

Іван ЗУЛЯК

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри історії України, археології та спеціальних галузей історичної науки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка, вул. М. Кривоноса, 2, Тернопіль, Україна, 46027 ([ivanzuljak@gmail.com](mailto:ivanzuljak@gmail.com))

Андрій КЛІШ

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії України, археології та спеціальних галузей історичної науки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка, вул. М. Кривоноса, 2, Тернопіль, Україна, 46027 ([klish\\_andriy@ukr.net](mailto:klish_andriy@ukr.net))

Ivan ZULYAK

Ph D hab. (History), Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine, Archeology and special branches of historical science, Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University, M. Kryvonos, 2, Ternopil, Ukraine, postal code 46027 ([ivanzuljak@gmail.com](mailto:ivanzuljak@gmail.com))

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3758-2019>

Andriy KLISH

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine, Archeology and special branches of historical science, Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University, M. Kryvonos, 2, Ternopil, Ukraine, postal code 46027 ([klish\\_andriy@ukr.net](mailto:klish_andriy@ukr.net))

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6074-6064>

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS OF THE GALICIAN GREEK CATHOLIC HIGHER CLERGY AT THE BEGINNING OF XX CENTURY

**Annotation.** *The aim of the research is to analyze social and political orientations of the Greek Catholic higher clergy in Galicia of the outlined period. Methodology of the research is based on historical, systematic, scientific, verification, constructivism, author's objectivity, moderate narrative constructivism principles as well as on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-system ) methods. The scientific novelty is that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography the research basing on the analysis of previously unknown archival documents and materials clarified the political activity of both the Greek Catholic and the Roman Catholic higher clergy in Galicia. Conclusions: The higher Greek Catholic clergy at the beginning of the twentieth century tried to improve the life of the Galician Ukrainians. The Greek Catholic clergy set out to establish a Ukrainian university in Lviv and reform the electoral law by exclusively peaceful means.*

**Key words:** *Galicia, the Greek Catholic Church, higher clergy, social-Christian movement.*

## СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНІ ОРІЄНТАЦІЇ ВИЩОГО ГАЛИЦЬКОГО ГРЕКО-КАТОЛИЦЬКОГО ДУХОВЕНСТВА НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТ.

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження – проаналізувати суспільно-політичні орієнтації вищого греко-католицького духовенства в Галичині окресленого періоду. Методологія дослідження спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. Наукова новизна полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії, на основі аналізу невідомих раніше архівних документів і матеріалів, з'ясовано політичну діяльність греко-католицького вищого духовенства в Галичині. Висновки. Вище греко-католицьке духовенство на початку ХХ ст. намагалось покращити життя галицьких українців. Діючи виключно мирними методами вище греко-католицьке духовенство ставило за мету заснувати український університет у Львові та реформувати виборче законодавство. Варто зауважити, що, незважаючи на активну протидію польської влади, владикам вдалося домогтися певних поступок українцями.*

**Ключові слова:** *Галичина, Греко-Католицька Церква, вище духовенство, суспільно-християнський рух.*

**Problem statement.** At the beginning of the 20th century, the Galician Ukrainians faced a number of important issues that needed an immediate solution. First of all, it was the issue of the establishment of a Ukrainian university, the reform of electoral legislation to the

Vienna Parliament and the Galician Sejm, social consolidation, and the episcopate did not stay away from those problems.

**Research analysis.** In spite of certain achievements in the study of the declared issues, there are many important unresolved problems. In particular, it is the participation of the higher clergy in the political life of Galicia in the period. Among the native researchers it is necessary to note Ya. Bilas (Bilas, 2000), A. Klish (Klish, 2018).

**Statement of the basic material.** The economic crisis, the intensification of political struggle, high taxes, low education level of the population led to an increase of interclass conflicts (Levytskyi, 1926, p. 369–371). Due to the position of the Greek Catholic Church (GCC), social tensions were weakened during the 1902 peasant strikes. The social doctrine of the GCC was directed at protecting the poorest stratum of the population by defending their right to work and decent pay (Sheptytskyi, 1904, p. 7, 20–23).

It should be noted that it received support from the general public. In particular, I. Franko published a review of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky's message – «Social Action, Social Issue and Socialism» in the «Literary-Scientific Bulletin», in which he praised the Metropolitan's innovative approach, since the predecessors of A. Sheptytsky had issued such appeals using patterned, moldy vocabulary, and this was written in living folk language, on concrete examples, as I. Franko noted, «such a thing of our church honorable was unheard before . . .». However, I. Franko supplemented and deepened A. Sheptytsky's letter, first and foremost criticizing the treatment of private property, family and social justice (Franko, 1904, p. 1–23).

High GCC clergy acted exclusively for the legitimate methods of political struggle. In particular, during a peasant strike in 1902, A. Sheptytsky appealed to the clergy of the Lviv Archdiocese to demand that peasants be kept from violent actions (Mytropolyt, 1999, p. 576). On April 12, 1908, a Ukrainian student M. Sichynsky shot Galicia governor A. Pototsky, which was condemned by the higher clergy of GCC issuing a special pastoral message to the clergy and the faithful (Krasivskyi, 2000, p. 74, 75). The Bishops believed that by means of extremism, denying Christian principles, it was impossible to achieve meaningful political results, but could only complicate the ethno-political situation in Galicia.

The message stressed that any crime in the political plane «harms the cause of the people, because it lowers the virtue of love of the fatherland, undermines the moral foundations of folk work, a disgrace spoils people, spoils their conscience, spoils their soul» (Mytropolyt, 1998, p. 427). The message had to show the solidarity of the priests in spiritual matters, the fulfillment of Christian laws, and the obligation to deter parishioners from radical methods of struggle (Koshetar, 2007, p. 82–83).

A. Sheptytsky called the Galicians for solidarity. The GCC should facilitate the process by helping the laity to open Christian shops, cooperative institutions, etc. The social doctrine of the GCC was intended to ensure the welfare of all segments of the population.

In this context A. Sheptytsky turned to different strata of Galician society. He called the rich for frugality and help for the poor, both financially and with advice. He provided the indigent with moral support, pointing out to the need to realize the temporal nature of earthly existence.

The intellectuals played an important role in the social doctrine of the GCC. A. Sheptytsky divided it into three groups (taking the laws of God as the basis): 1) the ones engaged in enlightenment among people, cooperating with the Church; 2) the ones who have faith, but are indifferent to the practical fulfillment of God's commandments and church canons; 3) the ones keeping to atheistic principles. By dividing intellectuals into groups and preparing separate advice for each of them, A. Sheptytsky developed the basis for the consolidation of Ukrainian society.

A. Sheptytsky noted that the Greek-Catholic priests should be an example of patriotism by their self-sacrifice and work for the Ukrainian people. In addition, he urged them not to

create a significant number of political parties, as it would lead to a split and the destruction of the nation (Mytropolyt, 1998, p. 6, 9, 12). Participation in socio-political life, according to the bishops, demanded the exclusion of hatred, revenge, unfair use of authority. Instead, introducing Christian attitudes towards political opponents would enable Galician Ukrainians to protect their rights and consciously associate with the election of deputies (Mytropolyt, 1998, p. 406).

It should be noted that the parish clergy were heterogeneous in their political views. Some priests supported the national movement, others were Moskvophiles, and there were those who were close to socialist and radical ideas.

This, according to the high clergy, hurt not only the Church but also the national idea. Bishops tried to unite priests around a common goal. In particular, in a joint message «On Solidarity», they noted that the solidarity of priests on Christian basis would contribute to the authority of the Church in society (Mytropolyt, 1999, p. 338–339). In the next episcopal epistle «On Solidarity in Public Life,» the emphasis was placed on the participation of the clergy in social and political life. In particular, it was noted that «there cannot be talk of politics» (Mytropolyt, 1999, p. 349). Also, the message clearly differentiates pastoral duties of the priest, it was stated that he could only participate in social and political life outside the Church and was strictly forbidden to impose his own political convictions in sermons and confessions (Mytropolyt, 1999, p. 349–350).

As a sign of support of the Ukrainian education, A. Sheptytsky decided to close the seminary in Lviv in 1901 and, at his own expense, directed theology students to study abroad (Levytskyi, 1926, p. 368). This event became the first political action of the Metropolitan. In 1902, the Ukrainian deputies submitted a proposal to establish a Ukrainian school-gymnasium in Stanislavov. A. Sheptytsky supported the idea but the Polish majority failed the vote on this issue. In protest, the Ukrainian deputies announced a secession, which was supported by the high clergy of the Greek-Catholic Church (Bilas, 2000, p. 67).

It should be noted that the Polish teachers, students and authorities opposed the founding of the Ukrainian university in Lviv. According to M. Bobzhinsky's memoirs, the Poles demanded that the University of Lviv be of a purely Polish character, and their faction in the Vienna Parliament adopted a resolution that blocked the opening of two new Ukrainian chairs. Also, the habilitations of Ukrainian docents were stopped because of the views of the Polish youth (Bobrzynski, 1957, p. 308, 309).

On June 28, 1910, A. Sheptytsky made a speech at the Vienna Parliament requesting the opening of the Ukrainian university. In particular, he noted: «Satisfaction of all the cultural needs of nations belonging to the monarchy's unity is of great importance to them, but it is even more important for the monarchy in its integrity, so that one who intercedes in that kind of cause ... acts as a citizen who cares for the good of Austria» (Mytropolyt, 1999, p. 590). In addition, the statement emphasized that «the people with a population of three and a half million – therefore, ranked fourth among the nations of the empire, the fact that its national and cultural development requires a whole number of priests, secondary school teachers, judges and other academically-trained educated professionals, cannot do without a university for a long time and should feel it as a burning need for such a university to be founded» (Mytropolyt, 1999, p. 588).

In 1913, the Caesar eventually issued a decree according to which the Ukrainian university in Lviv was to have been opened on September 1, 1916. The decision gained considerable international resonance. The Russian ambassador in Vienna voiced his protest against the adoption of the decree as a «hostile act against Russia» (Lentsyk, 1996, p. 57).

An important for the affirmation of rights of the Galician Ukrainians was the struggle to reform the electoral system, which would allow them to have a greater number of their representatives in the legislature. After all, the curial election system significantly restricted the Ukrainian representation in the Vienna Parliament. The Ukrainian deputies could not influence the political situation in the empire in general and local legislation and

organizational activity in particular, the more so that they constantly felt the resistance of the more numerous Polish representation.

The Greek-Catholic clergy did not stay aloof from that process. In particular, it was decided that the Metropolitan and the bishops would take part in a delegation that would be meeting with the emperor and government officials in Vienna with a view to fair distribution of parliamentary seats (Konferentsii, 1997, p. 15).

On January 11, 1906, at the conference of the episcopate in Przemysl, it was decided to send Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky and Bishops H. Khomyshyn and K. Chekhovych to the emperor in Vienna to discuss the introduction of universal suffrage to the Austrian Parliament and fair distribution of the mandates therein. On January 22, 1906 A. Sheptytsky as the head of the delegation made a speech, arguing the suffrage of Galician Ukrainians on an equal basis with other peoples of the empire. In support of the demands of this delegation, on February 2, 1906, the People's Council convened a town's meeting in L'viv, in which nearly 50,000 Ukrainians, predominantly peasants, took part. This testified to the high political activity of the population (Hunchak, 1993, p. 53, 59).

The result of such acts was the law on the introduction of universal suffrage during the elections to the Vienna Parliament, adopted on January 27, 1907, which in general satisfied the Ukrainians.

In May 1907, the first elections to the Austrian Parliament were held on the basis of universal suffrage, according to which the Ukrainians received 27 mandates. Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, bishops G. Khomyshyn and K. Chekhovych became the members of the House of Lords in Vienna as *virilists* (received deputy mandates not through the election process but because of their status in society) (Yehreshii, 2006, p. 22).

Reform of electoral legislation to the Galician Sejm remained a burning issue. Elections to the Sejm in 1908 were accompanied by numerous abuses and repressions. Ukrainian deputies resorted to obstruction and for a while paralyzed the work of the parliament in 1909–1910.

The reform of the electoral legislation in the Galician Sejm was the subject of hearing at the conferences of Greek Catholic bishops in 1911 and 1913.

On February 2, 1910, under the chairmanship of A. Sheptytsky and with the participation of K. Chekhovych and G. Khomyshyn, a joint meeting of the Ukrainian parliamentarians of Galicia and Bukovina was held. It approved a program of action of Ukrainian politicians, according to which the necessity of the national-territorial autonomy of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina was proclaimed. Priority tasks were the reform of school education, the resistance to the Muscovite propaganda, and the increased participation of Ukrainians in government institutions (Levytskyi, 1926, p. 536).

The reform of the electoral legislation in the Galician Sejm was the subject of hearing at the conferences of Greek Catholic bishops in 1911 and 1913. In a joint

message «On Election Reform,» they called on «to consider such a formulation of voting rights, such a division of mandates or constituencies, so as to exclude buy up as far as possible» (Mytropolyt, 1999, p. 434).

However, despite the demands of the GCC high clergy and Ukrainian parliamentarians the draft reform of electoral legislation to the Galician Sejm collapsed in 1913. One of the reasons was, according to M. Bobzhinsky, the deep hatred of the Polish Archbishop to the Greek-Catholic Bishops (Bobrzynski, 1957, p. 369–370).

The issue of reforming the electoral system intensified on the brink of 1913–1914 again. The mediators in settling disputed issues between Ukrainians and Poles were A. Sheptytsky and K. Chekhovych, who were invited to Vienna several times by Stürk – the head of the Austrian government. In January 1914, A. Sheptytsky gave a speech in Polish and Ukrainian, in which he proposed a compromise project. On January 28, 1914, a document was signed according to which the Poles agreed on the immediate opening of the Ukrainian

university, and subsequently to adopt amendments to the electoral legislation. A. Sheptytsky played a decisive role in achieving understanding (Levytskyi, 1926, p. 652, 685–689).

The high clergy of GCC appreciated the importance of parliamentarianism and, on the eve of the elections, appealed to the faithful, emphasizing the priority of the Christian moral criterion in the election of deputies. In particular, in the message «On Elections to the Parliament», it was stressed that a person who will be both a patriot and a Christian will be a good representative of the people: «A patriot who is not a Christian is an evil patriot. Rusyn is not a believer, a godless hurts people and could . to make us and the past before the whole Christian world, and the execution, and the damage not to the calculation» (Mytropolyt, 1998, p. 407). It was emphasized that atheistic rhetoric and militant campaigning of socialists and radicals did not contribute to social consolidation. At the same time, election campaigning was prohibited by a priest within the Church (Mytropolyt, 1998, p. 409–410).

The Parliament considered important issues of socio-political life. For instance, the high priests gave an example of discussion on the issue of introduction of civil divorces in the legislature, the so-called «free» school versus Christian. They cited France as an example arguing that such innovations led to the fact that «young people grow wildly, that people brought up in such a way are not Christians any more, they have no religion, no faith, no conscience» (Mytropolyt, 1998, p. 406).

Proceeding from the importance of parliamentary activity, the high clergy of the GCC found it necessary to formulate certain requirements for parliamentary candidates. First and foremost, they had to be nationally-conscious Ukrainians, patriots, practitioners of Greek-Catholic faith. In return, the episcopate believed that the citizens had to independently nominate candidates, and only during the elections make decisions together with the priests. The radicals and socialists, according to the bishops, conducted election campaign with the help of atheistic literature, carried on propaganda of religious terrorism and alcoholism, spreading opinions that the Greek-Catholic clergy did not defend the interests of the people. Indeed, this corresponded to the real state of things. In particular, A. Sheptytsky and the bishops stated that practically all stores, savings banks, reading rooms were founded with the direct participation of priests (Mytropolyt, 1998, p. 409).

Participation of the general public in the public and political life required, according to the GCC, the use of Christian moral principles against political opponents. Some part of the Greek-Catholic priests opposed the majority of the clergy with a different political orientation. A part of the clergy financed periodicals that propagated socialist ideas. In the opinion of the higher Greek-Catholic clergy, it testified to the party commitment, the neglect of church unity and pastoral work by the priests. The message condemned those clerics who changed vocations to party political activities. It stated that the clergy did not intend to lead the political leadership, leaving it to secular leaders.

The higher clergy saw Greek-Catholicism to be the only way to unite Ukrainians, and the priest had to create such conditions under which Galician Ukrainians would become conscious adherents of Greek-Catholic faith in private and socio-political life (Mytropolyt, 1998, p. 411, 412, 419). At the same time, Sheptytsky did not consider it necessary to form a separate clerical party, which could be seen as a counterweight to the already existing political forces. The bishops called for the realization of social and political rights in accordance with Christian principles, the priests had to teach parishioners to treat voting consciously, not to be tempted by financial rewards and vote only for Ukrainian candidates of clerical referrals. At the same time, the deprivation of damage to the Church or the Ukrainian people was to be shared among the elected candidate, his voters and the pastor (Mytropolyt, 1998, p. 431–432).

It should be noted that the Greek-Catholic bishops influenced the socio-political situation in the region at that time. In particular, a letter from K. Chekhovich to A. Sheptytsky from November 19, 1913, discussed the information on the preparation of Ukrainian parties for elections, which was received from K. Levitsky by the Przemysl

Bishop. The letter also noted that the parties had to come to an agreement on the reform of the electoral legislation, which regulated the ratio of Ukrainians and Poles in the Galician Sejm (Mytropolyt, 1999, p. 604).

Eventually, on February 14, 1914, the Galician Sejm adopted a new electoral law according to which 27.5% of seats in the Sejm were allocated to Ukrainians, which amounted to 62 deputy mandates out of 288. In the three curias the curial principle was kept, however in the countryside it was supposed to hold general, equal, direct and secret elections, which made it possible for Ukrainians in the future to achieve political autonomy. Undoubtedly, the acceptance of this law was the merit of A. Sheptytsky (Bilas, 2000, p. 73).

**Conclusions.** At the beginning of the twentieth century the high Greek-Catholic clergy tried to improve the life of Galician Ukrainians. By exclusively peaceful methods, the holy fathers aspired to establish a Ukrainian university in Lviv and reform the electoral law. It is worth noting that, despite the active opposition from the Polish authorities in the region, the bishops managed to achieve certain concessions for Ukrainians.

### Bibliography

**Білас, Я.** (2002). Парламентська діяльність митрополита А.Шептицького. *Українське релігієзнавство*. № 23. С. 66–73.

**Bobrzynski, M.** (1957). *Z Moich pamietnikow*. Wroclaw–Krakow. 404 s.

**Франко, І.** (1904). Соціальна акція, соціальне питання і соціалізм. *Літературно-науковий вісник*. Т. 28, кн. 10. С. 1–23.

**Гуначак, Т.** (1993). *Україна: перша половина ХХ століття: Нариси політичної історії*. К.: Либідь. 288 с.

**Кліш, А. Б.** (2018). *Між політикою та релігією: суспільно-християнський рух у Галичині наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст.: Монографія*. Тернопіль: Осада Ю.В. 472 с.

Конференції Архієреїв Української Греко-Католицької Церкви (1902–1937) (1997). Львів. 106 с.

**Кошетар, У. П.** (2007). *Роль Української греко-католицької церкви у формуванні галицького консерватизму 1900–1939 рр.*: автореф. дис. канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01 / Запоріж. нац. ун-т. Запоріжжя. 20 с.

**Красівський, О.** (2000). *Галичина у першій чверті ХХ ст. Проблема польсько-українських стосунків*. Львів. 416 с.

**Ленчик, В.** (1996). Слуга Божий Митрополит Андрей Шептицький патріот і державний діяч. *Метрополія Нью-Йорку служі Божому Андрееві у п'ятидесятиріччя його смерті / [Зредагував Микола Голів]*. Нью-Йорк. С. 54–65.

**Левницький, К.** (1926). *Історія політичної думки галицьких українців 1848–1914 рр.: на підставі споминів*. Львів: 3 друкарні оо. Василіян у Жовкві. 736 с.

Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: Життя і діяльність (1998): Документи і матеріали 1899–1944. Т.2: Церква і суспільне питання. Кн.1: Пастирське вчення та діяльність / За ред. А.Кравчука. Львів: Місіонер. 572 с.

Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: Життя і діяльність (1999): Документи і матеріали 1899–1944. Т. II: Церква і суспільне питання; Кн.2: Листування / За ред. А. Кравчук. Львів: Місіонер. 525 с.

**Шептицький, А.** (1904). О квестії соціальній. Жовква. 69 с.

**Єгрешій, О.** (2006). Єпископ Григорій Хомішин: портрет релігійно-церковного і громадсько-політичного діяча. Івано-Франківськ: Нова Зоря. 168 с.

### References

**Bilas, Ya.** (2002). Parlamentska diialnist mytropolyta A.Sheptytskoho [Parliamentary activity of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky]. *Ukrainske relihiieznavstvo*. № 23. (pp. 66–73) [in Ukrainian].

**Bobrzynski, M.** (1957). *Z Moich pamietnikow* [From My Memoirs]. Wroclaw–Krakow, 1957. 404 s. [in Polish]

**Franko, I.** (1904). Sotsialna aktsiia, sotsialne pytannia i sotsializm [Social Action, Social Issue and Socialism]. *Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk*. Т. 28, кн. 10. (pp. 1–23). [in Ukrainian]

**Hunchak, T. (1993).** Ukraina: persha polovyna XX stolittia: Narysy politychnoi istorii [Ukraine: the first half of the twentieth century: Essays on political history]. K.: Lybid. 288 s.

**Klish, A. B. (2018).** Mizh politykoiu ta relihiieu: suspilno-khrystyianskyi rukh u Halychyni naprykintsi XIX – na pochatku XX st.: Monohrafiia [Between Politics and Religion: Social-Christian Movement in Halychyna in the late 19 and early 20 centuries: monograph]. Ternopil: Osadtsa Yu.V. 472 s. [in Ukrainian]

**Konferentsii** Arkhyiereiv Ukrainskoi Hreko-Katolytskoi Tserkvy (1902–1937) [Conference of the Hierarchs of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (1902-1937)] (1997). Lviv. 106 s.

**Koshetar, U. P. (2007).** Rol Ukrainskoi hreko-katolytskoi tserkvy u formuvanni halytskoho konservatyizmu 1900–1939 rr. [The Role of the Byzantine-rite Catholic Church of Ukraine in the Forming of Galician Conservatism 1900–1939]: avtoref. dys. kand. ist. nauk: 07.00.01 / Zaporiz. nats. un-t. Zaporizhzhia. 20 s.

**Krasivskiy, O. (2000).** Halychyna u pershii chverti XX st. Problema polsko-ukrainskykh stosunkiv [Halychyna in the first quarter of the 20 century. The problem of the Polish-Ukrainian relations]. Lviv. 416 s. [in Ukrainian]

**Lentsyk, V. (1996).** Sluha Bozhyi Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi patriot i derzhavnyi diiach. Metropoliiia Niu-Iorku sluzi Bozhomu Andreievi u p'iatydesiatyrichchia yoho smerty [Servant of God Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky is a patriot and statesman. Metropolitan New York to the servant of God Andrew in the fiftieth anniversary of his death] / [Zredahuvav Mykola Holiv]. Niu-Iork. Pp. 54–65.

**Levytskyi, K. (1926).** Istoriiia politychnoi dumky halytskykh ukrainsiv 1848–1914 rr.: na pidstavi spomyniv [The history of political thought of the Galician Ukrainians in 1848–1914]. Lviv: Z drukarni oo. Vasyliian u Zhovkvi. 736 s.

**Mytropolyt** Andrei Sheptytskyi: Zhyttia i diialnist: Dokumenty i materialy 1899–1944. T. II: Tserkva i suspilne pytannia; Kn.2: Lystuvannia (1999) [Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky: Life and Activities: Documents and Materials 1899–1944. Volume II: The Church and the public question. Book 2: Correspondence] / Za red. A. Kravchuk. Lviv: Misioner. 525 s. [in Ukrainian]

**Mytropolyt** Andrei Sheptytskyi: Zhyttia i diialnist: Dokumenty i materialy 1899–1944. T.2: Tserkva i suspilne pytannia. Kn.1: Pastyrske vchennia ta diialnist (1998) [Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky: Life and activities. Documents and Materials 1899–1944. Volume II: The Church and the public question. Book 1 Pastoral doctrine and activities] / Za. red. A.Kravchuka. Lviv: Misioner. 572 s. [in Ukrainian]

**Sheptytskyi, A. (1904).** O kvestii sotsialnii. Zhovkva. 69 p. [in Ukrainian]

**Yehreshii, O. (2006).** Yepyskop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn: portret relihiino-tserkovnoho i hromadsko-politychnoho diiacha Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn: portrait of religious-church and public-political figure. Ivano-Frankivsk: Nova Zoria. 168 s. [in Ukrainian]