

Introduction

Background and Context

The industrial revolution brought dramatic social and economic changes to nineteenth-century Europe, and its impact was also felt in the intellectual life of the Catholic Church. By the end of the century, a new concern had emerged within the official ethical discourse of the church: the social encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII addressed a broad range of social, political and economic issues of the day. In the progressive shifts from feudalism to capitalism, from clericalism to secularization and socialism, and, by the early twentieth century, from absolutism to democracy, the church found itself faced with unprecedented questions about the nature of its role in society and its relationship with the state. Since those processes of change were occurring at varying rates in different European countries, papal social teaching would, from its very beginnings, require an ever-increasing degree of practical interpretation and implementation by local episcopates. Inasmuch as Catholic social teaching by its very nature addressed economic, social and political conditions in Christian communities, in order to be incarnated, it would have to be attuned to the contextual social reality, following Leo XIII's call "to look upon the world as it truly is." Hence the emergence of papal social teaching was accompanied by a corresponding new prominence of individual episcopal conferences as a point of mediation between the official teaching of the Vatican and the particular social context.

A unique case of the contextual application of Catholic social doctrine was that of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the Austrian province of Galicia. Situated at the crossroads of two Christian cultures—Orthodox, tsarist Russia to the east and Latin-rite Catholic Poland to the west—the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church attempted to bridge the divide between the Christian East and West. Historically, under the terms of its reunion with Rome in 1596, the church had become Catholic, but retained its Byzantine Slavic heritage. Its Eastern roots were evident in a distinctive liturgical and ascetical tradition, which refused to compartmentalize or separate moral theology from the total Christian life of prayer, and which took the community of worship and faith as the point of departure in its ethical reflection on society. Unity with Rome brought contacts with the West and provided access to schools, all of which raised the level of theological training among the Greek Catholic clergy. In addition, Western theological tracts were translated into Ukrainian and Ukrainian Catholic

theologians drew heavily on Western sources. By the late nineteenth century, the social teachings of Leo XIII were on the local agenda in Austrian Galicia.¹

Catholic Austria had conferred upon this church not only the title "Greek Catholic," but also equal status with the Roman Catholic Church in the empire, along with an array of attendant social, economic and political privileges. For their part, the priests of the Greek Catholic Church, and later their children, were in the vanguard of the emerging Ukrainian movement for social, political and economic change: along with his pastoral and family responsibilities, the Greek Catholic pastor was to be found organizing the first farm and credit cooperatives, raising the national consciousness of the peasants, and participating in political

1. For example, the treatise on the social question by the Austrian Jesuit Joseph Biederlack (Innsbruck, 1895) was translated into Ukrainian: Iosyf Biderliak, *Suspil'ne pytanie: Prychynok do zrozuminia ieho suty i ieho rozviazania* [Trans. Rev. Amvrozii Redkevych] (L'viv, 1910).

The only manuals of moral theology available to pastors of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia at the turn of the century were: Iosyf Mil'nytskii, *Rozmyshleniia o Pravednosti Khristian'skii* (L'viv, 1881), and Aleksander Bachyn'skii and Iosyf Mil'nytskii, *Korotkii vyklad katolytskoho Bohosloviia Moral'noho (Eryky katolytskoi)*, 2 vols. (L'viv, 1899). The former drew, among other German sources and German translations, on the moral manuals of Ernst Müller (Vienna, 1879) and of Karl Martin, Bishop of Paderborn (5th ed., Mainz, 1865). The latter used as basic references the Latin compendia of moral theology of Joannes Petro Gury (Regensburg, 1874), Joseph Scheicher (Vienna, 1890) and M. M. Marathan (Paris, 1894), as well as the two German texts cited above and the moral treatise of Thomas M. I. Gousset (Schaffhausen, 1851). Metropolitan Sheptytsky expressed the following opinion of the two Ukrainian manuals: "Both of those books were published in the last century. Despite the great contributions of both those theologians to the field of ecclesiastical literature, these two works may be considered the weakest of their writings. At the time when they were published, they may perhaps have been adequate to the average needs of priests; today they are found only in a few libraries. Most priests do not have them and, of those who do, few ever open them." Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, "Pro liberal'nu sovist" (1942), in *Pys'ma-Poslannia Mytropolity Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV. z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsii* (Yorkton, 1969) (hereafter 03-69), p. 315.

It is not known how widely *Rerum Novarum* or other encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII were distributed in Galicia. However, five of Leo's social encyclicals, including *Rerum Novarum*, were included in Ukrainian translation in the appendix volume of the acts and decrees of the 1891 Sobor of Lviv. See *Dodatok do Chynnostei i rishen' ruskoho provintsiial'noho Sobora v Halychyni otbuvshoho sia vo L'vovi v r. 1891* (L'viv, 1897), pp. 97-199. Later, during the interwar period of Polish rule, a collection of papal encyclicals ("Biblioteka Paps'kykh Entsyklik") was published in Lviv. See "Dekrety i Pravyla AEparkhiial'noho Soboru 1940 roku: Paps'ki pys'ma," in 03-69, p. 65. As for the Metropolitan, he of course was familiar with the Leonine corpus and quoted from it regularly. He would certainly have received all official documents from the Vatican, and it is likely that official Polish translations were also readily available in Galicia.

action intended to improve the socio-economic conditions of Ukrainian life. And, in the absence of an extensive Ukrainian political representation, it was often the bishops who, as *ex officio* members of the upper house (Herrenhaus) in the Viennese parliament, brought forth the needs of their people in the political forum.²

Such was the context into which in 1865 the aristocratic family of Jan Szeptycki and Zofia z Fredrów welcomed the birth of a son, Roman Aleksander Maria. The personal journey whereby the Polish Roman Catholic Count Roman was to become Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky³ of the Greek Catholic Archeparchy of Lviv has been, and no doubt will continue to be the subject of research, discussion and speculation. Yet, although in its particular socio-cultural environment this transition might well have raised some eyebrows, it is less surprising when one bears in mind that, among his many illustrious ancestors, Roman Aleksander could count, in the eighteenth century, no less than four bishops of the Greek Catholic Church, two of them Metropolitans of Kyiv.⁴

The future metropolitan's higher education began with the study of law in Cracow. Having fulfilled his father's wish with a degree in that field, in 1888 Roman took the momentous step of joining the Galician Eastern-rite order of Basilian monks, which had only recently undergone a major reform carried out

2. As Metropolitan Sheptytsky himself would later explain, "In Galicia, the Ruthenians had neither governors nor workers nor people who were rich and influential. Their bishops were almost the only representatives of the nation. And, according to a law that might be called a 'law of substitution' (*loi de substitution*), our bishops are sometimes called upon to perform certain functions and to wield a level of influence that elsewhere only secular heads of state would possess." Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, "Report to Giovanni Gennoch, 12.II.1923," "Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Andree Szeptyckij Archiepiscopi Leopoliensis Ucrainorum Metropolitanæ Haliciensis," vol. 1, "Epistolæ et Relationes ad Sanctam Sedem Lingua Gallica Exaratae" (Rome, 1965), p. 24. This unpublished twenty-volume compilation will be abbreviated henceforth as *ERSS-LGE*.

3. The varieties of spelling of the Metropolitan's family name range from the Polish "Szeptycki" to the transliterated Ukrainian "Sheptyts'kyi" and to the somewhat simpler English form "Sheptytsky," with countless variations in other languages, as will be noted in the bibliographic references at the end of this study. It is the third form that we have chosen to use in the present work when referring to the Metropolitan after he joined the Greek Catholic Church.

4. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky's familial predecessors in the Greek Catholic episcopate were: Bishop Varlaam Sheptytsky of Lviv (1700–15), Bishop Atanazii Sheptytsky of Peremyshl (Przemysł) (1762–79), Metropolitan Atanazii Sheptytsky of Kyiv (1729–46), and Metropolitan Lev Sheptytsky of Kyiv (1778–79). On this and other genealogical matters, the basic sources are Ivan Shpytkovs'kyi, *Rid i herb Sheptyts'kykh* (Lviv, 1936), and Andrzej A. Zięba, "Szeptycki/Sheptyts'kyi Genealogy," in *Life and Times*, pp. 437–39.

by the Society of Jesus. It was thus as a Basilian novice that he received his theological training and monastic formation. As a highly educated priest (ordained in 1892), as a celibate in a church in which the vast majority of priests were married, and as a monk who showed both initiative and skill in performing a wide variety of tasks ranging from novice master to preacher to co-founder and contributor to the religious periodical *Misionar*, Sheptytsky was eminently *episcopabile*. And so it was that, in 1899, at the age of thirty-four, he was appointed bishop of Stanyslaviv. A year later, after the death of Metropolitan Iulian Kulovsky, Bishop Andrei was nominated to the Metropolitan See of Lviv.

As the Eastern-rite Catholic Metropolitan Archbishop of Lviv, Galicia, in a time of turbulent social and political change (1899–1944), Andrei Sheptytsky played a key role in the social history of that western region of Ukraine. During his tenure in office, Galicia would change political hands so many times that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the first half of the twentieth century provides a unique case study of church-state relations. At the same time, Ukrainian society was also undergoing profound changes, particularly in connection with the emergence of a Ukrainian national movement that was beginning to wage a struggle for political self-determination. Metropolitan Sheptytsky faced issues that emerged as a result of both those social and political processes.

Status Quaestionis and Statement of the Problem

The social role of the Greek Catholic Church was shaped by factors that reached back to the ninth-century Cyrillo-Methodian roots of Slavic Christianity. In contrast to the Western missionary model, according to which unity with the universal Church meant cultural adaptation to Latin forms, the mission to the Slavs had resulted in the translation of the gospel and liturgical books into the vernacular. This, in Jaroslav Pelikan's estimation, paved the way for a uniquely Eastern identification of *cultus* and culture, one in which the development of Christian culture was to take on a decidedly contextual, autochthonous character, and in which the life of the church would come to be characterized by a powerful "bond with the total life of the people."⁵

The question that such a linkage raises is whether the Ukrainian church's proximity to the culture extended as well to the political order or, in other words, whether the local church ever became a state church. In the case of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the first half of the twentieth century, there was little

5. Jaroslav Pelikan, "Eastern Christianity in Modern Culture: Genius and Dilemma," in *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: Tradition and the Canadian Cultural Context*, ed. David Goa (Edmonton, 1989), pp. 235–36.