

4 The Greek Catholic Church in Nineteenth-century Galicia

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The region of Galicia takes its name from the city of Halych (in the Old Rus' language, Galich), a medieval centre of princely and episcopal authority.¹ The principality of Galicia was located in the westernmost extension of the Kievan realm, in and near the Carpathian mountains. It grew rich from salt and from the important trade routes that crossed it. By the end of the Kievan period it had emerged, along with Vladimir-Suzdal with which it was allied, as a powerful force in Rus', overshadowing the Kievan centre. In fact, when the Mongols took Kiev, a Galician prince was in occupation of its throne. After the Mongol invasion, the capital of the Galician principality was transferred from Halych to the newly-built city of Lviv (Lvov), which has remained the political centre of the region for over 700 years. Galicia continued to flourish for some decades after the Mongol invasion, but by the mid-fourteenth century it became a mere object of the territorial claims of the expanding Polish and Hungarian kingdoms. Poland won Galicia at the end of the fourteenth century and held on to it until the first partition of Poland in 1772. At that time the Habsburg empire, basing itself on the medieval Hungarian claims, 'revindicated' Galicia. Even though the Habsburg Empress Maria Theresa took Galicia in her capacity as Queen of Hungary, the new territory was never integrated with the Hungarian part of her domains. The Austrian crownland of Galicia differed from the historical Galicia in that it was enlarged by the addition of ethnically Polish territory in the west. Galicia remained a province of Austria from 1772 until the collapse of the empire in 1918. It is this latter period of Galician history that forms the subject of this paper.²

Christianity was introduced in Galicia during the Kievan period, in the aftermath of the conversion of 988. Christianity of the Byzantine-Kievan type has always been dominant in the region, although Latin Christianity has existed there as well since medieval times. Our survey will only discuss the Byzantine-Kievan church. Bishops of this

church are known to have existed in Halych, the capital, and in Przemyśl (Peremyshl). The bishop of Halych moved to Lviv when the political capital shifted to that city in the second half of the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century, from 1303 to 1347, Halych was the seat of a metropolitanate. After Galicia's annexation to Poland, however, the Byzantine-Kievan church declined and for about a century there was not even an Eastern Christian bishop in Lviv. The cultural revival in the Ruthenian lands during the sixteenth century saw the restoration of an Orthodox bishop in the capital of Galician Rus' (1540). During the period of religious controversy following the Union of Brest (1596), Galicia remained a stronghold of the Orthodox faith. It did not embrace the Union with the Roman church until the turn of the eighteenth century.³ The Galician church was named the Greek Catholic church by the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa in 1774. The new name was meant to underscore the equality of this church with the Roman Catholic church.⁴

For ease of comprehension, the history of the Greek Catholic church in Austrian Galicia may be divided into six periods:

1772–1815, ie, from the acquisition of Galicia by Austria until the end of the Napoleonic period;

1815–48, from the Congress of Vienna until the outbreak of the revolution of 1848–9;

1848–82, from the Spring of Nations until the year of the greatest internal crisis in the history of the Greek Catholic church;

1882–1900, from the crisis until the elevation of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi to the metropolitan throne;

1901–14, from Sheptyts'kyi's accession to the outbreak of the First World War; and

1914–18, from the beginning of the war until the collapse of Austria.

1772–1815

The first decades of Austrian rule, particularly the reigns of the enlightened absolutists Maria Theresa (1740–80) and Joseph II (1780–90), were distinguished by far-reaching improvements in the affairs of the Greek Catholic church. After centuries of inferior status under Polish rule, the church was elevated to legal equality with the Roman Catholic church. The eparchy of Lviv was raised to an

archeparchy and Lviv also became the seat of the newly restored, after almost half a millennium's hiatus, metropolis of Halych (1808). The entire secular clergy of the Greek Catholic church, which had been largely ignorant throughout the Polish period, was given formal seminary training at institutions of higher learning in Vienna and Lviv. The income of the secular clergy was regularised and considerably increased by Emperor Joseph II. The Austrian authorities also confirmed Greek Catholic cathedral chapters (*krylosy*) in Lviv (1813) and Przemyśl (1817) and resolved a decades-long conflict between the religious and the secular clergy in the latter's favour. Apart from reforms that directly concerned it, the Greek Catholic church benefited indirectly from numerous reforms that improved the socio-economic position of its faithful, who were overwhelmingly serfs. During this period, not surprisingly, the clergy and hierarchy of the Greek Catholic church developed a profound loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty.

The assumption of hegemony by Vienna marked not only the end of Warsaw's influence on the Galician church, but also a considerable weakening of Rome's influence. Galicia passed to Austria at the onset of the period of Josephinism, one of whose main characteristics was the subordination of the church to the government in Vienna rather than to the papal authorities in Rome. Direct contact between Austrian Catholics and the Roman dicasteries was prohibited; bishops were nominated by the emperor, sometimes against Rome's wishes; disputes between the Greek Catholic secular and religious clergy as well as disputes between Greek and Roman Catholics in Galicia were settled in Vienna rather than in Rome. This state of affairs lasted until the concordat of 1855; in fact, however, many of the Josephine arrangements lasted to the end of the empire. It was also in this early period that the practice developed of appointing as metropolitan of Halych and archbishop of Lviv only clerics who had been educated in Vienna. This practice was retained into the 1880s.

The final point to be made about this first period in the history of the Greek Catholic church in Austrian Galicia is that the sphere of East Slavic Catholicism was being constricted. The Russian state and the Russian Orthodox church, which already claimed a monopoly over the heritage of Byzantine-Kievan Christianity, began to destroy the Union in the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands acquired during the partitions of Poland. Of particular significance for the Greek Catholic church in Galicia was the forcible absorption into the Russian synodal church of the Uniates of Kamianets eparchy, which

came under Russian rule in 1795. The Kamianets eparchy was a separate eparchy in name only, having long been attached to the Lviv eparchy. Bishop Petr Bilians'kyi of Lviv worked energetically to maintain the Union there, but his efforts were in vain. The forcible conversion of the Kamianets eparchy deeply disturbed both Rome and Vienna. In 1805 the Uniate metropolis of Kiev fell vacant and it soon became clear that the Russian government had no intention of allowing the seat to be filled. The absence of a Catholic metropolitan in Kiev was an important factor in the decision to re-erect the metropolis of Halych. The Union was becoming restricted to the territory of the Habsburg empire.

1815–48

During this period the most significant development was the initiation of the Ukrainian national awakening led by the Greek Catholic clergy.⁵ A consequence of the education of seminarians was the rapid formation of a stratum of intelligentsia for the submerged, largely enserfed Ruthenian population of Galicia. Influenced by contacts, particularly in Vienna, with the awakers of other non-German nationalities in Austria, by the example, particularly in Lviv, of Polish romantic and insurrectionary nationalism and also by contacts with the emerging Ukrainian movement in the Russian empire, Greek Catholic seminarians, priests and even bishops began to engage in the 'heritage-gathering'⁶ work typical of the early stages of national movements. They codified their language, translated classics of world literature into it, composed poetry and literary prose, researched the history of Galician Rus' and its church and recorded the folk songs, fables and customs of the people. The work was entirely cultural without overt political import. The national identity being defined was generally referred to by the awakers as Galician-Ruthenian and considered a branch of the Little Russian or Ukrainian nationality. The national awakening absorbed most of the intellectual energy of the Greek Catholic clergy.

Within the church there were some differences of opinion about the awakening, with Metropolitan Mykhail Levytsky (1816–58) adopting a conservative attitude towards it, while the seminarians who formed the Ruthenian Triad (Markiiian Shashkevych, Iakiv Holovatsky and Ivan Vahylevych) represented the most advanced wing of the national movement. At issue were such matters as

language, with conservative churchmen favouring more emphasis on Old Church Slavonic and radical youth a pure vernacular, and the degree to which liberal ideas circulating underground in the *Vormärz* were to be integrated into the national revival.

During this same period the territory of the Union was further constricted, with the eradication of the Union in Belorussia and Volhynia after Bishop Iosyf Siemashko converted to Russian Orthodoxy in 1839.⁷ The defection of Siemashko caused grave apprehension in Rome. Metropolitan Levytsky issued a strong condemnation of Siemashko and declaration of loyalty to Rome. In order to strengthen the position of the Union, Rome considered elevating the metropolitan of Halych to the rank of patriarch. This far-reaching and politically complicated intention was not, in the end, executed; instead, Metropolitan Levytsky was personally honoured by being named a cardinal in 1856.⁸ The last outpost of the Union remaining in the Russian empire was the Chełm (Kholm) eparchy.

According to official eparchial statistics, there were 1587 Greek Catholic parishes in Galicia in 1848 with 2 149 383 faithful.⁹

1848–82

The revolution of 1848 brought tremendous change to the Greek Catholic population of Galicia. Emancipation from serfdom set the stage for great cultural, social and political advancement over the following decades. The national movement also made the transition from a cultural to a political movement. During the revolution of 1848–9, the Ukrainians of Galicia formed the Supreme Ruthenian Council, over which Bishop Hryhorii Iakhymovych¹⁰ presided and in whose leadership were many Greek Catholic priests. The Council demanded the division of the crownland of Galicia, which included ethnically Polish territory around Cracow in the west, into separate Polish and Ukrainian provinces. It also defended the interests of the newly emancipated peasantry. With regard to all-Austrian politics, the Council supported the emperor rather than those who rebelled against him.¹¹

The political activism which the Greek Catholic clergy evinced in 1848–9 surfaced again in the 1860s when a constitution and civil liberties were introduced in Austria. Priests were elected as deputies to the Galician diet and the all-Austrian *Reichsrat*. Although the secular intelligentsia began to assume the leadership of the national

movement in the 1860s, priests remained indispensable activists at the local, parish level, founding associations for adult education, economic cooperation and cultural activity as well as agitating for Ukrainian candidates during elections.¹² For many priests, this national activism became an important component of pastoral work; for some, in fact, it even became the overriding concern. The Vatican, which after the concordat of 1855 became more directly involved in Galician affairs, was not unaware of the growth of nationalism among the Greek Catholic clergy and tried to stem it. The Vatican's opposition to nationalism had many sources, including the papal opposition to Italian nationalism, but the case of Greek Catholicism in Galicia had its own peculiarities.¹³

The national movement in Galicia acquired profound confessional significance as the result of the division between those Ruthenians who identified with the Ukrainian movement in the Russian empire and those who looked instead to the tsarist Russian government. These latter, generally referred to in historical literature as Russophiles, began to argue that the Ruthenians of Galicia formed a branch of the Russian nationality. The Russophile tendency was dominant throughout the period from the defeat of the revolution in 1849 until 1882, and it grew more definedly Russian as it evolved. This is not the place to discuss all the reasons for its emergence and consolidation, but the most important was a feeling that Austria had betrayed its loyal Ruthenian population by giving control of Galicia to the Polish gentry.

The confessional implication of Russophilism was a gravitation to the Russian Orthodox church. This must be understood in perspective, however, because more was involved than simply the influence of politics on religion. Greek Catholicism shared with Russian Orthodoxy descent from the church of Grand Prince Volodymyr (Vladimir); although Catholic, it was indisputably an Eastern Christian church. However, under Polish influence, particularly but not exclusively since the acceptance of the Union at the turn of the eighteenth century, the Galician church adopted certain customs and attitudes from Latin Catholicism. There were always those in the Galician church who opposed these Latin influences as a break with religious tradition. With the awakening of national consciousness in the nineteenth century, a national consciousness, moreover, that was anti-Polish, a movement for an Easternising purification of the Greek Catholic church emerged, first in the 1830s–40s, but anew and much more vigorously in the 1860s. The political Russophiles supported the

religious Easternisers and held up Russian Orthodoxy to them as an unsullied model; and the Easternisers were often drawn *volens nolens* into the Russophile camp because of a certain community of interest. The Vatican opposed Latinisation of the Greek Catholic church, but it worried about the implications of a pro-Russian purification movement, especially since Bishop Siemashko had prefaced his defection from the Union with just such a purification campaign in the much more Latinised Belorussian church. Rome's hesitations and distrust of the Russophiles only played into their hands, as they increasingly unmistakably insinuated that the Galician church could only be saved by a break from Rome.¹⁴

Tensions over these issues became explosive in the 1870s. For one thing, the deterioration of Austro-Russian relations because of conflicts in the Balkans meant that the Austrian state was as distrustful of the Russophiles as was the Vatican. Also, in 1875, following a period of intense ritual purification, the last Uniate eparchy in the Russian empire, the Ukrainian eparchy of Chełm, became Russian Orthodox.¹⁵ In the suppression of the Union a leading role was played by Galician Russophiles who had been recruited by the Russian government for pastoral and pedagogical work in the Chełm eparchy; and the leading Russophile newspaper in Lviv, *Slovo*, was so sympathetic to the conversion to Orthodoxy that the Greek Catholic metropolitan forbade his faithful to read it.¹⁶

The tensions came to a head in 1882 when the Greek Catholic congregation of Hnylychky in Galicia requested permission to convert to the Orthodox faith. Viennese and Vatican authorities reacted in concert, swiftly and energetically. They forced Metropolitan Iosyf Sembratovych (1870–82) and his chief officials to resign; and a number of prominent Russophiles, including the priest Ivan Naumovych, were put on trial for high treason.¹⁷

1882–1900

The aftermath of the crisis of 1882 was marked by intense Vatican intervention in the Greek Catholic church. During this period the metropolitans appointed were no longer graduates of Viennese seminaries; they were Roman-trained. The priests promoted to higher rank were drawn from the leading lights of the journal *Russkii Sion*; founded in 1871, this journal consistently stressed loyalty to Catholicism, opposition to religious Russophilism and the subordination of national politics to religion. Men from this circle included

Sylvester Sembratovych, who was made metropolitan in 1885, and the eminent church historian Iulian Pelesh, who became the first bishop of Stanyslaviv in 1886. In 1882 the Vatican also arranged for the reform of the debilitated Basilian monastic order by the Jesuits;¹⁸ this was a reform of great significance for the Greek Catholic church. Since its implementation, the Basilians have remained an influential factor in the church, known especially for their contributions in publishing and scholarship as well as for their absolute loyalty to Rome.

After the events of 1882 the Russophiles became both more marginalised and more extreme in their views. They had already for some time been fighting against the growing power of the national populists (*narodovtsi*), as the adherents of the Ukrainian movement proper were called, and the purge in the church and disgrace of the treason trial weakened them beyond recovery.

Although the Ukrainian national movement proper gained by the new Vatican activism in the Greek Catholic church, it nonetheless opposed it. Vatican influence was equated with Polish influence; and indeed, in the ecclesiastical interventions of the 1880s the interests of the Vatican and the local Polish gentry who controlled the Galician government did, in fact, coincide. Also, although the Ukrainian movement of the national populists was by no means anti-Catholic, it did believe in the need for the relative independence of its national church. Finally, Ukrainian leaders were generally hostile to Metropolitan Sylvester Sembratovych's efforts to promote conciliation between the Ukrainian movement and the Polish ruling class in Galicia; only for about two years (during the so-called New Era) did the metropolitan and the leaders of the national populists work hand in hand.

The end of the nineteenth century also witnessed the growth of anti-clericalism in Ukrainian Galicia, particularly among the young intelligentsia and younger, more educated peasants. These strata formed the first formal Ukrainian political party in 1890, the agrarian socialist and profoundly anti-clerical Radical party.¹⁹

According to official eparchial statistics, there were 1854 Greek Catholic parishes in Galicia in 1900 with 2 934 278 faithful.²⁰

1901–14

The history of the Greek Catholic church in the first half of the twentieth century is dominated by the figure of Metropolitan Andrei

Sheptyts'kyi (1901–44).²¹ When he was named bishop of Stanyslaviv in 1899 and not much later metropolitan of Halych, Ukrainian society suspected that he represented a continuation of the Roman, and consequently Polish, ascendancy in the Greek Catholic church that had been evident since 1882. This was because Sheptyts'kyi was by birth a member of the Polonised nobility, in fact, a count, who changed from the Latin to the Greek rite in order to enter the newly reformed Basilian order. These suspicions, although persistent, proved to be completely misplaced. Sheptyts'kyi showed himself to be a man of extraordinary vision who handled chronic problems in the Greek Catholic church in a fresh and principled manner.

One such problem was the relation to the national movement. For much of the nineteenth century the clergy had been very active in promoting this movement, often allowing national concerns to overshadow religious ones, but in the two decades prior to Sheptyts'kyi's accession relations between adherents of the national movement and the church had become very strained. The new Vatican influence on the church injected a distrust of nationalism that had previously been almost absent in Greek Catholicism and the hegemony of anticlericalism among the younger intelligentsia further exacerbated tensions. Some clerics decided that the church should withdraw from and even oppose the national movement; the outstanding representative of this tendency was the bishop of Stanyslaviv, Hryhorii Khomyshyn (1904–46). Sheptyts'kyi espoused a different and, for Galicia, new conception. In his view, the church had to remain independent of the national movement, ready to criticise and oppose it when it came into conflict with Christian principles, but equally ready to support it when it did not. Thus in 1908, for example, when a Ukrainian student assassinated the governor of Galicia and the national movement as a whole condoned the action, Sheptyts'kyi strongly condemned the murder and was exposed to many insults as a result. But in numerous other instances, Sheptyts'kyi used his exceptional influence—deriving from his personality as much as from his office and aristocratic origin—to promote Ukrainian interests in Galicia. Of many examples, one might mention his establishment of a Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv, to this day and through the most adverse times an outstanding centre for the preservation of Ukrainian cultural artifacts, and his successful mediation to win agreements to increase the proportion of Ukrainian deputies in the Galician diet and to found a Ukrainian university in Lviv. Many scholars would agree that no individual in the first half of the twentieth century contributed as

much to the Ukrainian cause in Galicia as Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi.

Another problem he approached with an original and positive vision was that of religious Russophilism. Firstly, he was very tactful in dealing with the Russophiles among his clergy, which sometimes earned him the ire of zealous adherents of the Ukrainian national movement. Secondly and much more importantly, he worked diligently to restore the Eastern traditions of his church, for example, by reviving eastern monasticism according to the Studite rule and, in the post-war period, implementing a thorough, purificatory liturgical reform. Unlike many other Easternisers, however, Sheptyts'kyi was convinced that his restoration of the Byzantine spirit could be and had to be accomplished within the parameters of what he considered the universal church, that is the Catholic church; he was also extremely distrustful of the contemporary Russian Orthodox church, which was, of course, closely associated with the tsarist regime. Not only was Sheptyts'kyi an Easterniser free from political Russophilism and gravitation to the Russian synodal church, he actually sought to expand the Union into Russian and other Orthodox territory; he himself travelled incognito into Russia before World War I to make contact with sympathisers.

In spite of Sheptyts'kyi's dynamic conception of an Easternising movement that transcended and rejected traditional Russophilism, the latter became a potent factor in Greek Catholic church life in the decade before the outbreak of world war. This had nothing to do with internal developments in the Galician church, but rather reflected the growing tensions between Austria and Russia. The Russian government qualitatively stepped up its efforts to win support among Galician Ukrainians through propaganda and outright payment. Russian efforts were most successful among Greek Catholic immigrants in the United States, many of whom entered the Russian Orthodox church during this period.

1914–18

Not long after the outbreak of World War I, in November 1914, Russia occupied Galicia. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi remained in Lviv and delivered a powerful sermon urging his faithful to preserve the Greek Catholic church and censuring the Russian Orthodox church as a branch of the Russian state. He was arrested and sent to the

interior of Russia, where he remained imprisoned in a monastery until the February revolution. In occupied Galicia, the Russian government attempted to force the clergy and general population to convert to Russian Orthodoxy, but this attempt met with considerable resistance and proved impossible to implement. The Russians were driven out of Galicia for a year, but were able to reoccupy the territory during the Brusilov offensive in the summer of 1916; during this second occupation the Russian authorities pursued their aims, including the conversion of Galicia's Ukrainians to Russian Orthodoxy, with less brutality than during the first period of occupation. Still, the Greek Catholic church suffered great physical and moral damage during the war. By the summer of 1917 Austria reconquered Galicia and restored the Greek Catholic church. In the fall of 1918 the Austro-Hungarian empire, defeated by the Entente, collapsed; its place in Galicia was taken by the short-lived West Ukrainian People's Republic which enjoyed the full support of the Greek Catholic church.

CONCLUSION

The Greek Catholic church of Galicia traced its ancestry to the conversion of Volodymyr in 988 and preserved many features of the common Rus' heritage. Yet in spite of a shared legacy with the rest of East Slavic Christendom, there were certain features that distinguished it. These were the entry into the Union with Rome *circa* 1700 and the Austrian environment in which the church flourished from 1772 to 1918. The Roman and Austrian influences, although not unknown elsewhere in the East Slavic Christian tradition, were unusually formative of the Greek Catholic church in nineteenth-century Galicia. The Galician church was not only the object of the often competing claims of Rome and Vienna, but also the object of the claims of Moscow which sought to inherit all of Volodymyr's legacy. As a result of World War I, Vienna's claims to Galicia and its church came to an end; as a result of World War II (but during much of World War I as well) Moscow's claims were victorious.

NOTES

1. Probably the best short introduction to Galicia is *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyč (Toronto, Buffalo, London: 1984–), s.v. 'Galicia' by V. Kubijovyč, Ya. Pasternak, I. Vytanovych, A. Zhukovsky. More substantial is Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: 1983).
2. For an excellent survey, see Ivan L. Rudnytsky, 'The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule', in *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*, ed. Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn (Cambridge, Mass.: 1982) pp. 23–67.
3. In 1677 Bishop Iosyf Shumljans'kyi of Lviv privately accepted the Union, but only proclaimed it publicly in 1700. The Przemyśl eparchy, after some wavering, finally accepted the Union in 1692. The Stauropogial Brotherhood in Lviv accepted the Union in 1708.
4. The best general histories of the Greek Catholic church in Galicia are: Mykhail Harasevych, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* (Lviv: 1862); Iulian Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom von den aeltesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. 2 (Würzburg, Vienna: 1881); Anton Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien* (Leipzig and Berlin: 1921). A detailed bibliography may be found in Isydor I. Patrylo, *Dzherela i bibliografija istorii ukrains'koi tserkvy*, Zapysky ChSVV, II, Sektsiia I: Pratsi, 33 (Rome: 1975); additions by the same author and under the same title have appeared in *Analecta OSBM*, 10 (16) (1979) pp. 406–87, and 12 (18) (1985) pp. 419–525.
5. See Jan Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia: 1815–1849*, ed. Lawrence D. Orton (Edmonton: 1986).
6. The phrase is Paul R. Magocsi's.
7. Wasyl Lencyk, *The Eastern Catholic Church and Czar Nicholas I*, Editiones Catholicae Universitatis Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, Pratsi filosofichno-filolohichnoho fakultetu, 2 (Rome: 1966).
8. *Monumenta Ucrainae historica*, vol. xiv: *Quaestio Patriarchatus Ecclesiae Ucrainorum saeculo XIX*, ed. Alexander Baran (Rome: 1977).
9. Lviv archeparchy had 883 parishes and 1 329 091 faithful. Przemyśl eparchy had 704 parishes and 820 292 faithful. *Schematismus universi venerabilis cleri Archidioeceseos metropolitanae graeco-catholicae Leopoliensis pro anno Domini 1848* (Lviv, nd). *Catalogus universi venerabilis cleri Dioeceseos Premisliensis graeco-catholicae pro anno Domini 1848* (Przemyśl, nd).
10. There is a good scholarly biography of this bishop and later metropolitan (1860–3): Luigi Glinka, *Gregorio Jachymovyč-Metropolita di Halych ed il suo tempo (1840–1865)*, 2nd ed., *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio I: Opera, 30 (Rome: 1974).
11. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *The Spring of a Nation: The Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia in 1848* (Philadelphia: 1967).
12. See John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton, London, New York: 1988) especially pp. 105–42.

13. Very revealing is a survey of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Slavs and Romanians in the Habsburg empire prepared by the Viennese nunzio Mariano Falcinelli Antoniaci in March 1864. Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna (ANV), vol. 480, pp. 27–30v.
14. For example: ‘The Union was always and remains to the present time the most insidious and dangerous invention in all respects—religious, national and political. The Union was contrived by the Jesuits as a means to catholicize the Orthodox and polonize the Russians.’ ‘Polytycheskoie znacheniiie relyhioznoi unii’, *Slovo*, 15 (16 [28] January 1875) no. 6, p. 1.
15. Luigi Glinka, *Diocesi ucraino-cattolica di Cholm (Liquidazione ed incorporazione alla Chiesa russo-ortodossa) (Sec. XIX)*, *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio I: Opera, 34 (Rome: 1975).
16. I. K., ‘Odna duzhe vazhna sprava . . .’, *Ruskii Sion*, 5 (1875) p. 301.
17. Excellent archival documentation on these issues can be found in ASV, ANV, vols 570 and 587, and in Vienna’s Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Politisches Archiv, Section 40, n. 212.
18. See Porfirio Pidručnyj, ‘Relazioni dei Gesuiti sulla Riforma Basiliana di Dobromyl’ (1882–1904)’, *Analecta OSBM*, 12 (18) (1985) pp. 210–54.
19. On radicalism, see John-Paul Himka, *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860–1890)* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1983).
20. Lviv archeparchy had 751 parishes and 1 081 327 faithful. Stanyslaviv eparchy, formally erected in 1850 but without a bishop until 1886, had 433 parishes and 867 010 faithful (16 parishes were outside Galicia, in Bukovina, with 23 583 faithful). Przemyśl eparchy had 686 parishes and 1 009 524 faithful. *Shematyzm vsechesnoho klyra hr. kat. mytropolytalnoi Arkhydiitsezii Lvivskoi na rik 1900* (Lviv: 1900). *Schematyzm vseho klyra hreko-katolycheskoi Eparkhii Stanyslavivskoi na rik bozhii 1900*, XV richnyk (Stanyslaviv: 1900). *Schematismus universi venerabilis cleri dioeceseos gr.-cath. Premisliensis pro anno Domini 1900* (Przemyśl: 1900).
21. *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts’kyi*, ed. Paul R. Magocsi (Edmonton: 1989). Cyrille Korolevskij, *Metropolit Andrei Szeptyckyj 1865–1944*, *Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientifcae Ucrainorum*, 16–17 (Rome: 1964) (an as yet unpublished English language translation of this work has been prepared by Rev. Brian [Serge] Keleher). Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Metropolit Andreas Graf Scheptyckyj: Leben und Wirken des grossen Förderers der Kirchenunion*, 2nd ed. (Munich: 1967).