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The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is becoming increasingly important in the socio-political life of modern Ukraine. In carrying out its major pastoral work, the Church does not stay away from a range of social and political problems, and clearly and unambiguously formulates its attitude to...
the most pressing issues, which contributes to the growth of its authority both in Ukraine and abroad. Apparently relevant is the study of the historical experience of the Church, its involvement in national and political processes in Ukrainian society.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the socio-political circumstances of the Greek Catholic Church’s activities (GCC – this is what it was called in the interwar period) and the legal registration of the relations between the HCC as an integral part of the Catholic Church and the Polish state in 1919–1925. The end of World War I, the events of which had a negative impact on the status of the GCC, until the adoption of the Concordat between the Apostolic Capital and Poland, which regulated the canonical legal position of the Catholic Church of the three rites (Latin, Greek Catholic First and Armenian Catholic) in Poland.

The following research tasks are envisaged: to cover the process of establishing relations between the GCC and the authorities of the Polish state in 1919–1925; to find out the circumstances and consequences of the 1925 Concordat for the GCC.

Separate aspects of this problem were considered by domestic researchers Vayl Marchuk¹, Liliana Gentoš², Vitalii Perevezii³, Mykhailo Gaivovskyi⁴, Ihor Pylypiv⁵, Orest Krasivskyi⁶, Ruslan Deliatinskyi⁷. At the same time, the issues related to the activities of the GCC in 1919–1925 regarding finding its own place in social and political life in Poland’s occupied Eastern Galicia remain insufficiently covered.

It is known that according to the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference on June 28, 1919 and the Council of Ambassadors of the Entente on March 15, 1923 Eastern Galicia was annexed to Poland under the autonomy of the region, political, religious and personal freedom of its population. Under new political conditions, the issue of determining the legal status of the GCC and establishing relations with the Polish Occupation Administration was urgently raised. At two joint conferences held in August and September 1919, the Hierarchs of the GCC outlined the basic directions of the Church’s development, emphasizing that “our church province does not belong to the Polish Republic (even if it is within the territory recently occupied by the Polish army)”, Were asked to ensure “the autonomy and freedom of our Church in relation to the state” and “to ensure that religious autonomy is the true freedom of our Church”⁸.

⁶ Красівський О. За Українську державу і церкову. Громадська та суспільно-політична діяльність митрополита А. Шептицького в 1918–1923 рр. Львів : Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича, 1996. 84 с.
Obviously, the GCC demonstrated its desire to clearly regulate its relations with the Polish authorities. However, the actions of the government of the Second Commonwealth in 1919–1922 did not indicate a positive reaction to his attempts to seek agreement with the GCC. In May–June 1919, the Polish occupation authorities carried out the first arrests and murders of Greek Catholic priests. On June 22, 1919, many Greek-Catholic priests from different parts of Galicia, including Fr. Stefan Kuchkud from Peremshlyany, priest Pryima and O. Vinnytskyi from Zaliztsi (now Zboriv district of Ternopil region) and others. Fifteen priests from different parts of Galicia (Father Mykola Konrad from Ternopil, Father Vasyl Dubitskyi and Father Mykhailo Osadts from Berezhany, Father Mykola Simenovych from Stryhantsi, Father Volodymyr Sterniuk from Pustomyty and others) were in the camp in Strzalkowo that is near Poznan. Most of the repressed clergy were charged with a political nature.

The high clergy of the Greek Catholic Church strongly opposed the arrests of clergy. On August 24, 1919, the 27th Conference of Greek Catholic Bishops was held in Przemysl, which approved a text of protest against the actions of the Polish troops in Eastern Galicia before the World Conference in Paris, as well as a letter to the Ukrainian Ambassador to Paris, Count Mikhaiilo Tyszkiwicz. On behalf of the Ukrainian authorities, the text of the protest was signed by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. On August 26, 1919, the Greek Catholic Bishops issued a Pastoral Epistle to the Clergy and the Faithful, which emphasized the physical and moral suffering of the Ukrainian people within the Polish state. However, the text of the message was confiscated by the Polish security authorities.

The Polish authorities could not ignore the protest sentiment of Greek Catholic bishops. This is understood by letters from officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Poland, dated late October 1919, which were also corresponded to the Ministry of Religions and Enlightenment of the Second Commonwealth. In the letters, the addressees stated that it was not in the interests of the Polish state to “irritate the oppression of Rome” because “human rights missions could become more frequent”, which in turn could affect Poland’s international authority, the composition of Poland which at that time was undetermined – ed. col.). It was the intervention of the then Apostolic Nuncio in Poland, Akilli Ratti, who, despite the dissatisfaction of the Polish government and society, had sought judicial review and, ultimately, the release of many arrested Greek Catholic priests and monks. In particular, on the initiative of A. Ratti and Stanislaw Bishop H. Khomyshyn, Fr. E. Tesliu, the parish priest with Queen of the Tovmaks Deanery. In an appeal to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Apostolic Nuncio, in particular, noted that the arrests of the Greek Catholic clergy threaten “serious consequences, since the population, and especially the people deprived of spiritual care, remain ignorant of the basic foundations of life individually and socially, negative influences”.

In January 1920, the Polish government abolished the Galician Seimas and the regional division, the whole system of self-government, appointed senior citizens and divided Galicia into three voivodships, and subsequently it was forbidden to use the names “Halychyna” and “Ukrainian”, which replaced “East Malopolska” and “Ruthenians”. Obviously, the government of the Polish state...
ignored its international commitments to meet the cultural, national and spiritual needs of the population of Eastern Galicia.

The Ukrainian political leadership urged the Halychians to boycott the census planned for September 1921 in order not to give Polish diplomacy a kind of “trump card” in the hands that Ukrainians allegedly recognize Polish affiliation. Greater Catholic clergy also showed significant activity in preparation for the census. In reports to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Poland, local county superintendents signaled that boycotts took place in all but one of the counties in the province17. Most of all, according to the Polish special services, the “Russian partisanship” and Greek-Catholic clergy were disturbing18.

The general population census of 1921 turned into a kind of anti-occupation plebiscite. According to the Ivano-Frankivsk historian Mykhailo Moskaliuk, more than 30 priests were arrested for organized resistance to the census19.

The Polish authorities tried to legalize Galicia’s affiliation with the Polish state by holding elections to the Polish Seim and Senate on November 5, 1922, which caused strong opposition from the Ukrainian population and virtually all Ukrainian parties. Participation in the vote was equal to the recognition of Polish sovereignty over Eastern Galicia, and the non-participation was seen as a protest against the annexation of this region by Poland. Therefore, it is clear that the majority of the Greek Catholic clergy supported the boycott of the elections, considering those who took the pleadings “traitors to the Ukrainian people”. Priests urged Ukrainian believers to abstain from voting. In response, the Polish special services, for each county, identified a list of persons worthy of “censorship”. As a result, fathers from different parts of Galicia were arrested, including: Fr. Harasimovich from Kosiv region, Fr. Mykhailo Ganusevskyi of Dora, Fr. Oleksa Lutsiv from Mykulychyn and others20. In Kolomyia County, the supervision of Fr. Volodymyr Levytskyi of Zhukotin, in Kosiv region – tracked the activity of the parish priest Kut Fr. Vladimir Stefanovich21.

There was no general boycott in the 1922 elections. Unlike the Halychyna, Ukrainians of Volyn, Kholmshchyna, Podlasie and Polissia decided to take an active part in the elections. Representatives of the public of northwestern Ukrainian lands went to the polls under the slogan of Ukrainian national unity and called to vote for a single list of candidates for the ambassadors of the Seim and the Senate of Poland22. In addition, the election in Galicia was attended by Ukrainian clerics, representatives of the Ukrainian Bakery Party, from which five candidates, headed by Fr. M. Ilkiv, who came to terms with the then Polish government23.

Somewhat different were the views on the situation in the autumn of 1922, the hierarchs of the GCC. As early as the fall of 1918, the Poles, having captured Lviv, interned A. Sheptytskyi and Bishop J. Kotilovsky of Peremyshl. The responsibility of the Metropolitan was entrusted to Stanislavskyi Bishop H. Khomypshyn, who in his own way saw a way out of the difficult socio-political situation in Galicia.

First of all, H. Khomypshyn sought to reach a consensus between representatives of the Ukrainian and Polish clergy. As early as June 1921, at a meeting of Catholic bishops in Krakow, it was decided to hold a joint congress with the Greek Catholic bishop in the near future in order to overcome disagreements and resolve conflicts between Poles and Ukrainians. This meeting should be

17 Державний архів Івано-Франківської області (далі – ДАІФО). Ф. 2. Оп. 1. Спр. 31. Арк. 1–3, 6.
18 Там само. Арк. 6 зв.; Делятинський Р. І. Діяльність духовенства Станиславівської епархії УГКЦ в умовах утвердження польського окупаційного режиму (1920–1923 pp.). URL: http://thule.primordial.org.ua/mesogaia/delyat03.htm; ДАІФО. Ф. 68. Оп. 2 Спр. 13. Арк. 28–31.
20 ЦДІАУ у Львові. Ф. 408. Оп. 1. Спр.47. Арк. 4.
21 ДАІФО. Ф. 2. Оп. 1. Спр.128. Арк. 106 зв.
the beginning of Polish-Ukrainian understanding. However, Bishop of Przemysl J. Kotsiolsky and Vicar General of the Lviv Chapter O. Bachynskyi, who replaced Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi, did not support the “normalizing” ideas of H. Khomyshyn. A large part of the Greek-Catholic clergy also rejected the possibility of promoting Ukrainian-Polish understanding under such socio-political conditions. In addition, Stanislaw Bishop compromised the fact that Poles worked out the appointment of Metropolitan H. Khomyshyn. As a consequence, the bishop remained unheard of in Galician society and somewhat isolated.

Andrei Sheptytskyi, having received jurisdiction from the Vatican for missionary activity, in 1921–1922 visited America, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, where he met with believing Greek Catholics and prominent politicians. As a result, A. Sheptytskyi’s trips to the American continent resulted in mass appeals by representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora to their governments and to the leaders of the Entente countries to assist in granting independence to Ukrainian lands that were part of ZUNR.

In Europe, the Metropolitan visited Rome, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, and the United Kingdom, where he met with influential figures of these states, tried to find out new political realities and lobby for Galicia’s autonomy. Although the Entente countries favored a stronger Polish side because of the political situation in the country, the diplomatic efforts of the Metropolitan and Greek Catholic clergy had great resonance in the world.

The Polish government was generally hostile to Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi’s efforts to uphold the interests of Ukrainian society. According to Ukrainian scientist Liliana Gentos, representatives of the Polish government abroad monitored the activities of the metropolitan and informed about the latter’s move to the relevant structural units of the ministry in Warsaw. The correspondence of the Bishops was also closely monitored. At the request of the Polish ambassador to the Apostolic Capital, all diplomatic representatives and ministries of foreign and internal affairs collected documents that would compromise Andrei Sheptytskyi, accusing him of political activity, presenting trending information about the offenses of the Greek Catholic clergy in the Polish clergy. Moreover, the Polish government agencies sought to forbid A. Sheptytskyi from returning to Galicia, or to obtain a written recognition of his loyalty to the Polish state. Using their own influence under the Apostolic See, Polish officials even tried to recall Sheptytskyi from the metropolitan throne under the pretext of granting him a high office in Rome.

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi felt his own call to foster understanding between the Ukrainian and Polish peoples in Galicia. Although the Polish establishment at the time and ordinary citizens, this vision of the hierarch was perceived rather as treacherous. The dramatic return of Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi to Lviv exacerbated Ukrainian-Polish relations in the region, but facilitated the consolidation of the Ukrainian people and, according to L. Gentosh, became a “matter of national importance.”

However, on March 14, 1923, the decision of the Entente Ambassadors Council allowed Poland to annex Galicia. This fact caused a sharp critical reaction of the Ukrainian population. In July 1923, the Polish government, in order to study the sentiment among the clergy, ordered the elders to secretly introduce “personal name cards on Greek Catholic priests” according to the established model. The analysis of the reports of the county officials shows that the priests in the territory of Galicia were mostly passive resistance to the Polish occupation authorities. However, often the Greek-

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24 Красівський О. За Українську державу і церкву. Громадська та суспільно-політична діяльність митрополита А. Шептицького в 1918–1923 pp. С. 17.
29 Там само. С.12.
30 Там само. С.23.
Catholic clergy found in the socio-cultural work hostile to the Polish state that the hostility towards the Polish state was\textsuperscript{31}

The religious and public education ministry department instructed local Polish authorities to analyze on a local level the sentiments of the Greek Catholic clergy over the decision of the Entente Council of Ministers. The county elders sent parish governments a call to send a Divine Service on the occasion of “settling the eastern borders of Poland”. According to reports by Polish police posters, a significant part of the Greek Catholic clergy ignored such orders. Stanislavskiy Voivoda Yuristovsky noted that part of the clergy of the diocese only pretends to perform worship, but in fact – sends worship to other purposes. Bishop H. Khomyshyn, according to the Polish official, refuses to obey the instructions of the Polish authorities referring to the fact that “the document is secular and not spiritual”. According to Yuristovsky it is absolutely necessary to accept a Concordat, which would be able to regulate the relations of secular and ecclesiastical power in the Polish state\textsuperscript{32}.

Similar views were expressed in letters by the Lviv governor Grabovsky. He emphasized that on the territory of the voivodship, “the clergy mostly do not say the slogan that Poland does not have sovereign rights in Galicia East”, but in the spirit it is “representative of the Ukrainian people”. The official emphasized that the fathers in the voivodship did not get rid of anti-Polish sentiment, “the spirit of Petrushevichovsky did not perish”\textsuperscript{33}. Probably representatives of the higher Greek-Catholic clergy sent a letter-complaint on the actions of the Polish authorities to Rome, since shortly afterwards the Apostolic Nunciature in Warsaw inquired whether there was a compulsion on the part of the Polish authorities to settle the devotions\textsuperscript{1} in order to clarify\textsuperscript{34}. According to the national historian Vitalyi Perevezii, the solution of the state-legal status of Eastern Galicia in March 1923 initiated a new stage of relations between the Commonwealth and the GCC\textsuperscript{35}.

In September 1924 Stanislaw Voivodship G. Juristowski sent a report to the Warsaw government, according to which, of the 588 priests within the voivodeship, 154 were “friendly and loyal” to the Polish administration, 108 – made it clear that they did not delve into political affairs and dedicated themselves solely to the soul 126 were adherents of the UNTP, but did not give grounds to speak of themselves as enemies of the Polish state; instead, 200 priests did not hide their dislike for Poland. The governor noted that the smallest proportion of priests hostile to power is in the Stanislavsky Diocese, and the largest in the Lviv Archdiocese, which related to the peculiarities of the public position of hierarchs\textsuperscript{36}.

The main document regulating the legal status and development of the GCC during 1925–1939 was the Concordat between Poland and the Apostolic See, which created a new model of church-state relations in the Polish state. The concordat between the Apostolic Capital and the Polish Republic was signed on February 10, 1925, approved by law of April 25, 1925, ratified by an exchange of the GCC during

The concordat required the oath to be sworn in to the Polish faithfulness of bishops, who pledged not to allow the clergy to take part in actions that could “harm the Polish state or public order”\textsuperscript{38}. However, on the other hand, thanks to Concordat, which became a kind of “legal basis” for the activi-

\textsuperscript{31} Делятинський Р. І. Діяльність духовенства Станиславівської єпархії УТКЦ в умовах утверження польського окупаційного режиму (1920–1923 pp.). URL: http://thule.primordial.org.ua/mesogaia/delayat03.htm.


\textsuperscript{33} Ibid. K. 213, 222.


\textsuperscript{35} Перевезій В. Греко-католицька церква в умовах українсько-польської конфронтації 20–30-х рр. ХХ ст. С. 20.


\textsuperscript{37} Пилипів І. Конкордат Речі Посполитої з Апостольським Престолом та його наслідки для ГКЦ. Науковий вісник Чернівецького університету. Серія: Історія. Політичні науки. Міжнародні відносини. 2010. Вип. 514–515. С. 167.

\textsuperscript{38} Вістник Станиславівської Єпархії. Станиславів, 1925. Ч. 9–12. С. 41–58.
ties of the GCC, according to Ivano-Frankivsk historian Ihor Pylypiv, “in fact, the Polish government recognized the GCC clergy as an expression of the interests of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia”39.

Thus, the repression of the Polish authorities against the Greek Catholic clergy during the second half of 1919 is explained, first of all, by the clear state position of the majority of clergy. In the end, the Polish administration in Galicia failed to fully subordinate the GCC to the interests of the Commonwealth, and to create a loyal and obedient state from the Greek Catholic clergy. Apparently, the Apostolic Nuncio’s appeal, as well as the numerous collective and solitary appeals of Greek Catholic hierarchs and Ukrainian public figures, forced the occupying power to stop mass repression, and since then arrests have been used as a means of influence only in selected cases.

Under the conditions of Polish sovereignty over Galicia, the clergy of the GCC carried out socio-political and socio-cultural work that helped to preserve the national identity of Ukrainians. The Greek Catholic clergy in Galicia were characterized by a high political culture, which manifested itself in the hopes of a legal settlement of the Eastern Galician issue at the international level in 1919–1923. Therefore, most priests promoted the boycott of the 1921 census in Galicia and the 1922 elections to the Polish Sejm and Senate. The detention of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky in Poznan in September 1923, in the conditions of the hierarch’s return to Galicia, caused widespread negative resonance both among the Greek Catholic clergy and among the faithful, exacerbating relations between the two peoples in the country.

It is noted that the Concordat, signed in 1925, enshrined the legal status of the GCC and the new model of church-state relations in the Second Commonwealth, which was to ensure the political loyalty of the hierarchy and clergy to the Polish state. The analysis of the observance / non-observance of the Greek Catholic priests by the Concordat conditions will be the subject of further scientific research by the team of authors.

ВИЗНАЧЕННЯ ПРАВОВОГО СТАТУСУ ГРЕКО-КАТОЛІЦЬКОЇ ЦЕРКВИ У ПОЛЬСЬКІЙ ДЕРЖАВІ (1919–1925 рр.)

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Summary
The scientific article covers the process of forming relations between the Greek Catholic Church and the Polish state since the accession of Eastern Galicia to Poland according to the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference on June 28, 1919 and the Council of Ambassador of the Entente on March 15, 1923 until its adoption in 1925. Concordat between the Apostolic Capital and Poland, which regulated the state and legal status of the Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches in Poland. Attention was drawn to the state position of the Greek Catholic clergy, which supported the desire of Ukrainians for political, religious and personal freedom. The government’s crackdown on priests sharing the protest sentiment of the Ukrainian population was revealed. The article focuses on the diplomatic efforts of Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky to lobby for Galicia’s autonomy in the international arena. It is emphasized that with the change of state affiliation of Eastern Galicia in relations

with the authorities of the Polish state, the GCC was forced to move to a new legal and political plane. It is noted that the Concordat, signed in 1925, enshrined the legal status of the Holy See and the new model of church-state relations in the Second Commonwealth, which was to ensure the political loyalty of the hierarchy and clergy to the Polish state.

Keywords: Greek-Catholic Church, Poland, Legal Status, Concordate.

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