, a rapprochement between Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the populists took place in the years preceding the first world war.

At the same time, Orthodox agitation evidently prompted the Metropolitan to warn against the dangers of schism in a pastoral letter of 31 March 1910.<sup>625</sup> Bishop Khomyshyn did likewise in 1911.<sup>626</sup>

<sup>622</sup> See generally Demkovich-Dobrians'kyi, Mykhailo. Potots'kyi i Bobzhyns'kyi Tsisars'ki namisnykh Halychyny 1903-1913. Vydannia Ukrain's'koho Katolyts'koho Universytetu Sv. Klymenta Papy, vol. LIX. Rym, 1987.

<sup>623</sup> Dobrychev, Volodymyr. U tini sviatoho Iura. (2nd ed.) L'viv, 1970, 9.

<sup>624</sup> Doroshenko, Volodymyr. Velykyi Mytropolyt. Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1958, 20. For the clerical reaction, see "Holosy z kruhiv dukhovenstva." Nyva vol. 5, 1908, 329-334; id. 471-473.

<sup>625</sup> Poslaniie pastyr'ske Andreia Sheptytskoho ... Konstantyna Chekhovycha ... Hryhoriia Khomyshyna ... do vernykh svoikh eparkhii. Zhovkva, 1910. The letter warns, inter alia, against pilgrimages to Kiev and Pochaiv, and against

In early 1912, the Peremyshl' episcopal ordinariat requested all deans to hold special meetings at which, among other things, the Metropolitan's 1910 letter would be read, and parish priests would report on any schismatic agitation in their parishes.<sup>627</sup> In July, 1912 the Metropolitan Ordinariat in L'viv ordered deans and parish priests to try to prevent pilgrimages across the Russian border to Pochaiv and to report any that were being planned; it also asked the clergy to use the political authorities to weed out schismatic agitators. The priests were reminded that they must teach the faithful the difference between Catholicism and schism, and deans were urged to arrange for missions in their deaneries. The matter of schism was to be given foremost attention at deanery meetings.<sup>628</sup>

Russophilism thus came to be identified with schism, and most of the Greek-Catholic clergy began to follow Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's lead in abandoning it. Gradually, they adopted a populist and then an outright nationalist orientation.<sup>629</sup> At the same time, the need to preserve the Eastern tradition and to stave off polonisation and latinisation -- a need which lay at the heart of the Russophile movement -- came to be satisfied under Sheptyts'kyi's guidance in a way that avoided absorption into Russian Orthodoxy. This was the way of Church Union, which will be discussed below.<sup>630</sup>

In September 1914 the Russian army arrived in Galicia. The rapidly retreating Austrians rounded up and hanged suspected Russophiles, including priests. Several hundred Greek-Catholic priests were deported to detention camps in Thalerhof,

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those who oppose frequent communion and devotions to the Sacred Heart. It also asserts that the Catholic faith, unlike that of the schismatics, is truly "Orthodox," and that the Union of 1596 was a voluntary reunion of the Ruthenians with the One Church of Rome, which was the Church of St. Vladimir and various other Eastern saints.

<sup>626</sup> Poslaniie pastyrskoe Hryhorija Khomyshyna Epyskopa Stanyslavivskoho do dukhoven'stva svoiei eparkhii o napriamakh nynishnoi khvyli. Stanyslaviv, 1911.

<sup>627</sup> Reports on these deanery meetings are found in WAP-P, ABGK file 3848.

<sup>628</sup> WAP-P, ABGK Supl. 145 (circular of 20 July 1912 to deanery and parish offices).

<sup>629</sup> In 1911 Fr. Volodymyr Herasymovych ended his diatribe against the schismatics and Russophiles with an appeal to his fellow priests to warn the people against this disastrous current and to "confirm them in loyalty to the holy Catholic Church and the Ukrainian nation." "Skhyzmatyts'ka i rusofil'ska propaganda mizh nashym narodom." Nyva no. 1, 1912, 14-15.

<sup>630</sup> This point is made by John-Paul Himka in "Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement before 1914," in Magocsi, Paul R., ed. Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Edmonton, Alberta, 1989, 39.

Theresienstadt and Gmund.<sup>631</sup> Some authors allege that this was due to denunciations by Poles.<sup>632</sup> Russophiles allege that it was the Ukrainian party, including some of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's associates, who were responsible for the "Galician Golgotha."<sup>633</sup>

The Russian occupation of Galicia lasted several months from the autumn of 1914 to the spring of 1915; Russian forces held parts of Galicia into 1916, and made further gains as a result of the Brusilov offensive in that year. During this time, the civil administration treated the Ruthenian population fairly leniently. However, Archbishop Evlogii of Volhynia attempted to carry through a mass conversion of the Greek-Catholics to the Orthodox Church, with the cooperation of the Russophiles. He sent Orthodox clergy to take over parishes abandoned by Greek-Catholic priests who had fled before the Russians or been arrested by the Austrians. In fact, the Russian civil authorities were annoyed by his measures and sought to restrain him.<sup>634</sup> In the event, a number of priests (perhaps 50) did

<sup>631</sup> Galitskaia Golgofa. Voennye prestupleniia Gabsburgskoi monarkhii 1914-1917 gg. (reprint of Talergofskii Al'manakh. Propamiatnaia kniga. (vypusk 1-4) L'vov, 1924-1932). Trumbull, Connecticut, 1964. This valuable source, compiled by Galician Russophiles, contains excerpts from diaries of various Greek-Catholic priests arrested by the Austrian authorities. Most of the arrests and persecution appear to have taken place in the first months of the war. Fr. Roman Berezovs'kyi, parish priest of Protesiv (Zhydachiv district) was accused of espionage and sentenced by a court martial to death by hanging on 30 September 1914 in Mukachiv (Munkacs, Mukachevo), and Fr. Petro Sandovych, parish priest in Brunary, was accused of treason by a court martial and sentenced to execution by firing-squad on 28 September in Nowy Sacz; both sentences were carried out. Id. 31, 32. See Pravoslavnyi Visnyk (Kiev) no. 8, 1989, 24-25 (stating that Fr. Berezovs'kyi died at Thalerhof). Information about the priests interned in Thalerhof can be found in the Petrushevykh archive at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, Box 10/IV E (Namenslister - Geistlichen).

<sup>632</sup> Baran 56.

<sup>633</sup> "Ukrainians" reportedly testified for the prosecution in the 1915 and 1916 Vienna treason trials before the Landwehrdivisionsgericht. At the latter trial, prominent laymen Evhen Olesnyts'kyi, Evhen Petrushevykh, Stepan Baran, Lonhyn Tsehel's'kyi, Lev Bachyns'kyi and Kost' Levyts'kyi joined Fr. Platon Filas and Fr. Stepan Onyshkevych and others in testifying against the defence; among the 24 defendants were eight Greek-Catholic priests including Fr. Havriil Hnatyshak (parish priest in Krynytsia), Fr. Ioann Mashchak (parish priest in Lypytsia Horna), Fr. Roman Pryslopskii (parish priest in Zhegestiv), and Fr. Nikolai Vynnytskii (parish priest in Halych). Fr. Feodosii Durkot, parish priest at Zhdynia, was found innocent, while the other priests were sentenced to death by hanging, but were pardoned. Galitskaia Golgofa 142-147.

<sup>634</sup> Petrovych, Ivan. Halychyna pid chas rosiis'koi okupatsii. serpen' 1914-cherven' 1915. [Vienna?] 1915, 81. The militarygovernor Bobrinskii reportedly opposed Evlogii's "tactless agitation" for Orthodoxy. Dmytro Doroshenko, who represented the Russian government in Galicia, relates that Bobrinskii complained in a report that Evlogii had ignored his orders, appointing priests to parishes where only a few people had requested one. By April 1915 Evlogii had created 113 Orthodox parishes in Galicia, and during the next two months the

convert, along with all or part of various villages, particularly in the border region of eastern Galicia. When the Russians retreated, a number of priests and faithful who had converted to Orthodoxy fled with them, fearing Austrian reprisals.<sup>635</sup> For others, however, the Russian occupation brought disillusionment. The reality of the often poorly educated Russian clergy, insensitive to Ruthenian traditions and sensibilities, and speaking a language that sounded more foreign than it appeared on paper, dispelled the Russophile dream.<sup>636</sup>

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi himself was arrested by the Russian authorities in September 1914 and deported to Russia, to be released in 1917.<sup>637</sup> By the time of his return to L'viv in 1918 he was hailed by Galician Ukrainians as a national hero. On 21 February of that year, he and Bishops Khomyshyn and Kotsylovs'kyi issued a joint pastoral letter criticising the Russophile ideology and urging their priests to

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number nearly doubled. After the Russian offensive of 1916, however, Evlogii was not allowed to continue his campaign for the conversion of Galicia. Doroshenko, D. "The Uniat Church in Galicia (1914-1917)." The Slavonic and East European Review vol. 12, no. 36 (April 1934) 624-626.

<sup>635</sup> For a general account of the occupation and the behaviour of the Greek-Catholic clergy, see Baran 55; Chlamtacz, Marzell. Lembergs politische Physiognomie während der russischen Invasion (3/XI 1914-22/VI 1915). Wien, 1916; Doroshenko, op. cit.; Dzerovych, Iulian. "Viina a nasha Tserkov." Nyva no. 1, 1916, 3-16; Pelczynski, Emil. Prawosławie w Galicyi. Lwów, 1918, 36-38 (based on L'vivs'ki Arkhiieparkhiial'ni Vidomosti February 1916)(list of 30 priests who fled to Russia with retreating Russian troops); Petrovych, Ivan, op. cit., esp. 60-62, 71-82 (including list of priests who converted to Orthodoxy and were awarded ecclesiastical dignities), 86, 105; X.M.St., op. cit., esp. 8-23; Nyva no. 1, 1916, 12-16, 55-56; Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Vienna), Politisches Archiv, I, file 831d "Russland 1914-1918" and file 967 (Liasse Krieg); WAP-P, ABGK file 3855 (report of dean Fr. Aitan Koval's'kyi and Fr. Iakov Kosonats'kyi on parishes of Khyshkevychi and Koropuzh; report of Fr. Teodor Hrushkevych, parish priest of Poriche-Grunt, Horozhanna deanery).

<sup>636</sup> Dmytro Doroshenko relates that according to Governor-General Bobrinskii's report for the period 1 September 1914 - 1 July 1915, published in Kiev in 1916, page 43, the population was not hostile to the Russian Orthodox priests, but not enthusiastic either, because the priests' personal qualities and material circumstances were inferior to those of the Greek-Catholic clergy. D. Doroshenko. "The Uniat Church in Galicia (1914-1917)," The Slavonic and East European Review vol. 12 no. 36 (April 1934), 622-627.

<sup>637</sup> He was arrested apparently because of a sermon he had delivered in the Dormition ("Wallachian") Church in L'viv. For the text, see Baran, Stepan. Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. München, 1947, 63. Baran feels, however, that the sermon merely served as a pretext for the Russian authorities to remove the influential churchman from his people. It is interesting, however, that the Old Ruthenian Fr. Vasyl' Davydiak, parish priest of the Dormition Church, defended Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi during the Russian occupation. Stepan Shakh. L'viv -- misto moiei molodosti. Part I. München, 1955, 94.

adopt the Ukrainian orientation of their faithful.<sup>638</sup> At the same time, the downfall of Tsarist Russia rendered political Russophilism virtually irrelevant; after the Bolshevik take-over, it became pointless, at least for the clergy.<sup>639</sup> It has also been argued that Russophilism was a moribund philosophy in that it could not absorb the "revolutionaries" of the younger generation, something which vital movements are always able to do.<sup>640</sup> Furthermore, the end of Tsarist funding of the Russophile movement removed one of its chief supports. The fact that in Russian Ukraine, Tsarism had been supplanted in 1917 by a Ukrainian People's Republic which declared independence in January 1918 aroused public enthusiasm in Galicia and vindicated the populist cause. A Western Ukrainian People's Republic was formed in October 1918, followed by struggle with Poland over Galicia. All this tended to eclipse Russophile aspirations. Gradually, Old Ruthenian priests began to go over to the Ukrainian camp.

While the Old Ruthenians were on the wane in most of Galicia (albeit retaining the Stauropegial Institute and publishing house and the People's Home in L'viv), in the Lemko region, the western section of the Peremyshl' eparchy, the Old Ruthenian clergy and its Russophile ideology persisted. Perhaps in reaction to Latin-rite and Polish pressures, as well as to the imposition of compulsory priestly celibacy in 1925, there was a wave of Orthodox schism in the late 1920s. Some 20 parishes joined the Orthodox Church.<sup>641</sup> This was reinforced by Lemko separatist tendencies and a reaction against the

<sup>638</sup> Poslanie pastyrskie Andreia Sheptytskoho ... Hryhoriia Khomyshyna ... Iosafata Kotsylovskoho ... do vsechesnoho dukhovenstva i virnykh. L'viv, 1918. The letter openly rejects the "Old Ruthenian or Russophile" party, pointing out that it served as a cover for schismatic agitation and was exposed during the Russian invasion, when it led to the apostasy of many laymen and some priests. It calls on priests who belonged to the Old Ruthenian or Russophile party to undertake work for "the Ukrainian people." Even a foreigner working among the Ukrainians must give up his personal patriotism to become "a Ukrainian for the Ukrainians in order to save their souls."

<sup>639</sup> A number of lay Russophiles joined with the pro-Soviet "Sel'soiuz" of Kholm (Chełm) and Volhynia (Wołyń) in 1926 to form "Sel'rob," which split in 1927 and again in 1928. Kubijovyc, op. cit. 839.

<sup>640</sup> Sokhots'kyi, Isydor. Shcho daly hreko-katolyts'ka Tserkva i dukhovenstvo ukrains'komu narodovi. Philadelphia, 1951, 102-103.

<sup>641</sup> I.H. "Dvadtsiat' lit na vladychomu prestoli," in Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohosloviv. Peremyshl', 1937, 77. At the Mushyna deanery meeting of 31 May 1927, Fr. Volodymyr Mokhnats'kyi, dean and parish priest at Tylych, led a discussion on the conversion of the parish of Koroleva Rus'ka to the schism. WAP-P, ABGK file 5342, pp. 1043-1044. See Virkhnians'kyi, Petro. "Pravoslav'ia na Lemkivshchyni v 1926-1931 rokakh." Zustrichi (Warszawa) year 6, no. 19(1), 111-121.

hectoring of Ukrainian nationalists -- including priests -- from Eastern Galicia.<sup>642</sup> The Orthodox movement was sufficiently alarming to the Catholic Church to warrant creation of a special Apostolic Administration in 1934.<sup>643</sup>

The Lemko Apostolic Administration appears to have been the product of the confluence of interests of the Roman Catholic Church and the Polish government. The government sought to prevent Ukrainian nationalist influences from entering this area; it was known that Bishop Kotyslovs'kyi had been sending Ukrainian nationalist priests to the Lemko region.<sup>644</sup> The Roman Catholic Church, for its part, saw the need for direct supervision where there was a danger of mass apostasy. Both the political isolation of the Lemko region and religious control from Rome would be served by the creation of the new administrative entity. Of course, the Holy See and the Polish government also had conflicting aims: the former wished to preserve Greek Catholicism in the area, while the latter preferred the advancement of Orthodoxy. Whether the Lemko Apostolic Administration was a success from either point of view is difficult to determine, as it had only five years before the German occupation of these lands irrevocably changed the situation.

<sup>642</sup> Stępień, Stanisław. "Nieznany List Metropolity Andrzeja Szeptyckiego do Administratora Apostolskiego Łemkowszczyzny Wasyla Maściucha." Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne vol. III, 1985, 201. Some of the Greek-Catholic faithful petitioned church and state authorities to remove priests engaged in the Ukrainian national movement. Id. 202 (citing Archiwum Akt Nowych, collection Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego file 378, k. 588 and file 379, k. 772). By 1934, 20% of the population of the Lemko region were Orthodox. Id. 202.

<sup>643</sup> The Administration was created by the decree of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church "Quo aptius consuleret" of 10 February 1934, Acta Apostolicae Sedis vol. 27, p. 80. For an account of the creation of this institution and the motives of the parties, see Baran, Stepan. Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Munich, 1947, 100-104. Baran notes that Lemko Russophiles had asked the Nuncio Marmaggi to create a separate administration for the Lemko region in July 1933. Id. 103.

<sup>644</sup> Isaiv, Petro. Istoriia peremys'koho iepyskopstva skhidnoho obriadu. Philadelphia, 1970, 42. By October 1939, out of 113 Greek-Catholic priests in the Lemko Apostolic Administration 76 were considered by the author of a German document as "Ukrainians" and only 28 "Ruthenians," with the allegiance of 9 uncertain. WAP-P, AAL file 6, pp. 17-39. Out of 21 seminarians who had studied in Cracow, Tarnów, and Dubno for service in the Administration, seven were classified in a German document as "Ukrainian" and 14 as "Ruthenian." Id. pp. 189-191, 193. As mentioned above, the Ukrainophile priests sometimes annoyed their Lemko parishioners. It was argued, however, that "it was necessary first to rid the Lemko of Russophilism in order to make him a Catholic and dispel his sympathies for Orthodoxy." I.H. "Dvadtsiat' lit na vladychomu prestoli," in Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohosloviv. Peremyshl', 1937, 77.

(However, the tendency to join the Orthodox Church continues to this day as a limitation on Latin-rite pressure upon Greek-Catholics in this region, while the tradition of government support for the Orthodox Church as a counter-weight to Catholicism of either rite continues, if anything, more strongly than before.)

Thus, the cultural Russophilism of the Old Ruthenian clergy found both its apogee and its demise in its ultimate political and religious consequences. Identification with Imperial Russia died in the first world war. Apostasy and flight to Russia obviously meant leaving the Greek-Catholic priesthood. A number of Old Ruthenian priests died in Austrian internment camps. The passing of ideological Russophilism coincided with the fall of the priestly dynasties and the departure of their scions from the priesthood. A harmless cultural Old Ruthenianism lingered among the elder Galician clergy. Only in the Lemko region did religious Russophilism remain strong. While Orthodox conversions occurred among the Lemko laity, the Russophile clergy in that region remained staunchly Greek-Catholic. In the meantime, the majority of the Greek-Catholic priests in Galicia adopted the Ukrainian national orientation.

## 2. From Ruthenian Populists to Ukrainian Nationalists

As has been seen above, much of the populist movement, and particularly its Radical current, was anti-clerical, and relations between Church and intelligentsia were often hostile. Even the growing number of populist priests could not accept the tenets of the laymen with whom they worked in enlightening the village. Yet by 1939, when Ruthenian populists had become Ukrainian nationalists, the Greek-Catholic clergy were almost entirely in the Ukrainian national camp. How did this happen?

The answer lies in changes that occurred among both the clergy and the populist movement, as well as in external political events. As Russophilism of the Old Ruthenian variety waned and that of the religious (Orthodox) and political (pro-Russian) type perished in the world war, the Greek-Catholic clergy sought a new national and political identity. Radicalism seemed at first to prevent the kind of cooperation between clerical and lay populist intelligentsia in "organic work" among the people that had occurred

in the 1870s and 1880s. The gulf between priests and populists had grown great. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and Bishops Chekhovych and Khomyshyn criticised Radicalism in a pastoral letter of 1907 on the parliamentary elections.<sup>645</sup> The pages of the clerical journal *Nyva*, founded in 1904 and supported by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, are full of attacks on Radicalism.<sup>646</sup> After the assassination of the Viceroy Potocki Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi condemned the act in a sermon; and in a joint pastoral letter addressed to the faithful, the Galician bishops warned of the dangers of politics without God, declaring that a crime in the name of patriotism was particularly evil because people might be tempted to praise it.<sup>647</sup> Populist, if not popular, opinion roundly criticised the Metropolitan for his condemnation.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi ignored the hostility of the populists and supported various national causes. In 1901 he had implicitly approved of the Ruthenian student strike and had helped the students pursue their studies abroad. In 1910 he spoke out in the House of Lords in Vienna in support of a Ukrainian university. In 1913-1914 he was instrumental in the electoral reform that would have given the Ruthenians political power commensurate with their numbers. He had blessed the blue and yellow colours of the "Sich Sharpshooters," a Ukrainian formation in the Austrian army, in 1914. A prisoner of Tsarist Russia, he returned in 1917 to speak out in the following year against clerical Russophilism and in support of the Ukrainian orientation. He supported the peace of Brest-Litovsk, in which the Central Powers recognised the Ukrainian People's Republic, in Parliament on 28 February 1918. In the succeeding years, he travelled extensively to gain support for the Ukrainian state. Upon returning to Poland in 1923 he was interned in Poznań by the government authorities until he agreed to issue a pastoral letter calling for obedience to the Polish authorities in Galicia.<sup>648</sup>

<sup>645</sup> Poslaniie pastyrskie Andreia Sheptytskoho ... Konstantyna Chekhovycha ... Hryhoriia Khomyshyna ... do Vernykh svoikh eparkhii o vyborakh do parlamentu. Zhovkva, 1907.

<sup>646</sup> For example, Fr. Evstakhii Tsurkovskii claimed that the Radicals were a Polish ploy to drive a wedge between the Greek-Catholic clergy and the Ruthenian people. "Vrazhinnia z kraievoho zdvyhu 'Sokoliv' i 'Sichyi' u L'vovi dnia 10 veresnia s.r." *Nyva* no. 20 (15 October 1911) 624-625.

<sup>647</sup> Poslaniie pastyrskie Andreia Sheptytskoho ... Konstantyna Chekhovycha ... Hryhoriia Khomyshyna ... do virnykh svoikh eparkhii. Zhovkva, 1908.

<sup>648</sup> Different versions of the circumstances and reasons for the arrest have been advanced. This version is given by Andrzej Zięba, citing Papierzyńska-Turek, who had access to the minutes of sessions of the Political Committee of



Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was loyal to the Western Ukrainian dictator Evhen Petrushevych.<sup>649</sup> For the Greek-Catholic clergy, Sheptyts'kyi legitimised first the Ruthenian populist, and then the Ukrainian nationalist cause.

The Greek-Catholic priest, however, was no stranger to politics.<sup>650</sup> Since the mid-nineteenth century various members of the clergy had held seats in the Galician diet and the parliament in Vienna, some for long spans of years. Many of these had been Old Ruthenians.<sup>651</sup>

True, with the gradual secularisation of Ruthenian Galician politics, clerical representation in the elected bodies was diminished. Nevertheless, with the establishment of the Western Ukrainian Popular Republic in October 1918, many Greek-Catholic priests were given the opportunity to participate directly in the experience of nation-building. Some held important political posts or worked in the local administration.<sup>652</sup> Others served as chaplains in the Ukrainian Galician Army in the campaigns against the Poles in 1918-1919.<sup>653</sup> Some past or future seminarians participated as soldiers in these

the Council of Ministers. Zięba, Andrzej. "Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki." Kwartalnik Historyczny. year 92 (1985), Warszawa, 1986, 895. See also Torzecki, Ryszard. "Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society," in Magocsi, op. cit., 85-86.

<sup>649</sup> Torzecki, Ryszard. "Z problematyki stosunków polsko-ukraińskich." Dzieje Najnowsze year XVII (1985) no. 2, 156.

<sup>650</sup> Under the 1917 Code of Canon Law, a priest could not hold public office without permission from the Holy See, nor act as an elected deputy without permission of the Holy See or (depending on circumstances) of his bishop-ordinary. Codex Iuris Canonici (1917), in Acta Apostolicae Sedis vol. IX pars II, Liber Secundus, Titulus III, Canon 139 secs. 2, 4. Although the Code of Canon Law may be referred to as a source of law by the Eastern Church, it is binding on the Latin Church alone, and obligates the Eastern Church only in those matters which by their nature concern that Church as well. Id. Canon 1.

<sup>651</sup> Lists and biographies of deputies and office-holders, including priests, are provided in Sokhots'kyi, Isydor. "Budivnychi novitn'oi ukrains'koi derzhavnosti v Halychyni," in Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX-XX st. Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, Biblioteka Ukrainoznavstva, part 8. New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto, 1961, 233-240. The politically active priests were almost all National-Democrats.

<sup>652</sup> Kubijovyc, V. op. cit. vol. II, 190. The Greek-Catholic bishops and about twenty priests were members of the Ukrainian National Council of the Western Ukrainian Popular Republic. Sokhots'kyi, Isydor. Shcho daly breko-katolyts'ka Tserkva i dukhovenstvo 41-42.

<sup>653</sup> According to Fr. Isydor Sokhots'kyi, 30 priests served in the Ukrainian Galician Army. Sokhots'kyi. Shcho daly breko-katolyts'ka Tserkva i dukhovenstvo 97. Lencyk states that 80 chaplains served in that army. Kubijovyc vol. II, 190-191. Fr. Lebedovych lists 91 chaplains. Lebedovych, Ivan. Polevi dukhovnyky Ukrains'koi Halyts'koi Armii. Winnipeg, 1963, 81-86. He also claims that of all social groups represented in the Ukrainian Galician Army, chaplains suffered the most fatalities. Lebedovych, Ivan. Z martyrolohii dukhovenstva Zakhidnoi Ukrainy. Philadelphia, 1978, 11.

campaigns.<sup>654</sup> Those who were stationed in eastern Ukraine had an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the people with which Ruthenian populists had identified since 1848. The encounter with an awakening Ukraine, distinct from the Russia adulated by the Old Ruthenians, fortified the younger clerics' notion of a united Ukrainian state.<sup>655</sup> In 1919-1921, many priests were arrested or interned as the Polish authorities took control of Galicia.<sup>656</sup> These experiences must have played an important part in the formation of the clergy's political outlook.

Political activism was by no means unique to the Greek-Catholic clergy. The activist Polish priest was a familiar figure in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Poland, particularly in the Prussian partition.<sup>657</sup> In Galicia, Fr. Józef Panas (1887-1940, ordained 1911), later known as a political figure, took part as a military chaplain in the battles for Peremyshl' and L'viv.<sup>658</sup> Abroad, too, members of the clergy were prominent in politics; in 1922 Fr. Ignaz Seipel became Chancellor of Austria.

The events of the world war and the Ukrainian war of liberation prompted the Greek-Catholic priest to define his political position. As Ruthenian populism developed into Ukrainian nationalism, it became a more palatable alternative to Russophilism. At the same time Radicalism, like Russophilism, was to some extent a casualty of wartime opportunities. Russia was taken over by a left-wing socialist party. The Western Ukrainian Popular Republic found

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<sup>654</sup> Fr. Lebedovych lists 235. Lebedovych, Ivan. Polevi dukhovnyky Ukrain's'koi Halyts'koi Armii. Winnipeg, 1963, 229-235.

<sup>655</sup> See the memoir of Fr. Petro Holyn's'kyi, who graduated from the Peremyshl' seminary in July 1918 and served in the light artillery of the eighth brigade of the Ukrainian Galician Army. Lebedovych, Ivan. Polevi dukhovnyky 245-256. It was originally published as "Bohoslov u rokakh vyzvol'noi viiny" in Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohosloviv. Peremyshl', 1937, 147-163.

<sup>656</sup> Fr. Lebedovych lists 290 priests, apparently from the L'viv and Peremyshl' eparchies, arrested or interned in 1919-1920, in addition to 81 from the Stanyslaviv eparchy. He also provides a list of 44 monastic priests, six seminarians and 43 nuns. He notes, however, that his list of arrested priests is not complete. Lebedovych, Ivan. Polevi dukhovnyky 237-242. Elsewhere he states that about a thousand Greek-Catholic priests were arrested by the Polish authorities. Lebedovych, Ivan. Z martyrolohii dukhovenstva Zakhidnoi Ukrainy. Philadelphia, 1978, 11. Details of arrests and persecutions of priests between 1918 and 1923 are provided at pp. 29-50. According to W. Lencyk, five priests were executed without trial. Kubijovyc vol. II, 191.

<sup>657</sup> The Polski Słownik Biograficzny is replete with examples, but Galicians are rare among these.

<sup>658</sup> Polska Akademia Nauk - Instytut Historii. Polski Słownik Biograficzny. vol. XXV. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1980, 113.

itself pitted against Bolsheviks as well as Poles (although a portion of the Ukrainian Galician Army eventually did join the Red Army after being driven out of Galicia by Haller's troops). After the collapse of Petliura's and Piłsudski's joint eastern offensive, for two and a half months in the summer of 1920, sixteen districts around Ternopil' constituted a Galician Soviet Socialist Republic. On 1 August 1920, the Galician Revolutionary Committee (Halrevkom) declared separation of Church from state and school.<sup>659</sup> Suddenly, radical left socialism was a concrete and not altogether pleasant reality. Although in the 1920s, Ukrainianisation in the Ukrainian SSR made Bolshevism attractive to some Galician Ukrainians, the liquidation of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine in 1928 and the destruction of independent Ukrainian life by Stalin's regime after 1929 tended to discredit left-wing socialism in the eyes of many. As the Galician Ukrainian political spectrum moved to the right towards the end of the 1920s, it became easier for the traditionally conservative Greek-Catholic clergy to find its place in it. In 1925 the Labour Party regrouped with moderate populists as the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO). Around 1928, "Prosvita" purged its leftist elements. Having long sympathised with Ruthenian and Ukrainian populism, the clergy could again join hands with the populists with a clear conscience. As before the war, a number of priests were politically active. It has even been asserted that it was the influence of the priests that assured UNDO's dominance in Ukrainian Galician politics.<sup>660</sup>

Of course, not all Greek-Catholic priests supported UNDO. The surviving Old Ruthenians continued to oppose the "Ukrainians" and maintained total loyalty to Poland. Fr. Mykola Il'kiv of the Ukrainian

<sup>659</sup> Prus, Edward. *Władcyka Świętojurski*. Warszawa, 1985, 62, 71.

<sup>660</sup> Sokhots'kyi, Isydor. *Shcho daly hreko-katolyts'ka Tserkva i dukhovenstvo* 42. A few priests were elected to the legislature in the inter-war period. Fr. Iuliiian Tatomyr (1883-1946, ordained 1908) was elected to the Senate on the UNDO slate in 1928. An assistant priest and catechist in Sambir, he had worked in "Prosvita" and other social organisations. In 1918 he had organised the peasantry and "took Sambir from the Poles." Later he served in various parishes, continuing his social and cultural work. He was imprisoned several times. Utrysko, Myron, ed. *Boikivshchyna*. Naukove Товариство im. Shevchenka, Seriia Ukrain's'kyi Arkhiv, vol. XXXIV. Philadelphia-New York, 1980, 112. Fr. Stepan Onyshkevych (born 1861, ordained 1887), parish priest at Khyshevychi from 1894 and at Kupnovychi from 1913, belonged to the central committee of the National-Democratic Party before the war and to that of its post-war incarnations, the Labour Party and UNDO. He was active in the Sejm elections of 1928, 1930 and 1935. "50-littia dushpastyrs'koi i hromadians'koi pratsi." *Nyva* no. 5, 1938, 189-192.

Peasant Party announced a normalisation with the Polish government in 1923.<sup>661</sup> Other priests supported a conservative platform, some following the ideas of Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi (Wacław Lipiński).<sup>662</sup> However, the Galician bishops set an example in supporting the boycott of the 1922 Polish elections, at a time when the Polish occupation of Galicia had not been ratified by the League of Nations, and by protesting against the Council of Ambassadors' decision of 14 March 1923 awarding Eastern Galicia to Poland.<sup>663</sup> The rank and file clergy often defied or circumvented the requirement, specified in the 1925 Concordat, of reciting a liturgical prayer for the prosperity of the Republic of Poland and of its President each Sunday and on the Third of May.<sup>664</sup>

<sup>661</sup> Skrzypek, Stanisław. The Problem of Eastern Galicia. London, 1948, 46-47.

<sup>662</sup> Fr. V. Babyn complained in "Nova Zoria" in 1927 that "there is hardly another nation that so easily falls prey to leftist attitudes" as the Ukrainian, and that the intelligentsia had lost the values of the village, such as religiosity. The further one went to the left, the more he was considered a patriot. Mentioning Lypyns'kyi, Fr. Babyn called for the organisation of conservative forces on a Christian ethical basis. "Nova Zoria" no. 28 (79), 17 July 1927. On Lypyns'kyi's thought, see the special issue on "The Political and Social Ideas of Vjaceslav Lypyns'kyj," Jarosław Pelenski, ed. Harvard Ukrainian Studies vol. IX no. 3/4 (December 1985).

<sup>663</sup> Zięba, Andrzej. "Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki." Kwartalnik Historyczny year 92 (1985) no. 4, Warszawa, 1986, 895.

<sup>664</sup> Inter Sanctam Sedem et Poloniae Rempubicam Sollemnis Conventio, Acta Apostolicae Sedis vol. XVII num. 8 (2 June 1925), art. VIII. The form of the requisite prayer, in Latin, was agreed upon by a conference of bishops in Warsaw in May of 1925. Appropriate decrees were issued by Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv on 4 March 1926 and by Archbishop-Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi of L'viv on 15 March 1926. In April 1926, the L'viv district starosta provided the county authorities with a list of 37 parishes in which Greek-Catholic priests failed to fully and properly recite the prayer; one priest, according to a confidential report, said a prayer for Ukraine instead. In June 1926 the L'viv governor reported to the Ministry of Religious Cults that the majority of the Ruthenian clergy in L'viv county were not reciting the required prayer. Some did recite it, but others claimed that they had not received instructions from their ordinariat. Some priests recited the prayer in a general or ambiguous way, not clearly naming the Polish state. In August 1927, the department of public security of the L'viv county government reported to the Ministry of Religious Cults that most of the Greek-Catholic clergy failed to observe Article VIII of the Concordat. In the same year, the department of public security of the Cracow county government reported to the Ministry of Religious Cults that a part of the Greek-Catholic clergy in the Nowy Sącz and Gorlice districts had failed to celebrate the Third of May. In the Nowy Sącz district only three priests had held the requisite service, while ten had desisted; in the Gorlice district, four priests had failed to hold the service, while two had celebrated only an ordinary liturgy. In two other districts, however, the clergy had observed the national holiday. In the same year, nearly 18% of the Greek-Catholic clergy of Stanyslaviv county failed to celebrate the Third of May. Thirty had failed to do so in Ternopil' county. This was still a problem in 1930; in 1938, the L'viv county government informed the Ministry of Cults that the Ruthenian priests mostly did not carry out satisfactorily the requirements of Article VIII. AAN, MWR i OP file 929, pp. 36, 42-43, 71, 140-141, 143, 148-149, 150-151, 405.

In the Lemko Apostolic Administration formed in 1934, partly to cut the area off from Ukrainian agitation by Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi's nationalist priests, the government kept a close eye on political developments and apparently pressured the administrator to do likewise. In 1937, the Administration forbade its clergy to receive the "chauvinistic Ukrainian" newspapers "Nash Lemko" and "Ukrains'kyi Beskyd." Forty-seven priests were fined for defying the order. Some continued nevertheless to obtain the newspapers through third parties, and to disseminate them among the Lemkos.<sup>665</sup>

With the growing nationalist mood of the clergy, a certain amount of peer pressure could be exerted upon the less patriotic. In 1929 Fr. Vasyl' Prykhidko of the L'viv archeparchy, whose village had received state aid after a fire, attended a reception in honour of the 'Ternopil' governor. Not long after he was expelled from a gathering on the feast day of a nearby Greek-Catholic parish. His dean, Fr. Pellikh, circulated a letter throughout the deanery explaining that the priest hosting the feast-day celebration had withdrawn his invitation to Fr. Prykhidko because of the latter's "acts inconsistent with the honour of a Ukrainian priest and former officer of the Ukrainian army." Dean Pellikh added that all the clergy "are called and obligated to a decisive struggle against base slavishness and vileness among the clergy."<sup>666</sup> Parishioners, too, could exert political pressure on their priest.<sup>667</sup>

The adoption of the Ukrainian nationalist platform presented problems of another kind. As will be discussed below, it was necessary to come to terms with the secular culture of greater Ukraine. Like the Ruthenian populists of the nineteenth century before them, the Ukrainian nationalists of the inter-war period had

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<sup>665</sup> WAP-P, AAL file 42.

<sup>666</sup> In a letter of 29 January 1930 a Polish official, probably Ambassador Skrzynski at the Polish Embassy to the Holy See, sent this information to an official of the Secretariat of State of the Holy See, probably Msgr. A. Ottaviani, to illustrate "the state of mind of a large part of the Ruthenian Catholic clergy and their attitude to the state and the authorities." Polish Institute (London), collection A44 (Papée) file 122/3.

<sup>667</sup> For examples, see AAN, MWR i OP file 449, pp. 104 (Fr. Ivan Palii, parish priest in Stanymir), 106-107 (Fr. Antyn Buchko, parish priest in Ladan'tse, Peremyshliany district), 114 (Fr. Iosyf Tiahnybok, parish priest in Vypysky, Peremyshliany district). In the first and last cases, the Metropolitan Curia in L'viv sided with the parishioners. Fr. Palii and Fr. Buchko had supported Polish political parties; Fr. Tiahnybok had refused to bless water in a community well decorated with the Ukrainian colours.

developed an heroic view of Ukrainian history which did not fit neatly into the Greek-Catholic clerical world view. Before World War One, the Radicals had named their youth organisation "Sich," after the Zaporozhian Cossack headquarters, and in 1914 the Galician Ukrainian legions took the name "Sich Sharpshooters." Now the nationalists developed these historical motifs into an elaborate mythology. In glorifying Cossack resistance to Polish domination in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nationalists also exalted Orthodox resistance to Catholicism and the Union. In idealising the periods of Ukrainian state-building, principally the creation of a Cossack commonwealth by Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, they also praised the idea of an autocephalous Ukrainian Church independent of both Rome and Moscow. Before the first world war, a seminarian from L'viv travelling to eastern Ukraine could remark on the sorry state of Orthodoxy, reduced as it was to a state religion.<sup>668</sup> Catholicism was the only available Ukrainian alternative to what was commonly called tsareslaviia. In the 1920s, however, a Ukrainian national Church became a reality on the other side of the Soviet border. Greek-Catholic clerics were aware of lay sympathies for the idea of an "autocephalous" Ukrainian Church, free of Polish intrigues in the higher spheres of Roman Catholic church politics.<sup>669</sup> Furthermore, the Catholic Church was a supra-national organisation at odds with nationalist movements in countries like France or Italy. Thus the anti-clerical strain in populism, exemplified by the Radicals' hostility towards the "Black International," continued in Ukrainian nationalism.

There was another problem. Ukrainian nationalism implied a joining of the entire Ukrainian population, which was overwhelmingly Orthodox, into a single state. The Greek-Catholic clergy who joined the nationalist camp would thus have to develop some sort of coherent attitude to their Orthodox brothers.

<sup>668</sup> Kablak, Petro. "Iz vrazhin' po Ukraini," in Stel'makh, Antin, ed. Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohoslaviv. L'viv, 1914.

<sup>669</sup> See Pastyrskyi lyst Hryhoriia Khomyshyna epyskopa Stanyslavivskoho do klyra i virnykh Stanyslavivskoi eparkhii pro hroziachi nebezpeky. Stanyslaviv, 1925, 10-11. Osyp Nazaruk traced the autocephalist tendency to Radicalism. In his view, Radical crypto-atheists among the intelligentsia had founded a "new Church" which was Orthodox, autocephalous, and Cossack. The main source of this tendency was the United States, which had become a fashionable country and was beginning to set the tone for countries and entire continents. Nazaruk, Osyp. Hreko-katolyts'ka Tserkva i ukrains'ka liberal'na inteligentsiia. L'viv, 1929, 43.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi offered an answer by reviving the vision of his seventeenth-century predecessor Iosyf Veliamyn Ruts'kyi, who had attempted a true Union of the Uniate and Orthodox Churches in a Kievan Patriarchate.<sup>670</sup> The 300th anniversary of Ruts'kyi's death was elaborately commemorated in 1937.<sup>671</sup> Sheptyts'kyi himself was an organiser of the Union congresses in Velehrad, and his clergy participated in similar meetings in Pińsk. The 300th anniversary of the death of St. Josaphat, now regarded as a Ukrainian martyr for Church unity, was observed in 1923. However, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was isolated by the very breadth of his Uniate vision, which extended culturally beyond Ukraine and ecclesiologically beyond the simple notion of converting the Orthodox. On the one hand, it would not be until the Second Vatican Council that such a liberal attitude towards the Orthodox would become widely accepted in the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the idea of Union, particularly a Union extending beyond Ukraine and throughout Orthodox Russia, was somewhat beyond the immediate concerns of the average Galician parish priest.

The potential conflict between the clergy and the extreme nationalists was sharpened in the general radicalisation of politics in the inter-war period.<sup>672</sup> Veterans of the Ukrainian war of liberation had founded the underground Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) in the early 1920s. The UVO carried out acts of sabotage against the Polish regime, and was evidently financed from abroad. In January 1929, the UVO was broadened into the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) at a meeting in Vienna. Fed by the young, disaffected, and often unemployed village youth that streamed into the small towns of Galicia during the 1930s, the OUN developed an ideology inspired by the charismatic Eastern

<sup>670</sup> See fn. 630 in the preceding section and the accompanying text.

<sup>671</sup> On 14 December 1936, Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi issued a pastoral letter on this occasion, stressing that the Union had preserved the people's natsional'nist'. It had saved the people's Catholic faith, their Eastern rite, and their love of their nation. He further stated that the Union faced the same tasks in the present. Peremys'ki Eparkhial'ni Vidomosti no. 2, 1937, 13-31.

<sup>672</sup> According to a Polish account of 1938, the Ukrainian village was similar to the Polish village except that it was sometimes poorer and was greatly radicalised in both the communist and the nationalist direction. The author noted that Ukrainian nationalism arose out of the instinct for self-preservation, whereas communism was a product of peasant poverty. "Czarno na Białym" no. 9 (27 February 1938), quoted in Stępień, Stanisław. "W Kręgu Badań nad Społeczeństwem II Rzeczypospolitej. Społeczność Ukraińska." Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne year IV-V, 1987, 159.

Ukrainian Dmytro Dontsov. Having provoked the pacification of 1930 (a disproportionate response to crop-burning on Polish estates), its members retaliated with acts of terror that escalated with each excessive reaction of the Polish authorities. Polish political activist Tadeusz Hołowko was assassinated in 1931, Interior Minister Bronisław Pieracki in 1934.<sup>673</sup> Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi condemned the latter act (as well as the harsh policy of the authorities) in a pastoral letter of 4 August 1934. In the same year he denounced the murder of the Ukrainian school director Ivan Babii, who had blocked OUN recruitment among his pupils. The integral nationalist ideology of the OUN was simply incompatible with Christian teaching.<sup>674</sup> Similar conflicts were taking place in Germany and Italy. Although the Lateran accords of 1929 and the German Concordat of 1933 gave hope of an accord between fascist nationalism and the Church, Pope Pius XI's encyclical "Mit brennender Sorge" of March 1937 criticised German National Socialism, and a series of verbal conflicts and violent incidents in Germany and Italy illustrated the irreconcilability of Catholicism and integral nationalism.<sup>675</sup> In Galicia, the Church was once again at odds with a significant portion of the national movement.

How the clash of values inherent in this conflict affected the clergy's moral leadership of Ukrainian society will be discussed in Chapter Eight. The ideological conflict, however, was of interest to only some of the parish clergy.<sup>676</sup> One could condemn terrorism and

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<sup>673</sup> Prus 130.

<sup>674</sup> See Chapter 8, Section 2. This problem existed in Polish religious and political life as well during this period. The relationship between Catholicism and "totalism" in Poland is explored by Bogumil Grott in "The Conception of 'Roman-Catholic Totalism' in Poland before World War II," in Zeszyty naukowe uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. DCLXIV Studia Religiologica 2.8.1982, that between Catholicism and Polish nationalism in his Nacjonalizm i religia. Proces zespolania nacjonalizmu z katolicyzmem w jedną całość ideową w myśli Narodowej Demokracji 1926-1939. Uniw. Jag. Rozprawy Habilitacyjne nr. 85. Kraków, 1984. See also Chapter 8, Section 2.

<sup>675</sup> Holmes, J. Derek and Bickers, Bernard W. A Short History of the Catholic Church. Tunbridge Wells, Kent, 1983, 261-271. On the ideology of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, see Armstrong, John A. Ukrainian Nationalism. (2nd ed.) Littleton, Colorado, 1983, 19-23, 36-38.

<sup>676</sup> At their deanery meetings of June 1939, the clergy of the Turka deanery discussed the inclusion of patriotic themes in sermons. Nearly all those of the Bircha deanery discussed a talk by Fr. Savka about "Ideological Directions of Contemporary Europe." According to the minutes of the latter meeting, the gathered priests felt that manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism were moderate reactions to various kinds of provocation. In his talk, Fr. Savka had discussed socialism, communism, national socialism and fascism in considerable detail, criticising them all. In particular he criticised the



the secular ideologies that justified it, yet sympathise with the Ukrainian nationalist movement in general terms. This, in fact, appears to have been the position of the majority of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic clergy in the 1930s.

The accord reached between UNDO and the Polish government in 1935 resulted in a few years of relative peace in Galicia. However, the creation of an autonomous Carpatho-Ukrainian entity in October 1938 provided a prototype of the Ukrainian state. Enthusiastic Galicians swarmed across the mountains to put their nationalist dreams into practice. Among them were priests eager to serve as chaplains in the "Carpathian Sich."<sup>677</sup> It was of no small importance to the Galician clergy that the Carpatho-Ukrainian state was headed by a Greek-Catholic priest, Rev. Avhustyn Voloshyn. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi himself supported Carpatho-Ukraine, while Polish opinion generally supported the Hungarian troops that crushed it in March 1939.<sup>678</sup> In villages throughout Galicia, Greek-Catholic priests gave rousing patriotic sermons and celebrated masses for the intention of the fledgling state, and after the March debacle commemorated its victims.<sup>679</sup>

In the 1930s, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi avoided direct participation in politics, intervening only when, as in the case of the pacification of 1930<sup>680</sup> or the nationalists' terror campaign of the following years, a moral issue required comment. He favoured the idea of Catholic organisations -- as opposed to political parties -- that would influence politics without taking part in political campaigns.

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totalitarian Ukrainian nationalism of Dontsov as containing anti-Christian elements. Instead, he proposed Christian personalism and corporativism as the only path for Ukrainians. WAP-P, ABGK file 5575, pp. 541, 596, 598-619.

<sup>677</sup> Prus 172.

<sup>678</sup> Torzecki 163.

<sup>679</sup> AAN, MWR i OP file 384 passim; file 622, pp. 235-244 (covering activity in Stanyslaviv, Ternopil' and L'viv counties). On 19 March 1939 Fr. Bohdan Pobihushchyi, parish priest at Bubnyshche in the Dolyna district of Stanyslaviv county, gave a talk at the local "Prosvita" reading room in which he commented that Hitler had betrayed the Ukrainian people in allowing the Hungarians to take over Subcarpathian Rus'. AAN, MWR i OP file 384, p. 159.

<sup>680</sup> Eleven priests were arrested and jailed during the campaign. Yaremko, Michael. Galicia -- Halychyna (A Part of Ukraine): From Separation to Unity. Shevchenko Scientific Society Ukrainian Studies vol. 18, English Section vol. 3. Toronto-New York-Paris, 1967, 241. After the Metropolitan's pastoral letter on the pacification was confiscated by the authorities, he undertook a journey to Warsaw, but was refused an audience with Marshal Piłsudski. Baran 96-99; Torzecki 159.

After the pacification of 1930, the Metropolitan sought to repair the devastation of Ukrainian community life by proposing in October 1930 an apolitical organisation to be known as the Ukrainian Catholic Alliance.<sup>681</sup> Created in 1931, the Alliance published the newspaper "Meta." Its activity was generally confined to the L'viv archeparchy. In 1936 the metropolitan issued a pastoral letter which in its condemnation of communism anticipated Pope Pius XI's encyclical "Divini Redemptoris" of the following year.<sup>682</sup> He did maintain friendly relations with nationalist leaders, and was attacked in the Sejm by B. Wojciechowski on 15 February 1938 for his allegedly anti-Polish activities.<sup>683</sup> Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi of Peremyshl', considered in Polish quarters to be a Ukrainian nationalist, quietly fostered a nationally conscious Ukrainian clergy.

In the Stanyslaviv eparchy, a somewhat different situation arose. In 1925, a Ukrainian Christian Organisation was formed in L'viv, but mainly served the Stanyslaviv eparchy under Bishop Khomyshyn's direction.<sup>684</sup> In 1926, Bishop Khomyshyn formed the Ukrainian Catholic Popular Party. Inspired to a great extent by the talented journalist Osyp Nazaruk, who also edited "Nova Zoria," the organisation advocated legality and cooperation with the Polish authorities. Together with the "Skala" reading-rooms (see Chapter Five), the Party represented Bishop Khomyshyn's attempt to build a truly Catholic Ukrainian political, social and cultural edifice that would provide an alternative to atheistic Communism and anti-Christian nationalism. Already at odds with the secular intelligentsia over their alleged Radical tendencies, the Bishop took on the Ukrainian nationalists, elaborating his ideas in pastoral letters<sup>685</sup> and in a book published in 1933.<sup>686</sup> In February 1939 he

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<sup>681</sup> Torzecki 160.

<sup>682</sup> Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter was published in (inter alia) Peremys'ki Eparkhiial'ni Vidomosti no. 8-9 (August-September) 1936 as order no. 4253, pp. 61-79. For an English translation of "Divini Redemptoris," see Atheistic Communism: Encyclical letter of Pope Pius XI 'Divini Redemptoris' 1937 (Joseph Kirwan trans.). London, n.d.

<sup>683</sup> Torzecki 162.

<sup>684</sup> Mel'nychuk, Petro. Vladyka Hryhorii Khomyshyn. Rome-Philadelphia, 1979, 210-211. "Nasha Organizatsiia," "Nova Zoria" no. 35 (12 September 1926) p. 1; "Za mynulyi rik," "Nova Zoria" no. 3(54)(19 January 1927) p. 1.

<sup>685</sup> Pastyrs'kyi lyst Hryhoriia Khomyshyna epyskopa Stanyslavivskoho do liudyi dobroj voli pro politychne polozhenie ukrains'koho narodu v pol'skii derzhavi. Stanyslaviv, 1931; Pastyrs'kyi lyst Hryhoriia Khomyshyna epyskopa Stanyslavivskoho do dukhovenstva Stanyslavivskoi eparkhii: Natsional'na chy obiavlена vira abo rozval chy shliakh tvorchosty. Stanyslaviv, 1935.

publicly criticised the Ukrainian national independence movement as a threat to the Church, pointing out that the Ukrainian Popular Republic of 1917-1921 had been governed by anti-clerical intellectuals.<sup>687</sup>

Some parish priests outside the Stanyslaviv eparchy, too, shared Bishop Khomyshyn's perspective. Few if any joined the OUN, though Fr. Isydor Nahaievs'kyi was among the suspected Ukrainian nationalists confined at the Bereza Kartuska concentration camp set up in 1934. Apparently, most of the Greek-Catholic clergy of the 1930s sympathised with UNDO, which continued to pursue a moderate nationalist line combining civic loyalty to the Polish state with the ultimate goal of Ukrainian independence. In many Galician villages, the priest faced an increasingly excited nationalist mood among the parishioners, OUN recruitment among the youth and some Communist agitation on the fringes of society. Typically, his own attitude could be described as a fervent but politically undefined Ukrainian nationalism in full harmony with his religious convictions and his priestly role.

In 1916 Fr. Iuliian Dzerovych, writing in *Nyva* about the clergy's wartime experiences, made the following prediction:

We therefore believe that the ancient, glorious tradition of the past, which inseparably joined our clergy with our people, will be resurrected. The strength and significance of the clergy will undoubtedly increase after the war, for now it has become apparent what individuals full of dedication, full of heroism it was provided with.

We believe that our Catholic faith, which showed so much inconsummable faith in those days, which gave protection to persecuted Ukrainianism, will become our national treasure, disputed by none, that it will become a national religion acknowledged by all.<sup>688</sup>

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<sup>686</sup> Khomyshyn, Hryhorii. Ukrains'ka Problema. Stanyslaviv [1933]. The book was published in Polish translation in the conservative Warsaw monthly Nasza Przyszłość vols. XXIX and XXX (March and April-May 1933), and then in book form as Chomyszyn, Grzegorz. Problem ukraiński. Warszawa, 1933.

<sup>687</sup> "Bishop Sees Little Aid for Religion in Ukraine Independence Efforts," NCWC News Service February 27, 1939 (dispatch dated Warsaw, February 13, 1939), in Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace (Stanford, USA) Archives, collection Poland. Ambasada. U.S. Box 94, file 6.

<sup>688</sup> Iuliian Dzerovych. "Viina a nasha Tserkov." *Nyva* no. 1, 1916, 11. In the article, the author uses the phrase "Ukrains'ka-katolyts'ka Tserkva." The term "ukrains'ko-katolyts'ke dukhovenstvo" had been used in a letter to the Greek-Catholic Bishop of Peremyshl' signed by 70 priests, protesting against

Not all of this prediction came true. But the Greek-Catholic clergy had become clearly identified with the Ukrainian national movement. It had become a Ukrainian Catholic clergy.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

What's most sacred in man's sight --  
A Botocudo bold is he! --  
Is, besides his ABC,  
The sacred Greco-Uniate rite.  
For it is a rite to see!

....  
For it is so  
Rich and splendid  
No one truly  
Understands it!  
Should one kneel or should one stand,  
Should one ring once, twice or thrice,  
Should one say "myr pravoslavnyi"  
Or should one say "pravovirnyi,"  
How should altars be aligned,  
How should icons be designed,  
Is a priest to shave his face,  
Or to leave his beard in place?  
All is smothered in entangling  
Quarrels ritual and dogmatic,  
All this draws us into wrangling  
Camps of papists and schismatics.

Ivan Franko (1880) <sup>689</sup>

At the moment when the present Metropolitan of Halych became the Bishop of Stanyslaviv, our Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia presented a curious ideological physiognomy. Distanced from the East, it did all it could to renounce Eastern church traditions, gladly accepting from the Latin Church -- even in matters of rite and discipline -- all that could bring it closer to the Latin West, of course in the mistaken conviction that only that which was Latin could be truly Catholic. It had totally lost its understanding of its great mission in the Universal Church, it was simply unaware of that special role which history had assigned to it -- to be a vital propagator of the idea of Union in the ecclesiastical East. Boarded up in its Galician ghetto and guaranteed the protection of the Austrian monarchy, it was far from that active life, both internal and external, with which it once had been expected to fulfill the hopes of Pope Urban VIII.

Nyva (1939) <sup>690</sup>

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<sup>689</sup> Quoted from Franko's "Botokudy" in Kupranets', O. "Tradytsiino-obriadovi problemy v nashii tserkvi." *Svitlo*, January 1967, p. 23(translated by the author). The Botocudos are a tribe of Brazilian savages.

<sup>690</sup> "Sorok lit na vladychomu troni" (editorial). *Nyva* no. 7-8, 1939, 242. Pope Urban VIII had declared, "Through you, O my Ruthenians, I hope that the East shall be converted."

### 1. Byzantinists and Westernisers

Although the 1891 L'viv Provincial Synod settled much of the ritual controversy of the preceding decades, the broader controversy over church culture continued right up to 1939 (and, in fact, beyond). With the waning of Russophilism and the gradual adoption by the Greek-Catholic clergy of a "Ukrainian Catholic" national, religious and political identity, the focus of the debate shifted from narrow ritual disputes to the deeper question of the Church's cultural identity, and in particular the cultural identity of the clergy. To say that this identity could only be Ukrainian begs the question, for it was not altogether clear what Ukrainian cultural identity should mean for Galicians, and specifically for Galician priests. Between 1900 and 1939, two prime cultural orientations developed within the Greek-Catholic Church. Insofar as the parish clergy were concerned with such questions, they remained divided between these orientations, though not in equal portions.

The leaders of the Greek-Catholic Church were conscious of their position on the border between the Eastern and Western European cultural spheres.<sup>691</sup> This consciousness was transmitted to the rank-and-file clergy in the seminary and beyond.<sup>692</sup> The consciousness that their position was unique reinforced the conviction of some Greek-Catholic priests that they had been chosen to fulfill a special historical mission.<sup>693</sup>

As discussed above (Chapter Six, Section 1), the Old Ruthenian clergy sought their cultural identity in a Russian orientation. This

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<sup>691</sup> In 1906 "Brat Virnyi" wrote of the Ruthenian-Catholic Church's "providential role," poised as it was "on the border of two world Christian cultures," of harmonising these two cultures in the name of one holy, Catholic and apostolic Church. Brat Virnyi. De ie ruskyi klyr? L'viv, 1906.

<sup>692</sup> Speaking at the official inauguration of the L'viv Theological Academy on 6 October 1929, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi referred to "the situation of our land and our Church on the borderland of the western and eastern worlds." "This situation," he continued, "imposes on us the role of a mediator between East and West." These two cultures were united "in our land, in our institutions and in our souls." Quoted in Marusyn, Myroslav. "Pohliad na vykhovannia kandydativ dukhovnoho stanu na Ukraini," Bohoslovijia 49-50. The Metropolitan also called for a re-evaluation of the Union, asking whether it should not be pursued on an altogether different basis in the future. Hreko-katolyts'ka bohoslovs'ka akademija u L'vovi v pershim tr'okhlittiu svoioho istnuvannia (1928-1931). L'viv, 1932, 11-14.

<sup>693</sup> Brat Virnyi. De ie ruskyi klyr? L'viv, 1906, 37-39.

primarily took the form of a movement to purge the Greek-Catholic rite of latinisms and to restore East Slavic traits in ritual. As the Russophile tendencies of the Old Ruthenians waned, the impulse to preserve the Byzantine rite nevertheless persisted, and gradually passed into the hands of the Byzantinists.

One of the two principal cultural movements among the Greek-Catholic clergy in the twentieth century, the Byzantine tendency combined with a clearly Ukrainian national political and cultural orientation. No longer looking to Russia for a model, the Byzantinists sought to revive Ukrainian ecclesiastical traditions. To some, however, Byzantinism was as objectionable as had been Russophilism, and for similar reasons. This was the view of Polish clerics who tended to equate the Latin rite with Catholicism and the Byzantine rite with the Orthodox schism. Thus, in 1926 Rev. Mieczysław Tarnawski, who was hardly hostile to the Greek-Catholics, counted Byzantinism among the three principal enemies of the Uniate Church. Whereas he felt that the Greek-Catholic clergy were well aware of the "external" dangers of Protestantism and Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly, he found them insufficiently conscious of the "internal" danger of Byzantinism.<sup>694</sup> Among the manifestations of the movement for purification of the Greek-Catholic rite was the attempt to prepare new editions of service books (*trebnyky*), missals, prayer books, and other liturgical books in accord with Byzantine tradition. This project appears to have passed smoothly from the hands of the Old Ruthenians into those of the Ukrainian Byzantinists. The conflicts arose, rather, between the Byzantinists and the Westernisers. Successive liturgical commissions had only limited success. The Bishops of Peremyshl' and Stanyslaviv could not come to an agreement with the L'viv Archeparchy in this matter, and finally in 1938, a Vatican commission under Cardinal Tisserant took over the project. It was successful, following the moderate Byzantinist line of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, and produced a series of new editions, though not until the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>695</sup>

<sup>694</sup> Tarnawski, Mieczysław. Powojenne Trudności Cerkwi Unickiej w Małopolsce. Lwów, 1926, 4.

<sup>695</sup> Tyliav's'kyi, Ivan. "Problema liturhichnoi reformy v nashii tserkvi" (photocopy from unidentified publication), 158-169, esp. 166-169.

In competition with the Byzantinists, the Westernisers were led by Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn, whose opinions on priestly celibacy and politics have already been mentioned. Educated at Vienna, Bishop Khomyshyn sought to introduce Latin-rite pastoral methods, customs and to some extent discipline and spirituality into the Greek-Catholic Church. However, he felt that such "importations" from the Latin rite must be fully assimilated by the Church, and even "Ukrainianised." In his 1931 pastoral letter on Byzantinism, he asserted that this had in fact already occurred with many Latin practices.<sup>696</sup>

Bishop Khomyshyn had introduced a number of westernising changes in his eparchy on 15 February 1916, in the wake of the first Russian occupation of Galicia (and while Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was in exile in Russia). In his pastoral letter of that date "On the Mission of the Ukrainian People in the Catholic Church," he had ordered that the word "pravoslavnyi" should be replaced in the liturgy with the word "pravovirnyi," a neologism denoting the original sense of "right-worshipping" Christians and which could not be misunderstood (as the former word apparently often was) to refer to the schismatics. He had also ordered, among other things, that the word "tsar," which could be mistakenly understood to refer to the Russian Tsar, should be replaced with "imperator" in prayers, that prayers for the Pope of Rome should be added, that the Gregorian calendar should be introduced on 25 March, and that the cult of the Eucharist should be observed. Not all the changes mandated by this letter were westernisations; thus, it ordered celebration of the day of St. Josaphat, principal martyr for the Union.<sup>697</sup> After Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi returned from exile in

<sup>696</sup> Pastyrski lyst Hryhoria Khomyshyna Epyskopa Stanyslavivskoho do klyra eparkhii Stanyslavivskoi pro Byzantiistvo. Stanyslaviv, 1931, p. 20. Among the practices thus assimilated were the eucharistic cult (including the feast of Corpus Christi), the cult of the Sacred Heart, celebrations of the Immaculate Conception, May devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the use of rosaries. Id. 19-20.

<sup>697</sup> Poslanie pastyrskie Hryhoriia Khomyshyna epyskopa Stanyslavivskoho do Dukhoven'stva i Virnykh svoiei Eparkhyi o pislannytstvi ukrains'koho naroda v katolytskii Tserkvi. Stanyslaviv, 1916, 39-42. In the April 1916 issue of Nyva, an article appeared arguing for removal of the term "pravoslavnyi", it was signed simply "pravovirnyi." Nyva no. 4, 1916, 251-253. For a discussion of the significance of the phrase "i vsikh vas pravoslavnykh khrystiiian," which appears in the liturgy at the "Great Entrance" and elsewhere, see Kucharek, Casimir. The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Its Origin and Evolution. Allendale, New Jersey, [1971], 300-301. The term "Orthodox" was



1917, the change of calendar was withdrawn, and the Julian calendar remained in force.<sup>698</sup>

Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi of Peremyshl' took a more radically Ukrainian political line than Bishop Khomyshyn. He also shared Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's enthusiasm for the Union, and his choice of the name of the great martyr for church unity as his monastic appellation seems to have been significant in this regard. Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi favoured a Union that, unlike the Union of Brest, would begin with the peasants and workers and work up through society to the bishops, rather than the other way round.<sup>699</sup> However, he also favoured the introduction of certain Western customs in the Greek-Catholic Church. Like his fellow hierarch in Stanyslaviv, he sought to remove the term "pravoslavnyi" from the liturgy and replace it with "pravovirnyi."<sup>700</sup> Bishop Khomyshyn reasoned that the new phrase would remove the confusion of many believers as to whether they were Catholic or Orthodox, and would prevent further conversions to the Orthodox church. However, the notoriously conservative Lemkos in the western part of the Peremyshl' eparchy were scandalised by such an innovation. By some accounts, this only aided the proponents of Orthodoxy, who warned that the change was a harbinger of latinisation and conversion to the Latin rite. In fact, in 1927-1928 schism did break out in Tyliava, Koroleva Rus'ka and elsewhere in the Lemko region.<sup>701</sup>

originally used to distinguish the "true" Church from the Monophysite heresy. Kucharek argues that the Catholic Church has a perfect claim to this title.

<sup>698</sup> Baran, 74. According to Kost' Levyts'kyi, the idea of introducing the Gregorian calendar in the Greek-Catholic Church originated in Austrian military circles, which persuaded the Minister of Cults and Education Husarek to support the measure. Cardinal Piffl of Vienna, however, agreed with Ukrainian lay circles that the matter could not be decided without a provincial synod. Levyts'kyi, Kost'. *Istoriia vyzvol'nykh zmahan' halyts'kykh ukrainsiv z chasu svitovoi viiny 1914-1918*. L'viv, 1928, 322-323, 273 n. 73. See also "Zmina kalendara," *Nyva* no. 5, 1916, 269-279.

<sup>699</sup> Holynts'kyi, Petro. "Perednie slovo," in *Pamiati peremys'koho vladyky Kyr Hryhorii Kotsylovs'koho. Spomyn*. Munchen, 1956, 5.

<sup>700</sup> In 1928, Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi forbade his clergy to use the word "pravoslavnaia" with reference to the faith or Church in their sermons. *Peremys'ki eparkhiial'ni vidomosti* no. 6, 1928, p. 104. (Order no. 126.) Shortly after, a priest identified as "M.D." discussed the historical origins of the phrase "i vsikh vas pravoslavnykh khrystiiian" in the liturgy and recommended that "pravoslavnykh khrystiiian" be simply removed. Id., no. 9, 1928, 139-142.

<sup>701</sup> At the Mushyna deanery meeting of 31 May 1927, Dean Volodymyr Mokhnats'kyi led a discussion of the apostasy of Koroleva Rus'ka, in which he cited various factors but did emphasise the importance to the Lemkos of the word "pravoslavnyi" in the liturgy. Rev. R. Pryslops'kyi favoured reinstating this

By one account, the elimination of the word "pravoslavnykh" was the first hint to some Lemko villagers that they were not in fact Orthodox, but Uniates. Apparently, in their minds the Union had been imposed on them without their knowledge or consent, and only some two centuries later was the fact revealed. In some cases, this precipitated transfers to Orthodoxy.<sup>702</sup>

The Lemko case has been used to argue that the use of the word "pravoslavnyi" stimulated apostasy -- on the ground that conversions to Orthodoxy took place before the word's abolition -- as well as that use of this word could have prevented it -- on the ground that conversions took place after its abolition. In fact, neither theory is convincing. However, this controversy illustrates the significance attached to questions of ritual and terminology by the Greek-Catholic clergy.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's version of Byzantinism was not a wholesale rejection of western forms. In a joint pastoral letter of 6 (19) April 1909 addressed to the clergy of the three eparchies, he and Bishops Khomyshyn and Chekhovych recalled that when in June 1899 the Pope and all Catholic bishops had dedicated the world to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, some Greek-Catholic priests had objected to this as an alien form of piety. The bishops stressed that this was a matter that went beyond rite, devotion to the Sacred Heart being common to all rites rather than the monopoly of one. They also noted that the people must be taught to look beyond rite to matters of faith and morals, so that they might distinguish between Byzantine-rite Catholicism and Byzantine-rite Orthodoxy. The letter ordered the parish clergy to hold the appropriate solemn ceremony on the first Sunday after the 11th of June, having explained the significance of the cult of the Sacred Heart to their parishioners on the previous

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word in the liturgy, while Rev. Ivan Kachmar, parish priest at Zlots'ke, suggested reintroducing it only where absolutely necessary to avoid a greater evil. Rev. Kachmar's proposition was approved unanimously. WAP-P, ABGK 5342, pp. 1043-1044. For an account of the Lemko schism, see Virkhnians'kyi, Petro. "Pravoslav'ia na Lemkivshchyni v 1926-1931 rokakh: prychny vidkhodu vid Hreko-katolyts'koi tserkvy." Zustrichi (Warsaw) no. 19 (1), 1989, 111-121.

<sup>702</sup> WAP-P, ABGK file 9450 (p. 13 of ms. entitled "Deshcho pro Lemkivshchynu," evidently written by a student at the Peremyshl' seminary and intended for an intra-mural publication called "Meteor"). Lay memoirist Oleksander Bryk states that Rome purposely avoided telling the Ukrainians that they had become Catholic, allowing priests to use the word "Orthodox" in the liturgy and waiting to gain a firm hold on the people before breaking the news that they were in fact no longer Orthodox. Bryk, Oleksander. Moi zhyttievi studii. Winnipeg, 1956, p. 24.

Sunday.<sup>703</sup> Furthermore, by the late 1930s Latin-style devotions had become popular in Galicia. Among them were the Way of the Cross, devotions to the Virgin Mary on the first Friday of the month and in May, and the use of rosaries. The feast day of Christ the King was also introduced into the Greek-Catholic Church.<sup>704</sup> Bishop Khomyshyn asserted in 1931 that the rosary was generally practiced by both priests and faithful, and that use of scapulars had been accepted.<sup>705</sup>

At the same time, their acceptance of a Ukrainian national identity placed the Greek-Catholic parish clergy in the awkward position of being the beneficiaries of an Eastern cultural heritage closely bound up with a distinctly Orthodox and indeed anti-Uniate religious orientation. The works of Taras Shevchenko, the founder and chief exponent of the Ukrainian national revival of the nineteenth century, contained passages highly critical of the Catholic Church and the Union. If the Greek-Catholic parish clergy were to continue to take part in nation-building, they had to somehow come to terms with this part of the Ukrainian heritage. They would have to purge it of its anti-Uniate elements, explain them, or simply ignore them. Ultimately, the Byzantine tradition had to be redefined in such a way as to show that its anti-Uniate elements were in fact politically motivated Muscovite accretions, while its essential elements had been and remained consistent with Catholicism, albeit broadly defined.

As mentioned above, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was able to eliminate the phenomenon of Russophilism in part by replacing it with a renewed ideology of Union. This acted both as a functional equivalent of Russophilism, preserving the Eastern rite, and as a harmonising factor between the Byzantine tradition and Catholicism. It made it possible to assimilate the Orthodox tradition or at least come closer to it, though of course eliminating its anti-Uniate and anti-Roman elements. To the extent that anti-Uniatism

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<sup>703</sup> Lyst pastyrskyyi Andreia Sheptytskoho... Konstantyna Chekhovycha... Hryhoriia Khomyshyna... do dukhovenstva svoikh eparkhii... Zhovkva, 1909.

<sup>704</sup> Śliwa, Tadeusz. "Kościół grecko-katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939," in Zieliński & Wilk. Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej. Poznań, 1981, 160, and comment by D. Synowiec in discussion, p. 214.

<sup>705</sup> Pastyrskyyi lyst Hryhoriia Khomyshyna epyskopa stanyslavivs'koho do klyra eparkhii stanyslavivs'koi pro Byzantiistvo. Stanyslaviv, 1931 (issued 23 March 1931 at Fyt'kiv), 20.

could be explained by political factors, such as the role of the Muscovite and Russian Church in supporting state expansion, it could be excised from the Eastern tradition, leaving intact those elements more easily reconciled with Catholicism.

The Eastern tradition also had to be purged of its Russian national colouring. At the same time it was necessary to rediscover a specifically Ukrainian Byzantine tradition. It had to be shown that the Greek-Catholic Church had roots that were venerable, Byzantine, Catholic and Ukrainian. This appears to have been done. By 1939, a parish priest could refer to the Greek-Catholic rite as being truly "Ukrainian-Catholic."<sup>706</sup>

However, to achieve credibility and attractiveness to the Orthodox, a Church bent on spreading the Union had to demonstrate that its own Union with the Holy See had succeeded in preserving the Byzantine rite. Obviously, a modern and truly ecumenical Uniatism mandated Byzantinism. In his farewell editorial in *Nyva* in October 1929, Rev. Havryil Kostel'nyk, the prime representative of the Byzantinist orientation, stressed that Greek-Catholics must not alienate the Orthodox. The history and the mission of the Greek-Catholic Church was in the East, and as long as it remained a neutrum, half-way between East and West, it could not realise its destiny. He also made the point that whereas in his native Yugoslavia, where Galician emigrants had preserved the Byzantine rite in its original form, Greek-Catholicism remained strong, emigrants from Galicia, where the Church had been latinised, were going over to Orthodoxy en masse.<sup>707</sup> Rev. Kostel'nyk realised that the idea of a Church that was half Eastern, half Western was hardly inspiring. Indeed, he saw that Uniatism had developed a distinct and rather effete psychology. "The eternal sore spot of our Church is this internal lack of specificity, lack of independence in life, this blind and uncontrolled submission to foreign influences," he wrote in 1926 in *A New Age for our Church*. The Orthodox East was too great, too

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<sup>706</sup> Rev. Teodor Boiko at the Zhukotyn deanery meeting at Rypiana on 1 June 1939. WAP-P, ABGK 5575, p. 688. On 7 October 1934, at the opening of the third academic year of the L'viv Theological Academy, *Nyva's* correspondent noted with satisfaction that the student choir sang a psalm in Ukrainian rather than Church Slavonic. *Nyva* no. 10, October 1934, 367.

<sup>707</sup> "Na zakinchennia" (editorial) *Nyva* no. 10, October 1929, 376-377.

different from the West, and too vital to be attracted to a Union dominated by "the psychology of an appendage."<sup>708</sup>

Critics of the Byzantine orientation could argue, of course, that rather than bring the Orthodox to the Greek-Catholic Church, Byzantinism would draw Greek-Catholics to the Orthodox Church. The fact that Fr. Kostel'nyk would lead the union of the Greek-Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church in 1945-1946 appears to lend credit to such a prediction. However, Fr. Kostel'nyk had spoken out clearly against Orthodox schism, and his later actions can be explained better by the dire circumstances of both his own life and that of his Church during and after World War II.

The Byzantine orientation also necessitated a clarification of the Church's attitude to contemporary Orthodoxy. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi repeatedly showed a dignified sympathy for and an understanding of Orthodoxy in its various aspects. A number of Greek-Catholic priests had an opportunity to observe the Russian Orthodox Church on visits to Ukraine before World War I. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi had done so himself in 1887, and during and after his confinement in 1914-1917 was able to develop his ideas on Union through contact with Orthodox clergy. Some Greek-Catholic priests or seminarians found themselves in Ukraine or Russia proper as soldiers or military chaplains in the Austrian or Ukrainian Galician armies. The typical criticism of Russian Orthodoxy centered on its status as a state Church, whence the appellation tsareslavija. At the same time, an attempt was made to discover genuine Eastern church traditions which could be reintroduced in the Greek-Catholic Church and which could also serve as a guide to an eventual Union with the various Orthodox Churches. As Rev. Iulian Dzerovych noted in 1916, one of the lessons of the Russian occupation had been that one could not assume that a blind clinging to ritual in the manner of the Russophiles would attract the Orthodox to the Greek-Catholic Church. For the Russians who had attended Greek-Catholic services had been attracted precisely by the customs that the Russophiles had condemned as Latin importations, such as supplications, May devotions, and use of bells and monstrances.<sup>709</sup>

<sup>708</sup> Kostel'nyk, H[avryil]. Nova doba nashoi Tserkvy. (reprinted from "Dilo") L'viv, 1926, 12.

<sup>709</sup> Nyva no. 1, 1916, 15-16.

The possibility of Union with the Russian Orthodox was frustrated by the Bolshevik take-over, but the inclusion of Volhynia and the Chełm region in interwar Poland raised the question of relations with the Orthodox of those lands. These Orthodox themselves were faced with the issue of cultural identity, torn among Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian traditions and political loyalties. However slim the chances of a Union based on common Ukrainian traditions might have been, the neo-Union movement pursued by the Jesuits and supported by the Polish government as well as the Roman Catholic episcopate, centered as it was on Russian traditions, was opposed by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and his clergy. The notion of converting the former Uniates of these regions to a Muscovite-rite Catholicism was as repugnant to the Galician Greek-Catholics as the practice of converting them to the Latin rite. However, after the 1925 Concordat the Galician Greek-Catholic bishops were left with no jurisdiction in these regions nor any possibility of proselytism. They could, of course, take a bitter satisfaction in the dismal failure of the neo-Uniate movement. However, when the government condoned the massive vandalism of Orthodox churches in eastern Poland in 1938, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi protested vehemently in a pastoral letter dated 2 August of that year. It seems most likely that his objection was motivated mainly by the realisation that a Catholic Church implicated in such forcible "conversion" would never gain the trust, much less the allegiance, of the Orthodox.<sup>710</sup> All the same it is notable that the Metropolitan defended the Orthodox despite their Church's aggressive proselytising among the Greek-Catholic Lemkos.

As far as can be ascertained, the rank-and-file Greek-Catholic clergy shared Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's attitudes towards Orthodoxy, though probably not his deeper concerns with the question of Union. Certainly the editors of *Nyva* considered good relations with the Orthodox important, and in their 1939 article on Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's forty years in the episcopate stressed that the Holy See had called for a deeper understanding of the Orthodox East. Furthermore, only a charitable attitude to what had once been

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<sup>710</sup> For text, see Doroshenko, Dmytro. Velykyi Mytropolyt. Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1958, 108-111.

referred to as the "schismatics" could further the Greek-Catholic Church's special mission in the East:

We must regard the disunited as our own brothers -- with love and understanding. Where necessary and possible, to stand up in defence of the disunited Church before its enemies. Hatred, disrespect or disdain for all that is eastern or so-called "orthodox" will never smooth our road to the disunited and will never give us the possibility to fulfill our privileged historic mission.<sup>711</sup>

The creation of a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine in 1918-1921 posed a special challenge in the inter-war period. Autocephalist trends existed among patriotic Ukrainian laymen alienated by Polish influence in Rome and by latinisation in the Galician eparchies. To some extent, the movement for Union, exemplified by the Velehrad and Pińsk congresses, pointed to a theoretical resolution of the question of Greek-Catholic relations with Orthodoxy, while promising a more independent kind of Greek Catholicism purged of excessive Western and Latin entanglement. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's revival of the idea of a joint Uniate-Orthodox Patriarchate, as proposed several times in the first half of the seventeenth century (notably by Uniate Metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Ruts'kyi), provided a model for such a Byzantine type of Greek Catholicism successfully incorporating the Eastern tradition and thus making schismatic "Orthodoxy" superfluous. It was presumably with an eye to this conception of the Union that the 300th anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Josaphat Kuntsevych was broadly observed in Galicia in 1923,<sup>712</sup> and that on the 300th anniversary of the passing of Metropolitan Ruts'kyi a special programme was held at the Grand Theatre of L'viv on 21 March 1937.<sup>713</sup> On 23-25 December of that year, a Union Congress was held

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<sup>711</sup> "Sorok lit na vladychomu troni" 245.

<sup>712</sup> Sliwa 160.

<sup>713</sup> Senytsia, Pavlo, ed. *Svityl'nyk Istyny*. Pt. 1, 1973, 522. In 1923 Pope Pius XI issued the encyclical *Ecclesiam Dei*, on St. Josaphat. It appears that in 1939, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi at least attempted to found a "Metropolitan Ruts'kyi Ukrainian Catholic Institute for the Union of Churches" in L'viv. A copy of a Polish translation of the statute of this organisation, dated 17 February 1939, is at AAN, MWR i OP file 2006, p. 245.

in L'viv, under the auspices of the Theological Scholarly Society and again commemorating the great Kievan metropolitan.<sup>714</sup>

The relationship with Orthodoxy was not a purely ecclesiological issue. It had a political side. Having adopted the Ukrainian national identity, Galician Greek-Catholics had to come to terms with the faith of the majority of their newly rediscovered compatriots. Some kind of accommodation with Ukrainian Orthodoxy that would not clash with fraternal relations with the Eastern Ukrainians had to be found. For the clergy in particular, this was an essential element of building a firm national consciousness, and indeed, of nation-building itself. The nation could no longer be defined by a single religion, i.e., Greek Catholicism. It was a secular concept.<sup>715</sup> The Greek-Catholic parish priest had to find a way to reconcile his acceptance of this secular concept of his nation with his religious views. The journal of the L'viv seminarians remarked in 1901 (in a review of a brochure on the 200th anniversary of the L'viv eparchy's acceptance of the Union of Brest) that one could not say that a good Ruthenian had to be a Uniate, since in the times of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and later it was precisely the Uniates who were considered the enemies of the people. Thus, one could hardly regard the disunited "Little Ruthenians" in the same manner.<sup>716</sup>

It need not be assumed that the average parish priest agonised over these problems. By the late 1930s, the notions of the Ukrainian nation and the Greek-Catholic -- or as it was increasingly known, Ukrainian Catholic -- faith were in harmony in the minds of many if not most of the Greek-Catholic clergy in Galicia. Neither Ukrainian history nor current events suggested any necessary contradiction. There is also evidence that the Greek-Catholic clergy's world view had become so secularised, or at least politicised, by the late 1930s that some priests saw nationality as more important than religious adherence.<sup>717</sup>

<sup>714</sup> Kuchabs'kyi, Volodymyr, ed. *Uniyni zizd u L'vovi*. L'viv, 1937.

<sup>715</sup> Anthony D. Smith explains that nationalism generally comes on a wave of secularisation of the educated urban elite. Traditional, supernatural explanations of the ethnic community are replaced by a concept which is secular and democratic. Smith, Anthony D., ed. *Nationalist Movements*. London, 1976 (Introduction by the editor), 20-21.

<sup>716</sup> *Bohoslovskii Vistnyk*, vol. 11, 1901, 62-63.

<sup>717</sup> In August 1938 the Apostolic Administrator for the Lemko region Iakov Medvets'kyi wrote from Sanok to the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Education that a local priest had said, "You can be a schismatic -- just be



In the Stanyslaviv eparchy, however, the questions of Orthodoxy and the Byzantine tradition were seen rather differently. The views of Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn incidentally echoed at least a part of Polish clerical opinion, which has been mentioned in previous chapters.<sup>718</sup> To him, the Byzantine tradition was characterised by Caesaropapism, which led to a decline of spirituality, a dry formalism, and ultimately to atheism. Bolshevism was "the final fruit of Byzantinism, as grafted onto Russia and taken to its ultimate conclusion." In Galicia, the Byzantinist tendency would lead to schism. The proof, he felt, was in the fact that Radical elements in Galicia were advocating an "autocephalous" Ukrainian church. Furthermore, with its tendency to close identification of spiritual with temporal power, the Byzantine tradition would lead to the creation of a national and a state Church. Such a Church would become a mere political entity to the detriment of its spirituality, as had happened with the Russian Orthodox Church. Thus, Bishop Khomyshyn's objections to Byzantinism in the cultural sphere were intimately connected with his objections to extreme nationalism in the political sphere. In Bishop Khomyshyn's view, the West offered a healthy cultural tradition to be emulated and incorporated in Ukrainian culture. This was not to be a crude adoption of Latin church practices, but an adaptation of them to Ukrainian church culture. Culturally as well as politically, it was to the West that Ukrainians must look.<sup>719</sup>

Whether the clergy of the Stanyslaviv eparchy agreed with their bishop's views is open to question. According to a rather hostile account, some of the Stanyslaviv priests regarded Bishop Khomyshyn

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Ukrainian." Copy of letter of 20 August 1938. Archiwum Akt Nowych (Warsaw), Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych, file 1080, pp. 15-16.

<sup>718</sup> See, e.g., Tarnawski, Mieczysław. Powejenne trudności cerkwi Unickiej w Małopolsce. Lwów, 1926, 4, 14-23. Many of these ideas appear in Bishop Khomyshyn's pastoral letter of 1931 on Byzantinism. See also Z.X.Y. Prawosławie w Rosyi i jego podłoże w Galicyi. Lwów, 1912, citing with approval the opinion of Rev. Maksym Halushchyn's'kyi, OSBM, that bringing the Greek-Catholic rite closer to the Orthodox rite would facilitate schism among the faithful. Id. 12. The author notes that the "ritual mania" had infected not only Russophiles, but also many Ukrainian populists. Id. 14. This seems to support the notion of transference of Russophilism's function of cultural preservation to the Byzantinism favoured by the Ukrainian populists and later nationalists. See note 45 below and accompanying text.

<sup>719</sup> Pastyrskiy lyst Hryhoriia Khomyshyna epyskopa stanyslavivs'koho do klyra eparkhii stanyslavivs'koi pro Byzantiistvo. Stanyslaviv, 1931, passim.

as "a spiritual Makhno," an "ataman," and a "Grand Inquisitor."<sup>720</sup> Quite apart from the element of humour, such epithets point to the bishop's stubbornly independent line.

In the same year as Bishop Khomyshyn's pastoral letter on Byzantinism, 1931, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi issued a letter "On Ritual Matters," in which he referred again to the need for unity with the Orthodox. "To unite those of the East for God and Church, we must ourselves be Eastern, or become Eastern," he wrote. True, there were negative aspects to the Byzantine tradition, but the same could be said of the Western tradition. At the same time, Catholic consciousness must be developed, and when Latin customs such as devotions to the Sacred Heart worked to heighten that consciousness, they should be encouraged; what was to be avoided was blind adherence to everything Latin. Besides, such devotions could be given an Eastern form.<sup>721</sup>

A full incorporation of the Byzantine tradition into the concept of the Ruthenian Greek-Catholic (later Ukrainian Catholic) heritage required a decisive claim to the Christian culture of Kievan Rus'. Thus, the 1906 pilgrimage of clergy and faithful to Palestine, led by the Metropolitan himself, was commemorated in a book referring to Daniel the Pilgrim, who had travelled from Rus' to the Holy Land exactly 600 years earlier.<sup>722</sup> In 1938, the 950th anniversary of the acceptance of Christianity as the state religion of Kievan Rus' which, falling short of a millennium and not having even the prominence of a centenary, normally would not have received great attention, was widely and amply celebrated by order of the Greek-Catholic episcopate throughout Galicia.<sup>723</sup>

Through the journals *Nyva* and *Dzvony*, as well as the publications of the Theological Scholarly Society in L'viv, this rediscovery of the Byzantine tradition and its importance in the work

<sup>720</sup> Prus, Edward. Władysław świętojurski. Warszawa, 1985, 106, citing "Novi Dni" (Toronto) no. 210 (1967).

<sup>721</sup> Quoted in Tvory sluby Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho. vol. 1, Pastyrski lysty (2.VIII.1899-7.IX.1901 r.) Toronto, 1965, pp. B-167-169. See generally Pospishil, Victor J. "Sheptyts'kyi and Liturgical Reform," in Magocsi, Paul R., ed. Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Edmonton, Alberta, 1989, 201-213.

<sup>722</sup> Iak Rus' khodyla slidamy Danyla. L'viv, 1907.

<sup>723</sup> See Tsym Znakom Peremozhesh. Iuvileini propovidi na torzhestva zviazani z 950-littiam Khreshchennia Rusy-Ukrainy. L'viv, 1938; see also the talks on the jubilee given at various deanery meetings in December 1938-June 1939 in WAP-P, ABGK 5575.

of spreading the Union was diffused among at least a part of the parish clergy. However, the controversy over Byzantinism had become so heated that in July 1928, the L'viv Metropolitan Ordinariat appealed to the clergy of the entire province as well as to the editors of Catholic periodicals and to the faithful to desist from the discussion because it had divided and seriously harmed relations within the Church.<sup>724</sup>

A special variant of the East-West controversy, and one that aroused more excitement than any other issue in this sphere, was the question of mandatory priestly celibacy. As has been noted above, this question had sociological and political as well as moral and theological aspects. It also provided an indicator of how "Eastern" or "Western" the Church would become. As the Polish priest Rev. Mieczysław Tarnawski observed in 1926, the struggle over celibacy was a struggle over Byzantinism.<sup>725</sup>

The fact that Papal pronouncements on the priesthood in general, such as the 1935 encyclical "Ad Catholici Sacerdotii," were directed primarily toward the Latin rite and therefore understandably emphasised the importance of priestly celibacy, lent the proponents of compulsory celibacy an argument that was only apparently weighty.<sup>726</sup> The dispute was not over the merits of priestly celibacy -- though lay critics contested these too -- but over the necessity of making it compulsory in the Greek-Catholic Church. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi avoided imposing compulsory celibacy in the L'viv archdiocese, if only because he did not believe that such a major change in church discipline could be resolved by fiat. As he wrote in an article on "The Psychology of Union" in 1925, the Church had always chosen to wait for disciplinary reforms to arise of their own accord in the reunited communities.<sup>727</sup> Thus, in the L'viv archeparchy both celibates and married men continued to be

<sup>724</sup> The Peremyshl' episcopal ordinariat published the order on 23 July 1928. Peremys'ki eparkhiiial'ni vidomosty no. 7, 1928, pp. 109-110 (order no. 169).

<sup>725</sup> Tarnawski 15.

<sup>726</sup> The encyclical was issued on 20 December 1935 and published in Acta Apostolicae Sedis vol. XXVIII no. 1 (2 January 1936), pp. 1-53. See the discussion of this encyclical by the Rev. Onufrii Ors'kyi in Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohoslaviv, Peremyshl', 1937, 17-40. Rev. Ors'kyi argues that the Eastern tradition, too, favoured priestly celibacy, which is required by the very nature of the priesthood. The same argument has been made recently by Cholij, Roman. Clerical Celibacy in East and West. Leominster, Herefordshire, 1988.

<sup>727</sup> Szeptycky, André. "La psychologie de l'Union," in La Revue Catholique des Idées et des Faits, no. 31, 1925, 10.

ordained throughout the inter-war period, while in Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl' only celibates were ordained from 1920 and 1925, respectively. In the 1920s the clergy found themselves amidst a raging controversy on this issue, carried on in great part by the secular press. In the 1930s, however, other matters seem to have taken the fore.<sup>728</sup>

A more subtle aspect of the controversy between Byzantinists and Westernisers was that of ritual coherence. In 1900, the Greek-Catholic Church was a hybrid, blending Byzantine and Western characteristics in a not altogether harmonious manner. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi understood that ritual aesthetics were an indicator of spiritual health. Korolevskij describes the devotional booklets published by the Basilian fathers at Zhovkva as "un curieux mélange de traditions ruthènes, d'orientalisme et d'hybridismes," remarking that Greek-Catholic adaptations of modern Latin devotions "n'étaient pas toujours du meilleur goût."<sup>729</sup> From a different perspective, Bishop Khomyshyn, too, pointed to the confusion and scandal that resulted when, for example, a priest tried to sing a Low Mass.<sup>730</sup> While a certain coherence might be attainable by purging either all Byzantine or all Latin elements from the Church, neither course was feasible or even desirable. How, then, was one to harmonise the Byzantine tradition with Western accretions? How was one to distinguish between Latin elements that had been (or could be) successfully assimilated and those that should be expelled? Questions of this sort primarily concerned liturgists, but the parish priest was faced with this issue in a concrete, if modest way in the various details of his liturgical practice.<sup>731</sup>

Rev. A. Galandiuk, writing in *Nyva* in 1918, expressed a moderate view probably in keeping with the thinking of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi when he stated that the rite had to be modernised, but

<sup>728</sup> Some priests did speak out publicly, among them Rev. Myron Korytko, parish priest at Kholoiv, in a colourfully entitled brochure. Korytko, Myron. Pro shcho ne hovoryt'sia, o chim ne pyshet'sia, a pro shcho navit' dumaty ne khochet'sia. L'viv, 1925. He refers to the public meetings, brochures, and even a play, dedicated to the topic of priestly celibacy. Id. 3.

<sup>729</sup> Korolevskij, Cyrille. Metropolite André Szeptycky 1865-1944. Rome, 1964, 342-343.

<sup>730</sup> Low Mass is a Latin tradition, and is never sung; the singing was evidently a half-baked attempt to "byzantinise" the liturgy. Pastyr's'kyi lyst Hryhoriia Khomyshyna. Stanyslaviv, 1931, p. 24.

<sup>731</sup> Related to the question of ritual aesthetics was the matter of ecclesiastical art, discussed briefly in the following section.

without forcible additions of foreign elements, if only to avoid aesthetic discord. Just as in art and literature, the blind imitation of foreign works must be avoided, so in ritual matters, it could only result in "a monstrosity and a parody." Furthermore, such innovations would offend the faithful, with their instinctive sense of harmony and beauty. Rev. Galandiuk in fact favoured certain reforms such as introduction of the Gregorian calendar and of the Ukrainian language in services (in place of Church Slavonic). However, he emphasised that all changes must be made gradually and incorporated fully into the existing rite.<sup>732</sup>

What role did Byzantinism play in the life of the Greek-Catholic clergy? Henryk Ignacy Lubieński, a perceptive critic of the Byzantine orientation, wrote in 1934 that whereas before the war, the conservative current in the Greek-Catholic Church had overlapped with Russophilism, afterwards Ukrainian nationalism had taken over the Russophile programme.<sup>733</sup> However discredited the Russophile orientation may have been, in the nineteenth century it had served as a guarantor of Ruthenian ecclesiastical identity in the face of polonisation and latinisation. The same function became even more important with the inclusion of Galicia in a Polish state with a privileged Latin-rite clergy. Byzantinism guaranteed the Greek-Catholic clergy's cultural survival, and it did so in harmony with the growing current of Ukrainian nationalism.

Byzantinism appears to have had a social base similar to that of Russophilism. At first this may seem unlikely, since the Russophiles were in great part members of priestly clans (see Chapter Four), whereas the Byzantinist clergy of the 1920s and 1930s were sons of farmers or townsmen. However, many if not most Russophiles were laymen, and members of the rising intelligentsia. With the advent of a new breed of clerics after World War I, and the simultaneous rise of a village intelligentsia, much of which streamed into towns and cities, the social base of Byzantinism was formed. Like the Russophiles, the Byzantinists comprised both the lay and the clerical elite. Byzantinism, whether or not accepted by the

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<sup>732</sup> Galandiuk, A. "Shche pro potrebu reformy v nashii Tserkvi." *Nyva* no. 5, 1918, 167-169.

<sup>733</sup> Lubieński, Henryk Ignacy. "Kościół Grecko-Katolicki w województwach południowo-wschodnich." *Sprawy Narodowościowe* year VIII nr. 5-6 (October-December 1934), 541-542.

masses, did not originate with them. It is symptomatic that lay Byzantinists ridiculed their chief clerical opponent, Bishop Khomyshyn, in part by referring to his peasant origins.<sup>734</sup> Byzantinism was a phenomenon of the elite, which in great part it had received from the hands of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and which only gradually penetrated the mass of parish priests and believers. In the Stanyslaviv eparchy it had little success, of course, and in Peremyshl' it was not altogether supported by the church authorities.<sup>735</sup> It appears that in the L'viv eparchy, though there was not enough time for the ideas of Fr. Hryhorii Kostel'nyk and his supporters to transform the ritual practices of the clergy as a whole, Byzantinism scored its greatest victories.

Did the Greek-Catholic clergy develop a clear cultural orientation between 1900 and 1939? In August of 1939 the editors of *Nyva* wrote that in his forty years as a bishop Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi had made clear to all the great role that his Church was to play within the Universal Church as "a synthesis of the Ecclesiastical East and West." "He has led our Church," they continued, "out from its narrow Galician provincialism into the broad world arena, first with his own person and his own efforts or initiative, and later through the creative work of its clergy, or with the particularity of its liturgical-ritual life in the Catholic Church."<sup>736</sup>

The special role of the Greek-Catholic Church (as the Second Vatican Council was to recognise twenty-five years later) was to be its work in re-uniting the East with the Church of Rome:

And there began a renaissance of our church and religious thought; the essence of the Union, about which almost everyone had forgotten, and some cannot even remember it even today -- became a clear and uncomplicated problem for

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<sup>734</sup> He was referred to as "Hryts' z Hadynkovets'." Mel'nychuk, Petro. *Vladyka Hryhorii Khomyshyn* 250.

<sup>735</sup> Fr. Teodor Savoika, parish priest in Selys'ky, encountered opposition from the eparchial authorities in Peremyshl' when he sought to publish his *Homiletical Lessons*, in which he extolled, for example, the social and cultural role of the priest's wife, exclaiming that "we stand and fall with a married clergy!" WAP-P, ABGK file 4786.

<sup>736</sup> "Sorok lit na vladychomu troni." *Nyva* no. 7-3, 1939, 243. See Pelikan, Jaroslav. "The Church between East and West: The Context of Sheptyts'kyi's Thought," in Magocsi, Paul R., ed. *Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi*. Edmonton, Alberta, 1989, 1-12.

all. And this essence is such: the Union is the unification in faith of two branches of the Universal Church, the eastern and the western, under the leadership of the Vicar of Christ -- the Pope of Rome.<sup>737</sup>

According to the editors of *Nyva*, this new consciousness of the Greek-Catholic Church's missionary role had brought with it a change in the consciousness of its clergy:

Gradually, perhaps even too slowly, the type of Ukrainian Catholic priest of the Byzantine-Slavonic rite -- who up to the present would equate Catholicism with Latinism, who would cling spastically to all those Latin ritual forms, which had been introduced into our Church only in the times of its weakness, and who wanted to see our Church as something in the middle--neither eastern nor western -- is disappearing. The "Uniate" type, who seemed to be ashamed of belonging to the eastern rite, is vanishing.

Instead, individuals and entire groups are growing among this clergy who, in obedience to the Apostolic See, would like to see the ritual liturgical life of our Church in all its beauty and purity, and therefore are striving for the gradual removal from it of everything that was taken from the Latin rite, and which only serves to alienate the disunited from the Union. Only a Union that is clothed in the liturgical-ritual vestments and lofty traditions of the ecclesiastical East will survive the hardest trial and will become strong and lasting. Ritual hybridisms are a phenomenon not only undesirable for the Union, but harmful to the greatest degree, and everyone who seeks to make permanent these Latin incrustations is acting against the idea of Union, against the will of the Vicars of Christ.<sup>738</sup>

Thus, by 1939 the Byzantinist cultural orientation, shared by at least a good part of the clergy of the L'viv archeparchy, had become part and parcel of a vision of the Greek-Catholic Church's mission in spreading the Union throughout the East.

## 2. The Problem of Ukrainian Secular Culture

<sup>737</sup> "Sorok lit na vladychomu troni." *Nyva* no. 7-8, 1939, 244. The Second Vatican Council's Decree on Eastern Churches of 21 November 1964 noted their special role in the ecumenical process. See also Husar, Lubomyr. "Sheptyts'kyi and Ecumenism." Magocsi, op. cit. 185-200.

<sup>738</sup> "Sorok lit" 245.

The necessity of finding an ecclesiastical cultural orientation was accompanied by the challenge of Ukrainian secular culture. From its beginnings to the end of the eighteenth century, Ukrainian high culture had been almost exclusively religious. By 1900, in Galicia as well as in the Russian Ukraine, a secular Ukrainian high culture had developed. Influenced by western European currents and responding to local social conditions, this culture, at least in its literary forms, contained anti-clerical elements. The Ukrainian national poet, Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), had inveighed against Uniatism as a tool of historical Polish imperialism. The foremost Galician Ukrainian literary figure, Ivan Franko (1856-1916), had criticised the socio-economic role of the Greek-Catholic clergy. Ukrainian culture not only had become secularised, but seemed, at least in part, to be turning against the Church. If the clergy had been the leaders of the Ruthenian cultural revival in the mid-nineteenth century, now they found themselves among its targets.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi saw the problem, which he addressed in his 1901 pastoral letter to the Ruthenian intelligentsia. Rather than seeking to dictate to them, he aimed for a harmonious coexistence between the Church and the secular intelligentsia.<sup>739</sup> At first this was difficult, given the anti-clerical attitude of much of the latter. It appears that the Metropolitan sought to reconcile Ivan Franko and his fellow writer Vasyl' Stefanyk with the Church.<sup>740</sup> He provided funding for painters like Oleksa Novakivs'kyi and commissioned church art in its various forms. The journal *Dzvony*, which enjoyed his financial support, provided a forum for Catholic writers and critics like the talented Lemko poet Bohdan Ihor Antonych (1909-1937). Sheptyts'kyi also founded a Ukrainian national museum in 1905 which, serving after its opening in 1913 as a showplace for Ukrainian ecclesiastical art and antiquities, helped to create a sense of a millennial tradition of Ukrainian spiritual

<sup>739</sup> "Do ukrains'koi inteligentsii." *Tvory sluhly Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho* 190-214. Actually titled "Do rus'koi inteligentsii," it was written in Vienna and dated 27 January 1901. The Metropolitan had also addressed the intelligentsia in his first pastoral letter as Bishop of Stanyslaviv in 1899, and mentioned the problem of the intelligentsia in his pastoral letter to the Stanyslaviv clergy of that same day. *Tvory* 14-16, 26-27.

<sup>740</sup> A hostile Soviet source claims that he failed with regard to Stefanyk. Dobrychev, Volodymyr. *U tini sv. Iura*. L'viv, 1970, 86-88, citing the Ukr. SSR Central State Historical Archive in L'viv, collection 201, op. 46, spr. 2306, ark. 137 and "Meta," 24 January 1937.



culture. As anti-clerical currents died down in the 1920s and 1930s, the idea of a modern Ukrainian Christian culture began to seem feasible.

Nevertheless, Ukrainian culture, like that of most modern nations, had reached a secular stage. Inevitably, some of it was at odds with Church teachings and tastes. Unlike Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, who had grown up in a cosmopolitan milieu, Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv was quick to characterise literature as anti-religious or immoral. While acknowledging their talents, he criticised both Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko.<sup>741</sup> The bishop was not alone in his criticism of the latter. In 1913, in response to widespread celebrations in honour of Franko, Nykolai Sadovs'kyi (possibly a Basilian monk) wrote a brochure criticising a priest who had publicly supported the celebrations in an article in the L'viv daily "Dilo." Pointing out that Franko (then still alive) was an enemy of Christ, Sadovs'kyi declared that he should recognise that his artistic talent was a gift from God, and should use it to serve him.<sup>742</sup> At a session of the Peremyshl' cathedral chapter on 27 May 1919, Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi asked his canons how he should respond to the request of the local intelligentsia for a service in memory of the poet, who had died three years before. Several of the canons recommended asking Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's opinion. However, the young Rev. Canon Konstantyn Bohachevs'kyi (future Metropolitan of Philadelphia) felt that in view of Franko's scandalous writings and the circumstances of his death, no service could be held. His opinion prevailed.<sup>743</sup>

In 1927 "Nova Zoria," which represented Bishop Khomyshyn's point of view, reprinted part of a pseudonymous article arguing that although Ivan Franko had begun to return to the faith and the Church late in life and on visits to his native village of Nahuievychi would even read the epistle during liturgy, he had been an atheist in his younger years, and it was this Franko -- "Saul, not Paul" -- that was the object of the cult then current amongst the intelligentsia.<sup>744</sup> Nevertheless, the clergy seem to have shared the secular

<sup>741</sup> Khomyshyn, Hryhorii. Ukrains'ka Problema. Stanyslaviv [1933], 14-15. The third individual whom he held responsible for inspiring pathological Ukrainian nationalism was Mykhailo Drahomanov.

<sup>742</sup> Sadovs'kyi, Nyk. Khrystyians'ke stanovyshe v spravi 40-litnoho iuvileiu Iv. Franka. Zhovkva, 1913.

<sup>743</sup> WAP-P, Kapituła Grecko-katolicka, file 5, p. 27.

<sup>744</sup> "Nova Zoria," no. 16-17 (67-68), 24 April 1927, pp. 6-8.

intelligentsia's reverence for both Shevchenko and Franko, whose works could be found in priests' private libraries.<sup>745</sup>

While seeking to harmonise secular culture with the teachings of the Church, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and his followers naturally sought to revive Ukrainian religious culture. This involved the support, for example, of icon-painters and choirs.<sup>746</sup> It also required a vision of the relationship between Ukrainian religious (not just ecclesiastical) culture and both the East and the West. Such a vision was formed among the clergy through various contacts with western and eastern culture. In December 1913 Osyp Ostashevs'kyi wrote of the L'viv seminarians' encounter with the West during the secession of 1901-1902:

The relations of the secessionist seminarians with seminarians of other peoples, and with laymen of sincerely Catholic convictions, above all in Vienna, had a beneficial effect on the change of our seminarians' world view. They saw how our intelligentsia in general received western civilisation, but only that part of it that was far from the principles of the teachings of Christ; they were aware that such culture brings destruction and not good to our society. In the midst of such conditions our young seminarians understood that above all they must receive Catholic religious ideas from the West and colour the national and social aspect of our national life with them, and thus react against the dark forces of advancing faithlessness.<sup>747</sup>

Thus, the Greek-Catholic clergy had begun to discover western European culture for itself. No longer dependent on the secular intelligentsia's narrow vision of this culture, which selected those aspects congenial to its prejudices and concerns, the clergy could develop its own view of western civilisation. It could thus seek out Christian elements and adapt them to its own cultural vision. As early as 1901, Iuliiian Dzerovych, who was to become a highly influential priest, could confidently assert that "cool critical

<sup>745</sup> See, for example, the inventories of private and parish libraries in the Lemko Apostolic Administration compiled in 1940-1942, in WAP-P, Apostolska Administracja Łemkowszczyzny (AAL) file 56, pp. 19-25, 112-121, 184-187.

<sup>746</sup> See generally Mudrak, Myroslava M. "Sheptyts'kyi as Patron of the Arts." Magocsi op. cit. 289-306.

<sup>747</sup> Ostashevs'kyi, Osyp. "Z istorii dukhovoho zhytia l'vivs'kykh bohosloviv v litakh 1900-1913," in *Al'makakh ukrains'kykh bohosloviv*. L'viv, 1914, 274.

intelligence, deeper learning lead to Christ; only the superficial leads away from him" and point to the revival of Christian ideas in great Western nations like England, France and the United States. To Dzerovych, only "the unprogressive cling to atheism."<sup>748</sup> This implied a critique of current Western European as well as Ukrainian secular culture -- a critique that could be carried on by a Christian secular intelligentsia as well as by the clergy. Thus, as seen in the pages of *Dzvony* and reflected in the works of creative artists close to the Church, a Ukrainian secular culture of Christian inspiration could arise.

A Ukrainian Christian culture, whether sacred or secular, would inevitably reflect the orientation of the Church at least in some degree. As seen above, this Church remained divided on the question of East or West. The cultural confusion inherent in "Uniatism" was mirrored in the aesthetics of church art. The pseudonymous Rev. S.M. of B. remarked in 1916 that some new Greek-Catholic churches were "monstrosities without taste, style or beauty." Well-intentioned but misguided parish priests were importing church art from Bavaria or the Tyrol. This repelled the faithful, and in any case did not inspire piety or love. If the priests had been better educated, he continued, they would know their own Church and would not be replacing beautiful traditional songs with all sorts of German and Italian themes, which were often secular and would "turn our churches into concert halls." If these priests were better acquainted with their own history and traditions, they would not need to pack their sermons with examples from German or Italian life.<sup>749</sup>

To what extent did the Galician parish priest take an interest in the building of a Ukrainian Christian culture and in the guiding of secular culture in accord with Christian principles? Presumably, few had the leisure to indulge in such interests. Overwhelmingly rural, they had little access to the "high" culture of the city. Yet those that could afford subscriptions to journals like *Dzvony* could acquaint themselves with the writings of Ukrainian writers such as Antonych or foreign ones like Mauriac. Even in the poor parishes of the Lemko region, priests' private libraries included works of such contemporary writers as Bohdan Lepkyi and Ulas Samchuk (as well

<sup>748</sup> *Bohoslovskii vistnyk* (L'vov). Vol. 11, 1901, 139.

<sup>749</sup> o. S.M. z B. "Natsional'ne vykhovaniie klyru." *Nyva* no. 3, 1916, 163.

as foreign classics like Balzac, Jules Verne, Dostoevsky, Gogol, Tolstoy, Mickiewicz, Brontë, Dickens, and Jack London).<sup>750</sup>

There were also a few priests who entertained great ambitions to develop a Ukrainian religious culture on a par with those of other European nations. Thus, Fr. I. Chekhovych wished to create a shrine at Chaikovychi near Sambir that would gain international renown as a "Ukrainian Lourdes." Fr. Chekhovych also promoted the fame of the stigmatic Evstakhiia Bokhniak,<sup>751</sup> while Fr. Petro Dzedzyk supported (though with some reservations) the claims of "the first Ukrainian stigmatic," Nastya Voloshyn of Mlynny in the Iavoriv district.<sup>752</sup> These initiatives, while naive and at times comical, can all be understood as part of a general effort to create a national Catholic culture modelled on those of the great Catholic nations of Europe.

Thus, at least some members of the Greek-Catholic clergy took part in the search for a new cultural orientation. This orientation, defined by the relative importance assigned to Eastern and Western influences, spanned secular as well as specifically ecclesiastical culture. Although the Stanyslaviv eparchy, where the clergy came under the directives of Bishop Khomyshyn's own philosophy of church and secular culture, seems to have been an exception, there too, an attempt was made at cultural self-definition. In all three eparchies, the Greek-Catholic clergy lived in an atmosphere in which a new synthesis was being developed of Western and Eastern ecclesiastical traditions, and in which a new symbiosis of sacred and secular culture was being forged.

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<sup>750</sup> WAP-P, Apostolska Administracja Łemkowszczyzny (AAL) file 56.

<sup>751</sup> Prus 137 (citing a letter of Fr. Chekhovych to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in the Central State Historical Archive in L'viv, collection 201, op. 4b, spr. 2588, ark. 57,134).

<sup>752</sup> Dzedzyk, P. Persha ukrains'ka stygmatychka (Anastaziia Voloshyn). (2nd ed.) L'viv, 1936. This brochure was published with the permission of the L'viv Metropolitan Ordinariat, as represented by the auxiliary bishop Ivan Buchko.

## CHAPTER EIGHT: THE SENSE OF MISSION OF THE GREEK-CATHOLIC PARISH PRIEST

The reform of the Greek-Catholic clergy in Galicia contributed to a new sense of national, political, cultural and even religious identity. Along with this new identity came a new sense of mission. The Greek-Catholic priest was conscious of his special role both in Galician Ukrainian society and in the greater plan of the Catholic Church in the East. Before the mission of the clergy could be clarified, however, its relationship to the activity of the Ukrainian secular intelligentsia had to be worked out. In particular, the activist clergy were faced with a practical and ideological challenge from the Ukrainian nationalist movement. Their response to this challenge was to propose an alternative (though not necessarily exclusive) scenario: the vision of church Union, expressed in martial imagery that echoed the militant spirit of contemporary nationalism. Only a response that transcended the nationalist programme in scope and appeal could re-establish Church and clergy as leaders of Galician Ukrainian society.

### 1. Clergy and Intelligentsia: Cooperation or Competition?

John-Paul Himka, citing Miroslav Hroch, maintains that like the clergy in other national movements, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic clergy played a major role in the early stages of the Ukrainian movement, but gradually lost the lead to the secular intelligentsia.<sup>753</sup> However, Himka goes on to state that while the Greek-Catholic Church did withdraw somewhat from the national movement, in doing so it re-affirmed the spirituality that had suffered during in the period of the clergy's heavy social involvement. This enabled it to maintain a position of moral leadership. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi succeeded, he writes, "in restoring the

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<sup>753</sup> Himka, John-Paul. "Priests and Peasants: the Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900," Canadian Slavonic Papers (Ottawa) vol. XXI, no. 1, reprinted in The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1986, 1. Contemporary observers indeed felt that the secular intelligentsia had taken over the leadership of the Ukrainian movement. Having said, this, however, Doroshenko points out that in the inter-war period the Church again assumed a leading role in national life. Doroshenko 25.

Ukrainian Catholic church as an independent moral and spiritual authority, allied to the national movement, but separate and critical."<sup>754</sup>

This re-orientation of a secularised Church losing its grasp on the national movement to a position of moral leadership required a reformation of the clergy involving, as has been seen, a new emphasis on spiritual formation as well as a clear sense of direction. In forming its sense of direction, the clergy was forced to decide how it would regard the rising secular intelligentsia that had taken over the leadership of the national movement. Should it compete with the intelligentsia, or seek to cooperate? How this question was approached on the parish level, particularly with regard to the control of the reading-rooms, has already been discussed in some detail in Chapter Five. In this section more general clerical opinions on relations with the secular intelligentsia will be examined.

The Greek-Catholic clergy entered the twentieth century with a consciousness of its past contributions to the development of Ruthenian society and a desire to continue in its leading role despite opposition from anti-clerical circles of the intelligentsia. At the L'viv Provincial Synod of 1891 it was noted that future priests were to be "the light of the world and the salt of the earth and the leaders of the people."<sup>755</sup> In the published proceedings of the Peremyshl' eparchial synod of 1898 it was remarked that the Greek-Catholic priest must continue to educate himself, "as the representative of his high state, as a teacher and leader of the people."<sup>756</sup> Responding to a letter from the Reading-room Society of the Lviv seminary in 1899 or 1900 Marko Murava, a priest and poet who had studied at the seminary nearly thirty years earlier, wrote that in the anti-clerical atmosphere of the time the clergy had to make special efforts to maintain their leadership of society:

It seems that we must achieve our position among the people through unceasing labour -- and defend ourselves from the attacks of the worldly and the calumnies of the callous through learning. We must join in with every

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<sup>754</sup> Himka 446.

<sup>755</sup> Marusyn, Myroslav S. "Pohliad na vykhovannia kandydativ dukhovnoho stanu na Ukraini," *Bohoslovija* (Rome) vol. XXI-XXIV, 1963, 38.

<sup>756</sup> Sobor ruskij eparkhial'nyi peremyskij vodpravljeni v rotse 1898. L'vov, 1899, 65.

enterprise consciously, so that we might achieve the heights in every field of knowledge, lest we be accused of ignorance and laziness...."<sup>757</sup>

Rev. Evstakhii Tsurkovs'kyi, writing in *Nyva* in 1911, reminded his fellow priests that it was the Greek-Catholic clergy which had initiated the Ruthenian revival, organised education and social, economic and political life, created the Ruthenian intelligentsia, and established stores, banks, village cooperatives, reading-rooms, and so on. Such "clericalism," he argued, did not serve merely the narrow interests of a "caste." It had made it possible for the Ruthenians to resist the initiatives of the Galician viceroy Badeni and the Poles. To defeat the Ruthenians, however, the Poles were now using the Radicals in the task of "breaking respect for the clergy as leaders of the people" and destroying the cooperation between the priests and the populists. Thus, he wrote, the close ties between clergy and people would be sundered, and the clergy would lose its role as leader of the people -- a result desired by the Poles and the Ruthenian Radicals alike.<sup>758</sup>

In his article on the Lviv seminarians between 1900 and 1913, written at the end of the latter year, Osyp Ostashevs'kyi stated that "the development of our people, of our educational and economic organisation, and nearly all our national achievements up to now we owe to a great extent to the clergy, and for a long time yet the future development of our people will depend on the attitudes which the young clergy will take with them when they leave the walls of the theological seminary."<sup>759</sup> An appeal "To the Ukrainian Clergy" which appeared in *Nyva* in 1916 referred to "the glorious reputation for patriotism and the reputation of leaders of the people which the Ukrainian clergy has earned."<sup>760</sup> In 1935 Rev. Dr. Lev Hlynka, advocating in *Nyva* the creation of a new organisation for the priests of the Galician province, called for a renewed activism by the clergy "as the leading class of Ukrainian society," which was to

<sup>757</sup> Levytskyi, Iaroslav. *L'vivska dukhovna semynaryia v litakh 1897-1901*. L'viv, 1901, 16-17.

<sup>758</sup> Tsurkovskyi, Evstakhii. "Vrazhinnia z kraievoho zdvyhu 'Sokoliv' i 'Sichyi' u L'vovi dnia 10 veresnia s.r." *Nyva* 1911 no. 20 (15 October 1911), 624-625. According to the author, the Radical "Sich" organisation had described the populist "Sokil" jamboree as a "clerical orgy" (*iako orhii popivski*), id. 625.

<sup>759</sup> Ostashevs'kyi, Osyp. "Z istoriyi dukhovoho zhytia l'vivs'kykh bohosloviv v litakh 1900-1913," 271, in *Al'manakh ukrains'kykh bohosloviv*. L'viv, 1914.

<sup>760</sup> "Do ukrains'koho dukhovenstva." *Nyva* 1916 no. 1, 53-54.

struggle against the evils besetting "the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian people."<sup>761</sup> Thus, throughout the development of Ukrainian national consciousness between the turn of the century and the 1930s, the clergy's sense of its role in society -- past, present, and future -- remained constant.

What exactly did leadership of Galician Ukrainian society entail? A priest writing in 1916 argued that improvements in the education of the clergy would demonstrate that they were, or should be, bearers of Ukrainian culture among their own people, and would make them the guardians of this culture.<sup>762</sup> Bidding farewell to the departing students of the L'viv seminary around 1924, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi reminded them of the lack of thorough religious education among the laity, and pointed to the superior religious upbringing of the laity of other countries as an example to be followed.<sup>763</sup> One specific form of Western-style pastoral work was the Catholic Action movement, held up as an example by the editors of *Nyva* in 1937. The Greek-Catholic parish priest, they wrote, would have to go beyond the church and into society in order to fulfill his mission effectively. He would have to be sensitive to the pulse of society and sufficiently flexible to react to every development. He would have to work in social organisations, side by side with the secular intelligentsia. This would enable the Greek-Catholic clergy, following the example of the Polish clergy, to take national life into its hands, remaining always in the front ranks of each lay organisation. Thus it would lead the people not only to its eternal goal, but also "to earthly prosperity, to temporal happiness, and to the attainment of national ideals":

We are a stateless nation; we have few leaders with a clearly developed world view based fully on Christian faith and morals; for this reason, until recently in all our national institutions there reigned a liberal, rationalist spirit. That

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<sup>761</sup> Hlynka, Lev. "Potreba spil'noi organizatsii ukrains'koho katolyts'koho dukhovenstva," *Nyva* 1935, no. 4-5, 138.

<sup>762</sup> o. S.M. z B. "Natsional'ne vykhovannia klyru." *Nyva*, 1916, no. 3, p. 165. The author was probably Rev. Severyn Matkovs'kyi, parish priest of Bosyr in the Stanyslaviv eparchy, who was born in 1861 and ordained in 1885. I am indebted to Rev. Dr. Dmytro Blazejovskyj for the identification, which is based on the 1907 schematism of the Stanyslaviv eparchy.

<sup>763</sup> Voiakovs'kyi, Nikolai. "Vidnovlennia dukhovnoi seminarii u L'vovi: 1920-1926," in *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni* (series II - sectio II - vol. VII (XIII) - fasc. 1-4) Roma, 1971, 307.



today the situation is better is to the credit of the Church and the circumstance that today's intelligentsia throughout the world has turned to God, to eternal truths, to Christian ideals. And do we priests dare to leave this leading class of the people, which is seeking God and longs for eternal truths, alone, without leadership, without the signposts which it is seeking, perhaps as yet unconsciously, in its national work?!

Our entire independent intelligentsia has undertaken national work according to its abilities. Only the clergy, which should be in the first ranks here as well and should set the tone for this work, would shrink from this, as if saying: our business is in the church, not in worldly institutions; we have higher, greater tasks in mind.<sup>764</sup>

That the clergy should attempt to play a leading role in Galician Ukrainian society was not self-evident to those who, like Bishop Khomyshyn, saw that society as full of hostile elements. It was the nationalist or communist laity that would draw the clergy into following it, rather than the other way round. Furthermore, hostile elements would seek to manipulate the Church to their own ends. (See Chapter Five, Section 2.) In 1938 the clerical journal *Dobryi Pastyr*, published in Stanyslaviv, listed among the four enemies mounting a "General Attack upon our Greek-Catholic Church" the liberals and various political groups wishing to impose their will upon the Church.<sup>765</sup>

Thus the Greek-Catholic clergy, conscious that the helm of society was slipping from their hands, were torn between seeking to wrest it back from the secular intelligentsia, and confining themselves to spiritual and moral guidance exercised exclusively from the pulpit. As their common political ground with the increasingly nationalist intelligentsia became broader in the 1930s, however, most of the clergy seem to have had no objections to working together with lay leaders.<sup>766</sup> On the whole, Himka's description of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's Church as "allied to the national movement, but separate and critical" seems an accurate description

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<sup>764</sup> "Chy til'ky na holovnim vidtynku?" (editorial) *Nyva* 1937, no. 12, 412-414. As mentioned in Chapter Five, this article sparked a sharp exchange between the editors of *Nyva* and Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv on the question of clerical participation in lay organisations.

<sup>765</sup> *Dobryi Pastyr*, year VIII, 1938, 119.

<sup>766</sup> This is indicated by statements of several priests ordained in the 1930s. Questionnaires Nos. 1,3,5,7; Interviews Nos. 2,4.

of the parish clergy. To what extent the clergy could maintain a separate and critical stance was tested, however, by the rise of a militantly nationalist movement in the 1930s which advanced new ideals ultimately incompatible with Church teaching.

## 2. The Challenge of Integral Nationalism

Hugh Seton-Watson ascribes two basic meanings to the term "nationalism." The first is "a doctrine about the character, interests, rights and duties of nations." The second is "an organised political movement, designed to further the alleged aims and interests of nations." Such movements generally aim at independence, that is, the creation of a sovereign state in which the given nation is dominant, and national unity, through the incorporation within the frontiers of the state of all groups which are considered (by themselves or by those who claim to speak for them) to belong to the nation.<sup>767</sup> Anthony D. Smith defines nationalism as "an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, cohesion and individuality for a social group deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation."<sup>768</sup>

Under these definitions, both a nationalist ideology and a nationalist movement could be found in inter-war Galicia, though the movement (with nineteenth-century roots) appears to have preceded the ideology. The movement was carried forward in the 1920s by the Ukrainian Military Organisation and in the 1930s by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, generally following models of "integral nationalism" and drawing on the Italian fascist example. The ideology was developed primarily by the Eastern Ukrainian emigre Dmytro Dontsov.<sup>769</sup>

Integral nationalism is considered to have arisen in the thinking of Charles Maurras and the Action Francaise at the turn of the century. Influential in Eastern Europe as well as in Germany and Italy, it was characterised by the following:

- 1) a belief in the nation as the supreme value;

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<sup>767</sup> Seton-Watson, Hugh. Nations and States: an Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism. London, 1977, 3.

<sup>768</sup> Smith, A. D. "Introduction: The Formation of Nationalist Movements," in Smith, Anthony D., ed. Nationalist Movements. London, 1976, 1.

<sup>769</sup> See generally Armstrong, John A.. Ukrainian Nationalism (2nd ed.) Littleton, Colorado, 1980.

2) an appeal to mystically conceived ideas of national solidarity;

3) subordination of rational thought to "intuitively correct" emotions;

4) expression of the "national will" through a charismatic leader and an elite organised in a party; and

5) glorification of action, violence and war as an expression of the nation's superior biological vitality.<sup>770</sup>

In western Ukraine, a modified version of integral nationalism took root in the 1920s among the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and the Union of Ukrainian Nationalistic Youth (SUNM). The latter consisted of student youth who had turned from communism to nationalism under the influence of Dmytro Dontsov, whose ideas derived from those of German nationalists rather than from those of Maurras or the Italian nationalists. Differing in part from integral nationalism, Dontsov's ideology stressed, among others, the following points:

1) advocacy of terrorism as the only available means of opposition to the dominant group;

2) absolute adherence to the "pure" national language and culture;

3) in the absence of a Ukrainian national state, and given the nationalists' opposition to existing states, glorification of "illegality;"

4) ideologically motivated irrationalism expressed through fantastic romanticism;

5) rejection of the moderation and compromise of the elder generation and reliance on youth.<sup>771</sup>

In addition, Ukrainian nationalism was influenced by the Russian revolutionary tradition as typified, for example, by the "Narodnaia Volia" of the 1870s, and by Bolshevik methods. At the same time, liberal democratic and Christian principles, as well as respect for formal learning, established authority, individual decision and popular choice, exerted an influence on this movement.

In the 1920s the UVO and the SUNM won over nearly all politically active elements in western Ukraine except for the

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<sup>770</sup> Armstrong, John A. Ukrainian Nationalism. 2nd ed. Littleton, Colorado, 1980, 19-20.

<sup>771</sup> Armstrong 20-23.

moderate parties. Closely interconnected, the two groups merged formally in 1929 with the founding of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Under the leadership of Col. Ievhen Konovalets', former commander of the Sich Sharpshooters, the OUN carried on the struggle by both legal and illegal means.<sup>772</sup>

Who were the bearers of Ukrainian nationalism in inter-war Galicia? V. Kiernan observes that nationalism generally draws support from a "loose bundle of lower-middle-class groupings" consisting of "unattached, unanchored individuals or clusters" -- "the irregulars of history."<sup>773</sup> In Galicia, the growing number of unemployed Ukrainian youth from the countryside, prevented by state policy from entering university or excluded from jobs or professions, were the main source of cadres for the Ukrainian nationalist movement. They were also a source of candidates for the priesthood, since the seminary offered a higher education for those unable to obtain it elsewhere, and the priesthood offered a livelihood for educated youth whose political involvement barred their way to state employment or the free professions. It is thus no surprise that the seminaries became hot-beds of nationalist sentiment. At the same time, the fact that the typical young parish priest of the 1930s shared common roots with the typical nationalist in the highly religious countryside, and that some leading nationalists came from the families of village priests (see Chapter Four), helps to explain the persistence of religiosity among nationalists, and perhaps of mystic and quasi-religious elements in nationalist thought. Ukrainian nationalist ideologists sought to demonstrate that their ideology was not opposed to Christian principles, and explicitly recognised the Church's place in society.<sup>774</sup>

Anthony Smith notes that although a nationalist movement needs only an intelligentsia, its efforts are more likely to enjoy rapid success if it can recruit from among one or another of the principal urban middle-class status groups.<sup>775</sup> Indeed, lay nationalists saw in the higher Greek-Catholic clergy a prestigious and influential ally. As Smith also points out, the classlessness of nationalist ideology

<sup>772</sup> Armstrong 23. Col. Konovalets' was assassinated in Rotterdam, almost certainly by a Soviet agent, on 23 May 1938.

<sup>773</sup> Kiernan, V. "Nationalist Movements and Social Classes," in Smith, Anthony D., 115.

<sup>774</sup> Prus, 164-165.

<sup>775</sup> Smith, A.D. 12.

makes possible its acceptance by social strata with conflicting aims, with the result that a single national movement may accommodate various competing nationalisms.<sup>776</sup> Thus, the Ukrainian national movement included both the conservative nationalism of the higher urban clergy and the radical nationalism of the Ukrainian Military Organisation and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The nationalism of the village clergy seems to have fallen somewhere between these two types, caught as they were between their conservative superiors in the city and their radical neighbours in the countryside.

These types of nationalism, and the social groups by which they were borne, did indeed come into conflict. This was not only because of the differences in approach between the lay nationalists and the clergy, but also because of the inherent nature of nationalist ideology itself. Smith observes that a strong, developed nationalist movement, with its "set of clearly articulated myths and rites," is a kind of religion surrogate. Of course, it is not to be confused with religion, since it is limited to human, terrestrial categories. As "a secular doctrine of autonomy and individuality," nationalism generally meets the condemnation of traditionalist priests, who see it "as godless and arrogant perversion."<sup>777</sup> In particular, they are likely to object to the nationalist rejection of traditional, supernatural explanations of the nation's destiny, which is seen rather as "a theatre for social action which men by their own volition can mould to their ideals."<sup>778</sup> With its idealism, mysticism, messianism and call for sacrifice, not to mention its unique moral code (which even included a special nationalist "decologue"), Ukrainian nationalism as expounded by Dmytro Dontsov and his followers can indeed be seen as a religion surrogate.<sup>779</sup> At the same time, with its emphasis on voluntarism, heroism and violence, it represented a rejection or at least a modification of the Christian view of national destiny.

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<sup>776</sup> Smith, A.D. 24.

<sup>777</sup> Smith, A.D. 8-9, 19-20.

<sup>778</sup> Smith, A.D. 21.

<sup>779</sup> See Prus, 165 for examples of quasi-religious elements in Ukrainian nationalist ideology. These, of course, were put forth by nationalist authors to show that nationalism tended to harmonise with Christianity, rather than replace it. Prus also cites a work by D. Shtukal', *Nad svitom sijae khrest mecha* (L'viv, 1936), in which the author allegedly describes nationalism as a new religion, but one to which Christianity was not alien; indeed, the cross and sword, identical in their forms, symbolised the harmony of the two ideologies. Prus, 168.

Officially, OUN ideology was friendly toward the Church and toward religion in general. The decisions of the organisation's founding congress in January-February 1929 characterised religious belief as a personal matter, and guaranteed protection of "full liberty of religious conscience" by the future Ukrainian state. The Church was to be separated from the state, but some state control over the Church would be needed. In the matter of the moral upbringing of the nation, the state would cooperate with the Ukrainian clergy of the various denominations. Those cults which did not exhibit denationalising tendencies would be allowed to provide religious education in the schools. The Ukrainian state would encourage the development of a Ukrainian national Church independent of foreign religious authorities, as well as the Ukrainisation of religious cults functioning in the country.<sup>780</sup>

The problem of the relationship between Catholicism and ideological nationalism was one of which at least the leaders of the Greek-Catholic clergy were aware. A series of twelve public lectures sponsored by the Theological Scholarly Society and the Ukrainian Catholic Seniors in L'viv from January to April 1934 was to include a lecture on 25 March by Rev. Prof. Dr. Mykola Konrad of the L'viv Academy on "Catholicism and Nationalism."<sup>781</sup> The problem had been posed in 1922 by Rev. Dr. Havryil Kostel'nyk in an article in *Nyva*, reprinted as a pamphlet. Admitting that nationalism had become a leading force in society and that there was a tendency towards a "church nationalism," Rev. Kostel'nyk distinguished the notion that the clergy must be "sincerely national" from that of "church nationalism." The latter would lead to the creation of an autocephalous Church; for Catholics, however, there could be only one head of the Church, namely the Pope, and indeed only one Church, rather than a multiplicity of national Churches. Besides, wrote Kostel'nyk, church nationalism would lead to secularisation of the Church and to the apotheosis of the Nation, and thus to paganism. At the same time, the clergy had to be truly national, and to achieve this it had to "go to the people." It was precisely through its

<sup>780</sup> OUN v svitli postanov Velykykh Zboriv, Konferentsii ta inshykh dokumentiv z borot'by 1929-1955 r. Biblioteka ukrains'koho Pidpyl'nyka ch. 1 [München?] 1955, 14-15.

<sup>781</sup> *Nyva* 1934 no. 1, 37-38. Rev. Konrad, a married priest, was born in 1876 and ordained in 1899. Shematyzm l'viys'koi arkhieparchii 1935-36. L'viv, 1935, 16.

ability to create its own Christian social order that the Church could maintain its independence from the state -- by contrast with the Orthodox Church, which because of its retreat into feigned spirituality had allowed the State to dominate society. Thus, while he condemned church nationalism as leading to subordination of the Church to temporal power, he advocated national activity by the clergy as a means of promoting Christian values in society and protecting the Church from state interference.<sup>782</sup>

The church historian Mykola Chubatyi sought to define the relationship between national and spiritual re-birth in an article which appeared in "Nova Zoria" in 1927. Rejecting the materialistic notion of national re-birth through social revolution, he declared that the moral renewal of the individual was the basis of true re-birth. He criticised the idea, rooted in Caesaropapism, that religion and the Church should serve as means for furthering national interests. Religion had its own aims, directed towards enlivening the spirit of the individual and preparing him for moral action and sacrifice for the sake of others. It was precisely this renewal of the individual that would make possible the re-birth of the nation. Once Christian idealism conquered the souls of the people, the resurrection of Ukraine could come about.<sup>783</sup>

As Galician society became polarised between left and right in the 1930s, along with a general shift to the right among the intelligentsia, the distinction between anti-communism and radical nationalism became difficult to maintain. In Stanyslaviv, of course, Bishop Khomyshyn found no difficulty in combining a strong anti-communism with an antipathy to the nationalist movement.<sup>784</sup> However, there was some social pressure on the Church to adopt the nationalist stance, and with the perceived growth of communist sentiment (particularly after the disorders of 1936), nationalism may have seemed the only recourse. Thus, in 1937 the lay leader Markiiian Dzerovych wrote to Bishop Khomyshyn pointing out that nationalism was the only force besides Christianity that was able to counter-act

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<sup>782</sup> Kostel'nyk, Havryil. Narodnia chy vselens'ka tserkva? (reprinted from Nyva) L'viv, 1922, 3-6, 37-38.

<sup>783</sup> Chubatyi, Mykola. "Sil' natsii." "Nova Zoria" no. 16-17, 24 April 1927, p. 5.

<sup>784</sup> In his avoidance of church nationalism, Bishop Khomyshyn decreed in 1938 that priests may not commemorate the Ukrainian nation in the liturgy. Haidosh, A. & Kyryliuk, L., eds. Dokumenty rozpovidaiut'. Uzhhorod, 1971, 171.

communism, and urged the coexistence of nationalism and Catholicism. He felt that the ideology of the OUN harmonised the ideology of Christ with that of "healthy, creative Christian nationalism."<sup>785</sup> It is a commonplace in anti-Uniate polemics of Marxist-Leninist writers that the Greek-Catholic clergy favoured "Ukrainian fascism" in the form of the right-wing Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.<sup>786</sup> The Greek-Catholic clergy could look to Mussolini's Italy, where an accommodation between Church and State had been reached in 1929, for an example of an understanding between the Church and a fascist movement.<sup>787</sup> According to Edward Prus, on 1 October 1936 Rev. Myron Hornykevych of St. Barbara's Greek-Catholic church in Vienna wrote to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi warning him against a struggle on two fronts -- against the nationalists as well as the communists -- since it was the communists who were the real enemy.<sup>788</sup> On the other hand, both Italy and Germany could provide examples of outright conflict between Catholics and fascists.<sup>789</sup>

Reporting on the general meeting of the Society of St. Andrew in L'viv in 1935, Rev. Iuliiian Dzerovych noted that the head of the Society had spoken in the autumn of 1934 with the Apostolic Visitor Jan Hudenek and had refuted "the unjust calumnies against our clergy, which supposedly is educating its faithful in a radically chauvinistic, ultranational spirit." He also reported that the English press had carried libelous accounts of clerical participation in anti-Semitic actions in Galicia.<sup>790</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Six, official

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<sup>785</sup> Haidosh & Kyryliuk 17, 60, 159-164 (letter of 4 January 1937); Prus, 165, 166-167. Prus cites two letters, one written on 4 January and the other on 14 February 1937.

<sup>786</sup> See, for example, Prus, Edward. *Władysław Świątojurski*. Warszawa, 1985, 161-164. Prus' analysis is more refined than that of his Soviet predecessors: he acknowledges that both clergy and bishops varied in their attitudes towards nationalism, and that those who did favour fascism looked to the Italian rather than the German model.

<sup>787</sup> Haidosh & Kyryliuk 20 (citing "Nova Zoria," 5 May 1933); Prus, 164. Prus notes that Greek-Catholic priests were under the impression, after the Lateran treaties of 1929 and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), that Pope Pius XI supported the Italian fascist movement, which served as a model for the OUN.

<sup>788</sup> Prus, 168-169. Prus cites as his source the Central State Historical Archive in L'viv, fond 408 op. 1 spr. 202 ark. 287.

<sup>789</sup> Holmes, J. Derek & Bickers, Bernard W. *A Short History of the Catholic Church*. Tunbridge Wells, 1984, 261-271.

<sup>790</sup> Dzerovych, Iuliiian. "Zahal'ni Zbory 'Tov. sv. Andreia' u L'vovi," *Nyva* 1935 no. 3, 108.



Polish sources contain many reports of nationalistic activity by Greek-Catholic priests in the 1930s.

Nevertheless, the rise of an organised, conspiratorial nationalist movement posed a serious challenge to the Ukrainian clergy and the Church as a whole. They could not condone acts such as the attempted assassination of President Wojciechowski by the Ukrainian Military Organisation in 1924, or the successful assassination of a Polish school superintendent two years later. In 1929-1930 the newly formed Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) conducted a series of bombings, attacks on post offices, sabotage of railways and telegraph facilities, and burning of estates.<sup>791</sup> The Polish journalist and politician Tadeusz Hołowko, an advocate of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation, was murdered in 1931. On 15 June 1934 the OUN assassinated the Minister of Internal Affairs Bronisław Pieracki in Warsaw. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi sent condolences to the Premier.<sup>792</sup> On 25 July OUN member Roman Savchuk shot and killed the Ukrainian secondary school director Ivan Babii, the first director of the Archeparchial Institute of Catholic Action and an organiser of the previous year's "Ukrainian Youth for Christ" rally (see below), who had forbidden OUN recruitment among his students. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi denounced the action in no uncertain terms.<sup>793</sup>

<sup>791</sup> Yaremko, Michael. *Galicia - Halychyna (A Part of Ukraine): From Separation to Unity*. Shevchenko Scientific Society Ukrainian Studies vol. 18, English Section vol. 3. Toronto-New York-Paris, 1967, 240.

<sup>792</sup> Prus, 160. "Nova Zoria" year IX, no. 45 (743)(21 June 1934) p. 1. Pieracki was born in Galicia in 1894 and took part in the Polish battle for L'viv in 1919. He was elected a deputy to the Sejm in 1928, became minister without portfolio in 1930, and Minister of Internal Affairs in 1931. The same issue of "Nova Zoria" that reported his death carried the text of the President's decree of 17 June 1934 providing for concentration camps. Id. p. 4.

<sup>793</sup> Ivan Babii (1893-1934) had also been an officer of the Ukrainian Galician Army. For a biographical note see Kubijovyc, Volodymyr, ed. *Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva*. Naukove Товариство ім. Шевченка. vol. I. Paris-New York, 1955, 78. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi denounced the criminality not only of the murder by "Ukrainian terrorists," but also of their campaign to recruit youth into underground activity. He also characterised the clergy and episcopate as a barrier to this "criminal and foolish work." The metropolitan stressed that "a crime is always a crime, that one cannot serve a holy cause with blood-stained hands." He who demoralises youth, he wrote, is "a criminal and an enemy of the people." "Holos Mytropolyta," "Dilo" no. 205 (5 August 1934), p. 3. The declaration was given at Pidliute on St. Elijah's Day (3 August) 1934. On the assassination, see "Dilo" no. 196 (27 July 1934) p. 1, no. 197 (28 July 1934) pp. 3-4, no. 199 (30 July 1934) p. 5, no. 202 (3 August 1934) pp. 3-4, and no. 203 (4 August 1934) pp. 3-4. See also "Nova Zoria" no. 57 (755)(2 August 1934), p. 4 (with resume of Bishop Buchko's funeral speech).

Perhaps the first major test of clerical-nationalist relations in Galicia, however, was the "Youth for Christ" congress which took place in L'viv on 5-7 May 1933. Bishop Ivan Buchko of L'viv headed the commission organising this massive youth rally on the nineteenth centenary of the Redemption. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists opposed the event and sought to discourage the youth from attending it. Nevertheless, some 100,000 young persons from all over Galicia participated. Greeting them at the opening of the event on Saturday, 6 May, Bishop Buchko expressed his joy that they had overcome all obstacles to come to L'viv. On the next day a mass was celebrated, a message from the Pope was read out, and the participants took an oath of fidelity to Christ. An attempt by the Communist Youth League to hand out leaflets was quickly foiled. A massive march proceeded past a dais before St. George's Cathedral, where Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi blessed the crowd. At a programme held that evening at the Great Theatre, a choir sang the Papal hymn in Italian, and the student R. Montsibovych, remarking that paganism was now being re-born in the form of fanatical nationalism, called upon Ukrainians to stand up in the battle against paganism.<sup>794</sup>

According to one account, the OUN's opposition to the "Ukrainian Youth for Christ" rally resulted from the organisers' refusal to retract an invitation to representatives of the Polish state authorities and the Polish episcopate to sit in the "honorary presidium." Thus, the conflict is described as political, not religious.<sup>795</sup> Whatever the case may have been, what is significant here is that in the struggle between the clergy and the OUN activists to win the loyalty of Ukrainian Galician youth, in this instance the clergy clearly won.

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<sup>794</sup> A. Ch. Ukrains'ka Molod' Khrystovi, (offprint from "Nova Zoria") L'viv, 1933, 1-14. By another account, the number of participants was 50,000. Dobrians'kyi, Mykhailo Demkovych. "Nash oboviazok -- protestuvaty proty nepravdy." Nash Holos vol. XX no. 4 (April 1988), 65-67. Dobrians'kyi states that there had not been such an imposing manifestation in L'viv since the 1914 Shevchenko commemoration. Id. 65. Both Dobrians'kyi and Sokhots'kyi hold that the OUN opposed the manifestation. Dobrians'kyi 65; Sokhots'kyi 98.

<sup>795</sup> Mirchuk, Petro. Narys istorii Orhanizatsii Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv, vol. I (1920-1939). Munich-London-New York, 1968, 330. Dobrians'kyi rejects this explanation, pointing out that after Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's rebuff by the Pilsudski regime during the pacification in the autumn of 1930, he would not have invited Polish representatives to the event. He also notes that Bishop Buchko later wrote to Mirchuk, protesting against this false explanation. Dobrians'kyi, 66.

Nevertheless, it was also clear that the clergy's role as leaders of the people was being challenged directly. In order to maintain their lead, they would have to mobilise the laity towards a programme of social action offering a real alternative to the nationalist programme. There was of course a danger of involving the Church in politics. If the nationalists insisted on characterising religious activities as political, as in the "Youth for Christ" affair, this could hardly be avoided. Indeed, during this time religious matters were becoming politicised, while with the growth of mystical-revolutionary nationalism, politics was becoming spiritualised. The clergy would have to find a way to lead the people towards spiritual goals that transcended the political goals towards which the radical nationalists were beckoning.

One answer was to found a Ukrainian Catholic organisation that could influence public, especially political life. In October 1930, with the Galician Ukrainians frightened and demoralised by the brutal "pacification" in the countryside, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi prompted several lay and clerical leaders, including Rev. Petro Holyns'kyi and Rev. Iosyf Rakovs'kyi, to organise the Ukrainian Catholic People's Party. The Party would disseminate Catholic social teaching, advocating social harmony in a corporative social structure, and opposing the notion of class struggle. On 22 October 1930 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi declared the need for a Ukrainian Christian organisation maintaining a position of legality vis a vis the state while seeking to develop Ukrainian culture, education, prosperity and civil rights. Members would be free in matters of political activity as long as they acted according to Catholic faith and morals. This declaration was republished in March of the following year as the programme of the new Ukrainian Catholic Union in its organ, the newspaper "Meta."<sup>796</sup> To these were added the Catholic Action movement (see Chapter Five) and the Catholic Action of

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<sup>796</sup> "Meta" (L'viv) year I, no. 1 (15 March 1931), p. 1. Originally it had been published in the L'viv secular daily "Dilo" on 26 October 1930. The Union was founded at a meeting on 1 January 1931. "Meta" was edited by Rev. Petro Khomyn, later editor of *Nyva*. In 1932 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, stating that the idea of a "Catholic political party" was a contradiction in terms, reaffirmed that the Ukrainian Catholic Union was not a political organisation. Politics meant controversy, whereas the Party's goals were not controversial among the Ukrainians, who supported them unanimously -- though "others," who might not agree with these goals, could consider them "political." Andrei, Mytropolyt. "Ukrains'kyi Katolyts'kyi Soiuz i Polityka." "Meta," year II, no. 14 (56)(10 April 1932), p. 1.

Ukrainian Youth. The Catholic activist Volodymyr Detsykevych allegedly told Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi that all the bishops and prominent priests had joined in the work of the Ukrainian Catholic Union.<sup>797</sup>

To some Polish observers, the Greek-Catholic clergy was excessively nationalistic. Henryk Ignacy Lubieński remarked in 1934 that he doubted that the Galician Ukrainians felt much sympathy for the Uniates of Kholm (Chełm) who had suffered persecution in connection with the imposition of Orthodoxy by Russia in 1875, especially those who had joined the Latin rite after the Edict of Toleration of 1905. The reason was that these Uniates had become Poles, whereas if they had converted to Orthodoxy they might still have become Ukrainians. To the Greek-Catholic clergy, wrote Lubieński, the plight of these ex-Uniates was not nearly as important as the Austrian persecution of the Orthodox just before and during World War One. As a result of nationalist antagonisms, the Uniate tradition had lost its most important values; indeed, Ruthenian nationalism sometimes portrayed the Union itself as a Polish-Roman intrigue. Greek-Catholic priests feared latinisation; some complained of Polish influence in the Roman Curia. Nationalism, characterised by a hatred of Poland, had ruined the Uniate traditions and strengthened those of Orthodoxy.<sup>798</sup> Lubieński continued:

In such a state of affairs it is not strange that the Church, the sacristy, the rectory, and even the pulpit and the confessional often are becoming a point of support or a site of militant nationalism; that acts of violence, sabotage and terror have been accepted by the broad masses of the clergy not only in silence, but even with their moral ratification; that in relation to the elemental power represented by nationalism, Catholicism can barely vegetate; that nationalism is creating a chasm between Greek and Latin Catholicism which is a threat to the unity of the Catholic Church and to the idea of this Church's universality.<sup>799</sup>

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<sup>797</sup> Danylenko, S.T. *Dorohoju han'by i zrazy*. Kiev, 1970, 121-122. The author of this highly polemical work does not cite a source for the latter assertion. Detsykevych was head of the Ukrainian Catholic Union and publisher of "Meta."

<sup>798</sup> Lubieński, Henryk Ignacy. "Kościoł Grecko-Katolicki w województwach południowo-wschodnich." *Sprawy Narodowościowe* year VIII no. 5-6 (October-December 1934), 546-549.

<sup>799</sup> Lubieński 552-553.

As an example of nationalism amongst the Greek-Catholic clergy, Lubieński cited the fact that the clergy of the Stanyslaviv eparchy silently acquiesced or even took part in the campaign against their Bishop. In Lubieński's view, Bishop Khomyshyn desired to take nationalism in a new direction, one in accord with the teaching of Christ.<sup>800</sup>

Some Greek-Catholic parish priests did sense the tendency of politics, including nationalist politics, to overshadow their work. On 14 October 1936 Rev. Roman Starodub spoke at the Bukova deanery meeting (Peremyshl' eparchy) on the topic "How Should one Strive to Revive and Uplift Practical Religiosity in the Parish?" Approved by the priests in attendance, who resolved to be guided by it in their pastoral work, the talk enumerated, among the various ills of the age, Bolshevism and "extreme national chauvinism."<sup>801</sup>

At the meeting of the Korosno (Krosno) deanery of 24 June 1937, Rev. Aleksii Bilevych spoke on the theme "A Popular [narodna] or a Catholic [soborna] Church?" He criticised nationalism for putting the nation above all other things, including faith and religion, as in Germany. This attitude, he added, could be found among Ukrainians too. Although nationalism in the sense of a love for one's people was good, the love of God must come first. The nationalists, however, put the nation before God, and sought to make the Church "narodna." Orthodoxy could be seen as a "Greek national schism" resulting from excessive national pride. Complaints about "latinisation" and "polonisation" were merely rationalisations for church populism. Rev. Bilevych stated that the Church of Christ could not be "narodna," for the teaching of Christ is for all nations. It is a supra-national, catholic (soborna) Church. In fact, as an international phenomenon it coincides with Communism, and for this reason the Hitlerites accuse the Catholic clergy of communist sympathies. Of course, the Church respects national cultures and national rights. It even develops patriotism among the faithful. However, it develops a patriotism that "rests on higher foundations than those of the nationalists -- for [it rests] upon the Lord God." Unlike a national Church, the Catholic Church wisely reconciles a people's eternal interests with its secular interests. Thus, the

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<sup>800</sup> Lubieński 553.

<sup>801</sup> WAP-P, AAL 39, pp. 56-58.

Church not only leads the people to eternal life, but teaches it a healthy patriotism and nationalism which proceed from the faith and the Commandments. By contrast false nationalism -- that is, nationalism without God -- leads to Communism. In the discussion following Fr. Bilevych's talk, Rev. Mykhailo Tsolta remarked that the foundation of nationalism was materialism. The dean, Rev. Klufas, added that a national Church could not be "soborna" ("catholic"), because it did not satisfy man's spiritual needs.<sup>802</sup>

At the meeting of the Zhukotyn deanery of 1 June 1939 Rev. Teodor Boiko predicted that the Boshevik and nationalist camps would arise among the Ukrainian people "as nowhere else. " "Our task, therefore, is through hard work not only to paralyse all influences of Bolshevism and atheism in the national camp, but also to cleanse the national camp itself from the fatal tenets of modern times." This could only be done by reviving the apostolic spirit of the early Christians.<sup>803</sup>

The outbreak of war a few months later cut short the evolution of Greek-Catholic clerical thought on the question of nationalism as an ideology, as well as the development of relations between the clergy and the secular nationalist intelligentsia. Thus, neither the ideological conflict nor the practical question of cooperation or competition between the two groups was ever resolved.

### 3. The Clerical Vanguard

It does appear that at least some Greek-Catholic parish priests had a strong sense of mission. "A new Christian age is being created before our very eyes, and it is being created by enthusiastic labourers, apostles of the Kingdom of Christ," wrote Rev. Vasyl' Pryshliak in *Nyva* in 1935.<sup>804</sup> At a meeting of the Ukrainian Catholic Union in 1934, another priest stated that "We are the vanguard of Catholic Europe."<sup>805</sup> In February of that year a priest writing anonymously in

<sup>802</sup> WAP-P, AAL 40, pp. 25-30. See also Chapter Six, Part 2.

<sup>803</sup> WAP-P, ABGK 5575, p. 690.

<sup>804</sup> Pryshliak, Vasyl'. "Novi zavdannia Tov. sv. Andreia," *Nyva* 1935, no. 4-5 (April-May), 123. Fr. Pryshliak, parish priest at Pidhirtsi in the Oles'ko deanery of the L'viv archeparchy, was born in 1890 and ordained as a married man in 1920. Shematyzm dukhovenstva l'vivskoi arkhieparchii 1935-1936. L'viv, 1935, 218.

<sup>805</sup> Haidosh & Kyryliuk 151.

*Nyva* proposed as a goal of the Greek-Catholic clergy "to seek all possible ways by which we can revive today's paganised world."<sup>806</sup>

Whatever might be the special mission of the Greek-Catholic clergy, it required a special type of individual. According to "a young priest" writing in "Nova Zoria" in 1927, "today the spirit of the age requires a type of priest different from those of several decades ago." To produce this new type of priest was the task of the seminaries. "Today a priest is expected to come to the village with total initiative with regard to all manifestations of social life." Among other things, the priest had to be familiar with the aims of his Church's enemies.<sup>807</sup> Such a new type of clergy could in fact be regarded as a new elite. Based on the philosophical writings of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and forming an important part of the nationalist philosophy, there arose in Ukrainian Galician society the concept of Ukrainian elitism and even messianism, in which the central role was to be played by the Greek-Catholic clerical elite.<sup>808</sup>

If the clerical elite was to provide leadership for Ukrainian society, whether as an alternative to the nationalist vanguard or in cooperation with it, it had to point toward a concrete goal. Such a goal was provided by the ideal of Union. Insofar as Union meant the unification of all Ukrainians in a single Church, it was in harmony with two goals of Ukrainian nationalism: the creation of a single Ukrainian state, and the defeat of atheistic Communism. The broader understanding of Union, for example as envisaged by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, meant the eventual merger of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches and the conversion of the peoples of the Soviet Union. It involved the creation of a Russian and a Belorussian Catholic Church of the eastern rite -- a task begun by Sheptyts'kyi during his sojourn in Russia in 1914-1917, and one obviously favoured by Rome, particularly after the prophecies of Fatima.

The goal of church Union extended the parish priest's horizons well beyond the parish. Citing a "secret" pastoral letter of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi addressed to his clergy and dated 9 December 1917, Edward Prus claims that the Metropolitan saw the

<sup>806</sup> o. I. Ia. "My vynni. Iak zaradyty?" *Nyva* 1934 no. 2 (February) 59.

<sup>807</sup> "Pratsia chy baiduzhist'?" "Nova Zoria" no. 4 (155), 30 January 1927, p. 5.

<sup>808</sup> Prus, Edward. *Władyka świętojurski*. Warsaw, 1985, 117 (citing an article on Catholic Action which appeared in "Meta" on 27 May 1934).

Austro-German offensive of that year as an opportunity for the Greek-Catholic clergy (presumably referring to those serving as chaplains in the Ukrainian *Sich* Riflemen) to carry the missionary work of Union into Russia.<sup>809</sup> The Rules of the L'viv theological seminary stated explicitly that the Ukrainian clergy had the special responsibility to carry out the will of Pope Urban VIII, "per vos mei Rutheni Orientem convertendum spero." The Rules also stated that they must be ready for self-denial and sacrifice.<sup>810</sup> At the very beginning of his reign as Metropolitan, Andrei Sheptyts'kyi had called upon his priests to prepare for a sacrifice of blood.<sup>811</sup>

It was thus only natural that the Greek-Catholic clergy's sense of mission should often be expressed in martial terms. In his 1905 pastoral letter to the clergy of the Stanyslaviv eparchy on the activity of priests, Bishop Khomyshyn berated them for their worldly ways, lamenting the lack of "souls strongly tempered for holy battle."<sup>812</sup> After 1917, the militant anti-religious policy of the Bolsheviks and, in the late 1930s, the atmosphere of impending war, rendered the possibility of self-sacrifice altogether likely and the martial metaphor all too appropriate. In the introduction to the 1937 student almanac of the Peremyshl' seminary, the editors wrote that "we live on the borderlands of the Catholic Church along which, like the first columns of soldiers on the front, we struggle in direct conflict with hellish enemies, in order to hold the Church's positions."<sup>813</sup> Rev. Shranakh of the Peremyshl' eparchy, speaking at Dobrohostiv on 29 November 1934 on the subject of Catholic Action, elaborated the metaphor:

<sup>809</sup> Prus, Edward. *Władcy świętojurski*. Warsaw, 1985, 58.

<sup>810</sup> Pravyla dlia pytomtsiv hreko-katolyts'koi dukhovnoi seminarii u L'vovi (3rd ed.). Asketychna Biblioteka vol. 2. L'viv, 1929, 5-6. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter of 26 November 1907 had exhorted the clergy to be prepared for sacrifice; it was quoted in the 1908 seminary rules along with the passage from Pope Urban VIII. Pravyla pytomtsiv ruskoho semynara dukhovnoho u L'vovi. L'viv, 1908, 4.

<sup>811</sup> Sheptyts'kyi, Andrei. "Pro dostoinstvo i oboviazky sviashchenykyv" (Krekhiv, St. Anthony's Day 1901), in Sheptyts'kyi, A. Tvory (Moral'no-Pastoral'ni). Universitas Catolica Ucraina, Editiones vol. LVI-LVIII. Rym, 1983, p. 186.

<sup>812</sup> Poslanie pastyrskie Hryhoriia Khomyshyna episkopa stanislavivskoho do dukhoven'stva svoiei eparkhii o diial'nosti sviashchennichii. (given 19 August 1905) Stanislaviv, 1905, 14.

<sup>813</sup> "Slovo" [introduction], Al'mankakh ukrains'kykh bohoslaviv. Peremyshl', 1937, 11-12. The introduction, written in 1936, is signed by the board of editors consisting of Iaroslav Skopliak, Ivan Tetierka, Pavlo Bryts'kyi, and their "leader" Rev. Dr. Volodymyr Holyns'kyi.



Let every pastor remember that he becomes a general who must train soldiers who, under the banner of Christ and in the name of His lofty ideas, would go boldly and bravely to battle and victory to win humanity for the Kingdom of Christ.<sup>814</sup>

In his talk before the Zhukotyn deanery meeting cited above, Rev. Teodor Boiko said that at a time when "we stand on the threshold of great changes, and at the same time perhaps of great ruin and destruction, we priests, as almost the sole leaders of the people, have the weighty responsibility to arm the people spiritually."<sup>815</sup> Looking back on the inter-war period, one author has called the graduates of the L'viv academy the "vanguard" which would break down the wall between the Christian East and West.<sup>816</sup>

Thus, at a time of feverish nationalism and anticipation of war in the East, the Greek-Catholic clergy offered Ukrainian society a vision of reconciliation between East and West through a Union of Churches, expressed in martial images. At the same time it presented a Catholic alternative to the nationalist and communist ideologies. In doing so, it made its bid to regain the leadership of Ukrainian Galician society as a new clerical elite, wavering between competition and cooperation with the Ukrainian secular intelligentsia.

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<sup>814</sup> "Pidhotovcha pratsia dushpastyria do Katolyts'koi Aktsii," in WAP-P, ABKG 9453, p. 20.

<sup>815</sup> WAP-P, ABKG 5575, p. 690.

<sup>816</sup> Senytsia, Pavlo, ed. Svityl'nyk istyny. Part I. Toronto, 1973, 467.

## CONCLUSION

### The Transformation of the Greek-Catholic Clergy in Galicia

Most of the conclusions reached in this dissertation confirm common views. Between 1900 and 1939, the Old Ruthenian tendency dwindled to extinction in most of Galicia, although in an unexpected way the Russophile and Orthodox motifs would later be taken up with the formal absorption of the Greek-Catholic Church by the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946. The Greek-Catholic clergy became almost solidly Ukrainian in national orientation, and for the most part moderately nationalist in political sympathies. It remained divided, however, between the Byzantinist and the Westernising (or latinising) tendencies, with the former predominating. Less familiar is its attitude towards secular culture, which in some cases was ambiguous but which on the whole involved a ready adoption of the version of Ukrainian history and culture being put forward by the national intelligentsia. In adopting this version, the clergy to some extent resolved, to some extent ignored certain apparent problems and contradictions arising from a strictly Catholic point of view.

The common view that the Greek-Catholic clergy cooperated with the secular nationalist movement, although generally true, requires some refinement. There seems little support for the notion, advanced by Soviet historiography, that the clergy uniformly supported the radical nationalists. As has been seen, not only the episcopate but a number of parish priests could not reconcile ideological Ukrainian nationalism (integral nationalism) with Christian ethics. On the other hand, a more moderate kind of nationalism appears to have found almost universal support among the Greek-Catholic clergy. Nevertheless, while the parish priests may not have been concerned with theoretical inconsistencies between religion and nationalism, and could work with the village intelligentsia, the ultimate conflict in values and the question of social leadership were never resolved. The events of the war and the liquidation of the Church in 1945-1946 froze the status quo of 1939.

In view of wartime and post-war events, the ideal of Union has been obscured. As has been seen, it became an important element in the developing "mentality" of the Greek-Catholic clergy in Galicia,

due in great part to the ecumenical guidance of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. His vision of church Union, extending beyond the horizons of contemporary nationalism, was grasped by few and certainly went beyond the concerns of the average parish priest. However, it did animate some seminary graduates. Although the events of both world wars at first seemed to open up possibilities for Union work, in the event this ideal was frustrated by post-war fortunes. Just as a number of issues debated during the period under study were never resolved, so the process of the transformation of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy was never completed. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's educational reforms had little time to bear fruit. The consequences of compulsory clerical celibacy could never be studied under normal conditions. The ideal of a clerical vanguard prepared to lead Ukrainian society at home and spread the Union abroad remained largely an ideal, though one of which many clerics were vividly conscious.

However, the metamorphosis of the Greek-Catholic priesthood did prepare it for the trials predicted by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, Bishop Khomyshyn and other leaders. The clergy of 1945-1946 was well prepared to endure the hardships of arrest, exile, persecution and the life of a catacomb Church. In large measure, the changes that took place amongst the clergy between 1900 and 1939 made possible the survival of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church as an illegal body for 43 years.

## NOTE ON SOURCES

There is no published study covering the subject of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy from 1900 to 1939. F.I. Titov's detailed (if opinionated) eyewitness description of this group as it existed at the beginning of the period, Russkoe dukhovenstvo v Galitsii (Kiev, 1903), unfortunately has not been complemented by later accounts. However, a number of published works deal with related subjects, in particular with the Greek-Catholic Church during this period.

A useful survey of post-war Polish historiography on the Second Republic was published in volume LXIX of Przegląd Historyczny in 1978 by Andrzej Garlicki, Tomasz Nałęcz, and Wiesław Władyka. According to this article, the most fertile research on inter-war Poland had been conducted in the 1960s, with Wiesław Mysłek producing notable studies of the Catholic Church. The only significant work concerning the Greek-Catholic Church between 1900 and 1939 to have been produced in Poland since 1978 is Edward Prus' polemical but informative study of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi (Władyka świętojurski, 1985). However, the article by Fr. Tadeusz Śliwa on the Greek-Catholic Church in the inter-war period which appeared in the collection Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej, published in 1980 at the Catholic University of Lublin under the editorship of Zygmunt Zieliński and Stanisław Wilk, summarises a good deal of basic information. Also worthy of mention is Andrzej Zięba's detailed and objective review article of Prus' work, in Kwartalnik Historyczny (1986).

Soviet studies of the Greek-Catholic Church, among which S.T. Danylenko's Dorohoiu han'by i zrazy ("By the Road of Shame and Treason," Kiev, 1970) and Klym Dmytruk's Pid shtandartamy reaktsii i fashyzmu (Kiev, 1976) can be regarded as typical, can be informative but, as these titles suggest, are so polemical as to be of little value in terms of analysis.

The work of Ukrainian emigre authors has mostly focused on the person of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi (Baran, Doroshenko, Korolevskij, Laba, Prokoptschuk) and to a lesser extent on that of his bishops (Mel'nychuk, Nazarko). Some of these tend to the panegyric or the eulogy.

Recent western works such as John-Paul Himka's studies of the national movement in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Galicia, and the collection Morality and Reality, on Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi (Paul R. Magocsi, editor; Edmonton, 1989) throw some light on the life of the clergy. With regard to approach and analysis, Gregory Freeze's studies of the Russian Orthodox parish clergy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (1977, 1983) have served as a partial model for this dissertation as well as a basis for comparison.

Considerable insight into the developing mentality of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy is provided by works published by the priests themselves during the period under study (e.g., Rev. Havryil Kostel'nyk). Among these are polemical pamphlets (Korytko, Pryslopskii, Stefanovych). Those written by Polish Latin-rite priests (Borodzicz) or laymen give some idea of the atmosphere in which the Greek-Catholic clergy lived and worked.

Although few, published memoirs by Greek-Catholic priests concerning the period under study are invaluable. Chief among these are the lengthy reminiscences of Rev. O. Prystai, Rev. Fylymon Tarnavs'kyi, and Rev. Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, as well as the shorter wartime memoir of Rev. Petro Holyns'kyi and the seminary reminiscences of Rev. Osyp Ostashevs'kyi and Rev. Nykolai Voiakovs'kyi. The score or so of anthologies of articles and reminiscences on various regions of western Ukraine published in recent decades in the United States and Canada contain some material on the Greek-Catholic clergy. The third volume of Svityl'nyk Istyny (Chicago, 1983) includes several brief memoirs on seminary life.

Apart from monographs and articles, the prime published source for the Greek-Catholic clergy is the schematism, a periodical (usually annual) directory of the parishes and clergy of a given eparchy (diocese). Schematisms for the L'viv archeparchy and the Peremyshl' and Stanyslaviv eparchies are available for most years within the period under study.

Of published documents relevant to the Greek-Catholic clergy between 1900 and 1939, the most important are the various pastoral letters of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the bishops of Peremyshl' and Stanyslaviv. Some of the Metropolitan's pastoral letters are included in the first volume of his works published in Toronto in

1965; this, however, covers only the first eight months of his tenure. Naturally, certain Papal encyclicals, published in the Acta Apostolicae Sedis, are of relevance as well. The proceedings of the Provincial Synod held at L'viv in 1891 were published in 1896; these, along with the published documents of the L'viv (1905), Peremyshl' (1898) and Stanyslaviv (1908) eparchial synods, are an essential source.

The most important archival collections remain on the territory of the Halych Metropolitanate, which is split between the USSR and Poland. On the Polish side are to be found the collections of the Greek-Catholic bishopric and cathedral chapter of Przemyśl, as well as of the Lemko Apostolic Administration. All three collections are in the state archive of the Przemyśl województwo at Przemyśl.

The major problem in research for this dissertation was the inaccessibility (until very recently) of archival materials to be found in the Soviet Union. An excellent bibliography and institutional directory for Soviet Ukrainian archives is the first book of Patricia Kennedy Grimsted's Archives and Manuscript Depositories in the USSR, Ukraine and Moldavia (Princeton, 1988). The Central State Historical Archive in L'viv contains some 900 collections, some of which concern the Greek-Catholic clergy. About a third of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's archive reportedly is contained in collection 358. It may well contain copies of reports by the Metropolitan on the condition of his clergy. Until recently, this collection was available only to a few Soviet scholars and almost completely inaccessible to foreign scholars. Also useful, presumably, would be collections 201 (Metropolitan Consistory) and 408 (Metropolitan Ordinariat), which should contain material on administrative and disciplinary matters concerning parish priests. Collection 451, on the L'viv Theological Academy, would be of obvious value. According to reports, all the collections in the archive are now being made available.

Various archives beyond the territory of the Halych Metropolitanate contain relevant materials. The collections of the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Education and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the Archiwum Akt Nowych in Warsaw contain valuable information on Greek-Catholic priests in the inter-war period. In London, the Archive of the Polish Institute contains

important Polish government collections such as those of the ambassador to the Holy See, Papée. The State Archive at Vienna contains material on the Greek-Catholic clergy during World War I. The collection of the Polish Embassy in Washington, D.C. at the Hoover Institution in Stanford, California includes some material on Ukrainians in the Republic of Poland, including the Greek-Catholic Church.

For purposes of this dissertation a survey questionnaire was sent out to 29 Greek-Catholic priests ordained in the three Galician eparchies before September 1939. Seven responded. Personal interviews were also conducted with five priests (two of them tape-recorded) and one lay activist (tape-recorded) of the pre-war period. While of very limited statistical value due to the smallness of the sample, these materials contain many details which tend to confirm or qualify the conclusions reached on the basis of other sources.

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## **9. Survey materials**

Questionnaires to parish priests ordained for the three Galician eparchies in 1939 or earlier, and notes from interviews.

## **10. Audio materials**

Recorded interviews with Mykhailo Demkovych Dobrians'kyi, London (1986-1987).

Recorded interview with Rev. Stepan Dziubyna, Przemyśl (21 November 1988).

Recorded interview with Rev. Ivan Hrynioch, Munich (17 March 1989).



## APPENDIX I: CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

1891 Ruthenian Provincial Synod of L'viv; Pope Leo XIII issues encyclical *Rerum Novarum*; Bishop Iuliiian Pelesh of Stanyslaviv becomes Bishop of Peremyshl'; Iuliiian Sas-Kuilovs'kyi becomes Bishop of Stanyslaviv

1896 Death of Bishop Iuliiian Pelesh of Peremyshl'; he is succeeded by Bishop Konstantyn Chekhovych

1897 Iuliiian Bachyns'kyi publishes *Ukraina Irredenta*

1898 Death of Metropolitan of Halych, Sylvester Cardinal Sembratovych; Peremyshl' eparchial synod

1899 Hegumen Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, OSBM nominated and consecrated as Bishop of Stanyslaviv; Bishop Iuliiian Sas-Kuilovs'kyi of Stanyslaviv is enthroned Metropolitan of Halych; Ukrainian National-Democratic Party formed

1900 Death of Metropolitan Iuliiian Sas-Kuilovs'kyi; Bishop Andrei Sheptyts'kyi nominated as Greek-Catholic archbishop of L'viv, Metropolitan of Halych, and Bishop of Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi; rise of Polish National-Democrats ("Endeky")

1901 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi installed at St. George's Cathedral, L'viv (17 January); appointed vice-marshal of Galician diet (October)

1901-1902 Secession of Ruthenian students of L'viv University; Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi begins seminary reform

1902 Agricultural strike in Galicia

1903 Death of Pope Leo XIII and election of Pope Pius X; Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi is appointed member of the House of Lords of the Parliament and to the Imperial Ministerial Council

1904 Hryhorii Khomyshyn is appointed Bishop of Stanyslaviv; *Nyva* begins publication

1905 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi establishes the Ukrainian National Museum in L'viv (building is opened in 1913); L'viv archeparchial council (sobor) is held (28-29 December)

1906 L'viv archeparchial pilgrimage to the Holy Land; foundation of Stanyslaviv theological seminary

1907 Pope Pius X condemns Modernism; Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi attends and presides over ecumenical congress at Velehrad, Moravia; universal suffrage and direct vote introduced for parliamentary elections

1908 Count Andrzej Potocki, Viceroy of Galicia, is assassinated by Ukrainian student Myroslav Sichyns'kyi (12 April); Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi condemns the act in a pastoral letter; Stanyslaviv eparchial synod

1909 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi presides over second ecumenical congress at Velehrad

1914 Death of Pope Pius X and election of Pope Benedict XIV; electoral reform approved in Galicia (January); World War begins (July-August); Russian army takes L'viv (3 September); Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi arrested (19 September); Russophiles tried for treason

1914-1915 Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia; Russian seige of Peremyshl' (Przemyśl)

1915 Death of Bishop Konstantyn Chekhovych of Peremyshl'; Austrian seige of Peremyshl'

1916 Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi, OSBM is nominated Bishop of Peremyshl'; Brusilov offensive and second Russian occupation of Galicia; Central Powers proclaim Kingdom of Poland; death of Ivan Franko

1917 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi returns from Russian exile to L'viv (10 September); Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi, OSBM enthroned at Peremyshl' (23 September)

1918 Ukrainian Popular Republic declares independence in Kiev (22 January); Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (8 February); Emperor Charles

abdicates (31 October); Galician Ukrainians establish Western Ukrainian Popular Republic and Polish-Ukrainian war begins with Ukrainian seizure of L'viv (Lemberg, Lwów) (1 November); World War ends and Polish state is founded (11 November)

1919 Union of Western Ukrainian Popular Republic with Ukrainian Popular Republic declared (22 January); Polish forces drive Western Ukrainian forces beyond river Zbruch and take control of Galicia (July); Minorities Treaty

1920 Piłsudski and Petliura sign military agreement at Warsaw (April); Polish and Ukrainian forces take Kiev (May); Bolsheviks counter-attack (June-August); Galician Revolutionary Committee briefly rules part of the province; Poles repulse Bolsheviks at Warsaw (August); compulsory priestly celibacy introduced in Stanyslaviv eparchy

1921 Treaty of Riga leaves Eastern Galicia to Poland; Polish Constitution enacted; Ukrainian Military Organisation formed

1922 Death of Pope Benedict XV and election of Pope Pius XI; Ukrainians boycott Polish elections; Sejm passes law on autonomy

1923 Council of Ambassadors gives Poland mandate over Eastern Galicia (14-15 March); Metropolitan returns to L'viv after extensive international travel (5 October); Theological Scholarly Society is founded in L'viv

1924 Grabski laws enacted (July)

1925 Polish Concordat signed (10 February); Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (UNDO) founded; compulsory priestly introduced in Peremyshl' eparchy

1926 Coup d'etat by Józef Piłsudski (May); Hryhorii Lakota consecrated auxiliary Bishop of Stanyslaviv; Ukrainian Catholic Popular Party formed; "Nova Zoria" begins publication

1927 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi presides over Fifth Ecumenical Congress at Velehrad

1928 Greek-Catholic Theological Academy established at L'viv

1929 Ivan Buchko consecrated auxiliary Bishop of L'viv; Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists founded in Vienna; first conference of all Eastern-rite Slavic bishops convenes at L'viv; new Liturgikon published

1930 Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi consecrated auxiliary Bishop of Peremyshl'; elections and arrests and exile of opposition; pacification in Eastern Galicia (16 September-30 November)

1931 Ukrainian Catholic Alliance formed, begins publishing "Meta"; *Dzvony* begins publication; OUN members assassinate Tadeusz Hołowko

1933 Ukrainian Youth for Christ rally in L'viv (6-7 May)

1934 Apostolic Administration for Lemko region created (February); Minister of Interior Bronisław Pieracki assassinated by OUN (June); Ukrainian educator Ivan Babii assassinated by OUN (July); Poland repudiates Minorities Treaty

1935 New constitution enacted; death of Marshal Piłsudski (May); UNDO reaches agreement with government

1936 Industrial strikes; Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi issues pastoral letter condemning Communism (August); first pro-Union congress in L'viv (December)

1937 Papal encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* condemns fascism; Papal encyclical *Divini redemptoris* condemns communism; Polish agricultural strike (August)

1938 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi issues pastoral letter condemning destruction of Orthodox churches in Kholm (Chełm) region (2 August); 950th anniversary of Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine celebrated by Greek-Catholics throughout Galicia; Carpatho-Ukraine granted autonomy (October)

1939 Death of Pope Pius XI (February) and election of Pope Pius XII (March); Hungarians take Carpatho-Ukraine (March); German invasion of Poland starts World War II (1 September); Soviet forces occupy Eastern Galicia (17 September)

## APPENDIX II: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE (TRANSLATED FROM UKRAINIAN)

### QUESTIONNAIRE

(Please write any extended answers on a separate sheet.)

#### I Conditions of Participation

I am taking part in this survey on condition that

\_\_\_\_ (a) my name can be cited in works in which this questionnaire is used.

\_\_\_\_ (b) my name is to be known only to the author of such works, i.e. to A. Sorokowski.

#### II Personal Data GIVEN NAME AND SURNAME:

1. Date of birth:
2. Place of birth (please provide district):
3. Parents' trade or profession:
4. Date of your ordination:
5. Eparchy:
6. Places in which you performed priestly duties (parishes), with dates:
7. Your titles:

#### III Education

1. What were your elementary and secondary education?
2. What seminary did you enter, and when?
3. When did you complete your seminary studies?
4. What was the level of teaching in the seminary?
5. Did you have contact with students of secular institutions?

#### IV Socio-Economic Life

The questions refer only to the period to 1939, inclusive.

1. Were there other priests in your family? How were they related to you?
2. Were you ordained unmarried (celibate)?
3. What were your sources of income (dotation, sacramental fees, land, etc.)?
4. How much did you earn annually from all these sources?
5. Was this enough?
6. How much land (parish property) did you have?
7. Were you a catechist in a school?
8. Was there a colator or patron in your parish? What role did he play?
9. What were your relations with the parishioners? Please give details.
10. What were your relations with the state authorities? Please give details.
11. What were your relations with the Polish clergy? Please give details.
12. Did you participate in the activity of social organisations (for ex. "Prosvita," cooperatives)? Please give details.
13. What were your relations with the Ukrainian secular intelligentsia?

#### V Church, Cultural and Political Life

The questions relate only to the period to 1939, inclusive.

1. What were your cultural interests at that time?
2. What newspapers did you subscribe to? What journals?
3. Did you have any experience with Russophilism? What was it?
4. Did you have any experience with Radicals or other anti-clericals? Please describe.
5. Did you belong to any political party? Which one?
6. Did you know of any priests who belonged to political parties? What parties were these?

7. What was the general attitude of the Greek-Catholic clergy towards Ukrainian politics?
8. What was your attitude at that time to the question of latinisation of the Greek-Cath. rite?
9. What was your attitude at that time to the creation of the Apostolic Administration for the Lemko region?
10. What was your attitude at that time to the introduction of celibacy in the Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl' eparchies?
11. What was your attitude to Orthodoxy at that time?
12. What were the relations between the priests of your eparchy and your bishop?
13. Did you witness the pacification of 1930? Please tell about it.
14. Did you take part in the congress "Ukrainian Youth for Christ" in 1933? Please tell about it.
15. What was your reaction to the killing of Director Babii in 1934?

## VI Mission

The questions relate only to the period to 1939, inclusive.

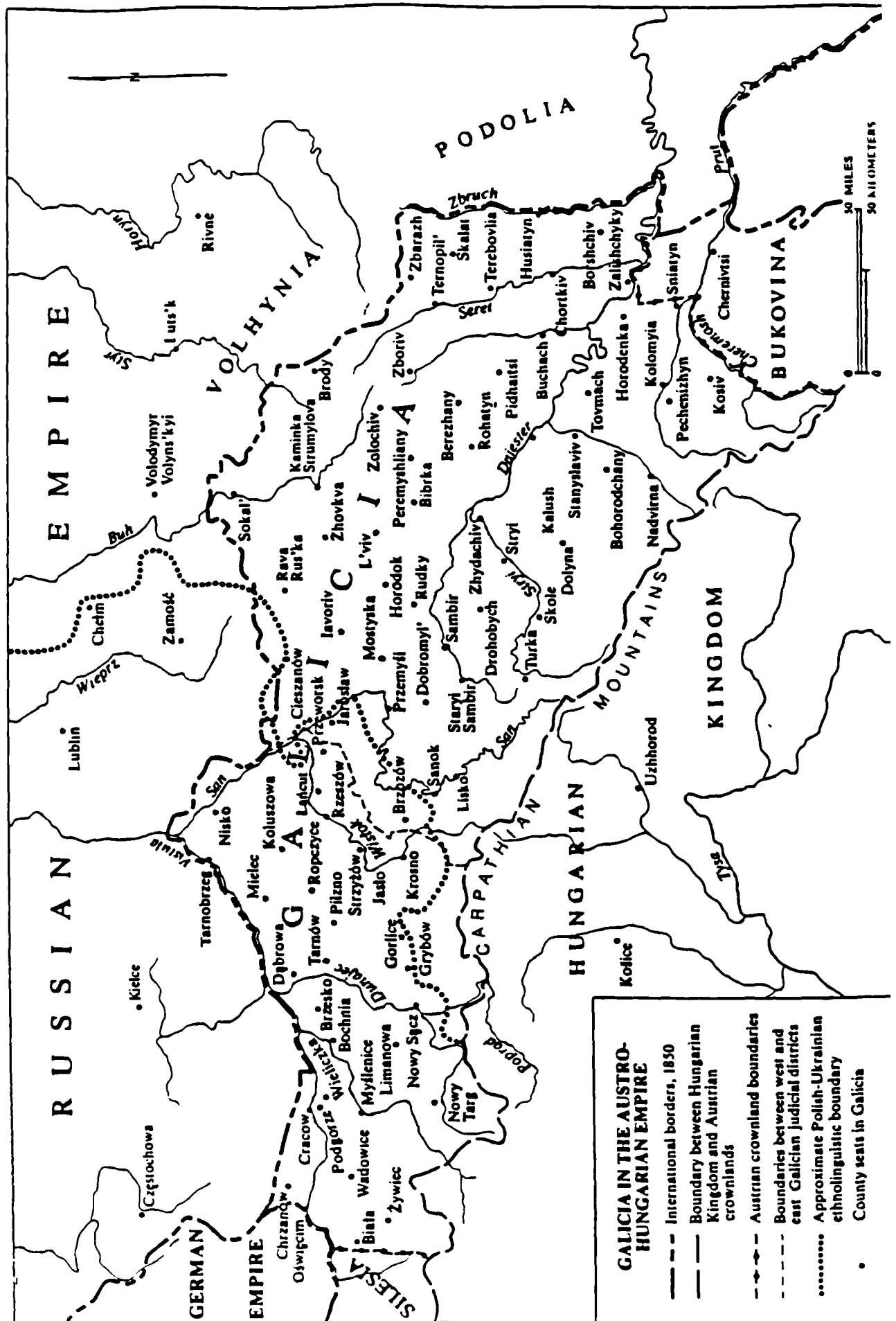
1. Did you feel at that time that as a priest you had social tasks beyond the performance of your pastoral duties? What kind?
2. Did you feel that the clergy were performing all their duties satisfactorily?
3. Did you feel that as a priest you were competing with the secular political leadership?

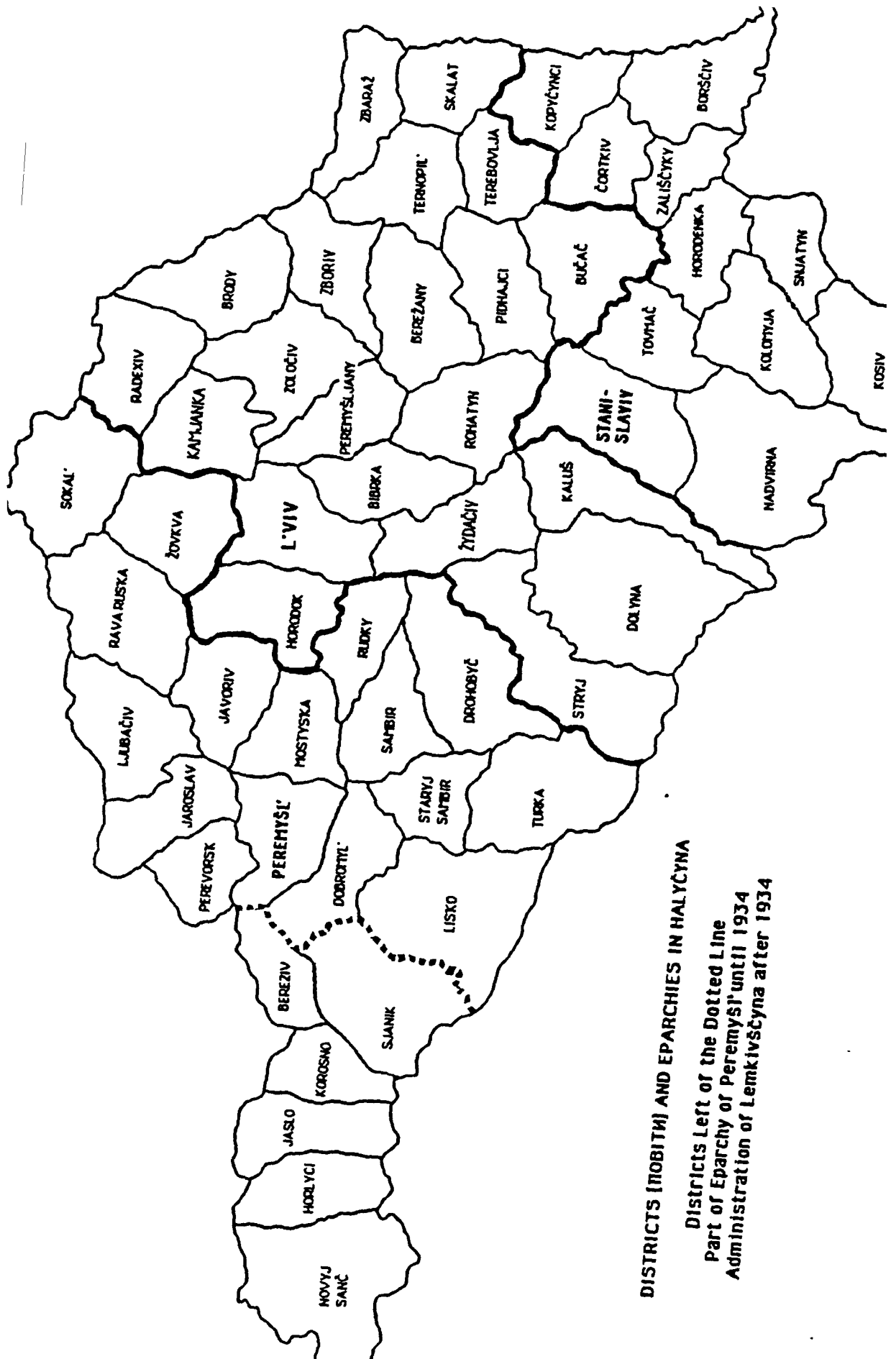
THANK YOU VERY MUCH

## TABLES

- I. Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire
  - from Magocsi, Paul R., ed. Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Edmonton, Alberta, 1989.
- II. Districts and Eparchies of Galicia
  - from Blazejowskyj, Dmytro. Ukrainian Catholic Clergy in Diaspora (1751-1988). Rome, 1988.
- III. The Ethnogeographic Setting of Galicia
  - from Magocsi, op. cit.
- IV. Greater Ukraine
  - from Hrushevsky, Michael. A History of Ukraine. New Haven, Connecticut, 1941 [reprinted 1970, Archon Books].







**DISTRICTS (ПОВІТІ) AND EPARCHIES IN HALYČYNA**  
 Districts Left of the Dotted Line  
 Part of Eparchy of Peremyshl' until 1934  
 Administration of Lemkivščyna after 1934

