

## A Prisoner for His People's Faith: Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky's Detentions under Russia and Poland

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### Abstract

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Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky (1865–1944) was imprisoned no fewer than three times because of his defence of the faith of his Ukrainian people. Based on correspondence found in the Vatican Archives, this article reveals hitherto unknown details of the metropolitan's imprisonments. It also sheds light on the reasons why Sheptytsky was imprisoned so many times and chronicles the vigorous interventions of the Roman Apostolic See to defend the metropolitan and to secure his release and return to his archeparchy of Lviv. His personal background, spiritual journey, and persecution, closely parallel aspects of the history of the Ukrainian nation. He underwent his own process of national awakening, which resulted in his return to the Byzantine-Ruthenian rite of his ancestors. Becoming Byzantine yet remaining Catholic placed him directly at odds with the political-religious ideologies of both the Russian Empire and the newborn Polish Republic, especially since he had assumed the mantle of spiritual leadership over the Galician Ukrainians. Sheptytsky was deported to Siberia in 1914 as an obstacle to the tsarist plan to absorb the Ukrainian Greco-Catholics into the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1919, he was placed under house arrest, this time by Catholic Poland, and interned three years later by the same government when he attempted to return to Lviv.



### ***Introduction***

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky (1865–1944)<sup>1</sup> was imprisoned no less than three times because of his defence of the faith of his Ukrainian people. Based on correspondence found in the Vatican Archives, this article reveals hitherto unknown details of the metropolitan's imprisonment in Russia and Poland. It also sheds light on the reasons why Sheptytsky was imprisoned so many times and chronicles the vigorous interventions of the Holy Roman Apostolic See<sup>2</sup> designed to defend the metropolitan and to secure his release and return to his archeparchy of Lviv.

To understand the reasons that led to Sheptytsky's multiple internments, one needs to look at his life history.<sup>3</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> Born Roman Aleksander Marya Szeptycki (Polish spelling) at Przyłbice (Prylbychi in Ukrainian), Eastern Galicia, the third child of Count Jan Kanty Remigian Szeptycki (1836–1912) and Sofia née Fredro (1837–1904), daughter of the famous Polish poet Count Alexander Fredro (1793–1875). By the terms of the imperial patent of 16 September 1871, creating Jan Kanty a hereditary count, his title descended to all his legitimate issue: Jerzy Sewer hr. Dunin-Borkowski, *Almanach Błękitny*. Geneologia żyjących rodów polskich (Lwów-Warszawa: Nakładem Księgarni H. Altenburga, 1908), 915–916. Cf. Йосиф Сліпий, “Про молодечий вік нашого митрополита,” in *Богословія* 4 (1926), reprinted in *Твори Кур Йосифа Верховного Архієпископа і Кардинала*, том. II. Ed. Іван Хома, Іван Яцків (Рим: Український Католицький Університет ім. св. Климентія Папи, 1969), 200–201.

<sup>2</sup> The official denomination for the Roman Pontiff (the pope) and his Curia is *Sancta Sedes Apostolica*. In the twentieth century, a semi-official distinction between *the Apostolic See*, for internal Church matters, and *the Holy See* for the Church's relations with civil governments, has come to be used. The terminology, as is evidenced from the primary sources cited here, continued to be fluid: Dominique Le Tourneau, “Santa Sede o Sede Apostolica,” in *Dizionario Storico del Papato* (Milano: Bompiani, 1996), 1327–1331.

<sup>3</sup> A critical biography of Andrei Sheptytsky is still lacking. The principal published sources include: Giovanni Coco, “Tra la Galizia e la Russia: la Nomina Episcopale di Andrej Szeptycki nell'ambito dell'Unionismo di Leone XIII,” in *Collectanea Archivi Vaticani* 61 (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2006), 33–91. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Le Métropolitaine André Szeptyckyj* (Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificaе Ucrainorum, vol. XVI–XVII) (Roma: 1964). Andrii Krawchuk, *Christian Social Ethics in Ukraine. The Legacy of Andrei Sheptytsky* (Edmonton-Ottawa-Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies [Sheptytsky Institute-Basi-

personal background, his spiritual journey, and also his persecution by Russia and Poland, closely parallel aspects of the history of the Ukrainian nation. In the nineteenth century, Ukrainians underwent a process of national awakening; a people who had been called Ruthenians came to understand that they belonged to a nation distinct from that of Poland or of Russia.<sup>4</sup> The Sheptytskys were an old Ruthenian noble family that had adopted the Latin rite and assimilated a Polish identity.<sup>5</sup> Young Sheptytsky also underwent his own process of national awakening, which resulted in his return to the Byzantine-Ruthenian rite of his ancestors.<sup>6</sup> As the Ukrainian national movement began under clerical leadership,<sup>7</sup> so too Sheptytsky's national awakening led him to the clerical-religious state. Becoming Byzantine yet remaining Catholic

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lian Press], 1997). Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyj* [*Morality and Reality*] (Edmonton: CIUS, 1989). Athanasius D. McVay, *The Episcopal Nominations of Andrei Sheptytsky: an Historical Account of the Processes of his Nominations as Bishop of Stanislaviv and Archbishop-Metropolitan of Lviv* (Rome-London: Annales Ecclesiae Ucrainae, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), especially 351–382, 397–405. Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine a History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1994), 221–242. Ivan L. Rudnytsky, “The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule,” in *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*, ed. Peter L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton: CIUS, 1987), 320–322.

<sup>5</sup> Krzysztof Stopka, “Historyczne początki rodu Szeptyckich,” in *Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki. Studia i materiały* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1994), 11–16. Cfr. Korolevskij, *Le Metropolite*, 1–4.

<sup>6</sup> Andrzej A. Zięba, “W sprawie genezy decyzji Romana Szeptyckiego o zmianie obrządku,” in *Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki. Studia i materiały*, 43–64. In the eighteenth century, several Sheptytsky's had served as Uniate Ruthenian bishops: Dunin-Borkowski, 915. Cfr. *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. IV, 641–642.

<sup>7</sup> John-Paul Himka, “Priests and Peasants: the Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867–1900,” in *Canadian Slavonic Papers* (1979), especially 1–5. Idem, “Religion and Nation in Habsburg Galicia,” in *Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Neighbors: Essays in Honor of Paul Robert Magocsi*, eds. Bogdan Horbal, Patricia A. Krafcik, Elaine Rusinko (Fairfax, VA: Eastern Christian Publications, 2006), 203–224.

placed him directly at odds with the political-religious ideologies of both Russia and Poland.<sup>8</sup>

### *I. Sheptytsky and Russia*

The Russian Empire had a powerful religious and political influence on the peoples of Eastern Europe. Catholics that came under Russian rule were persecuted, especially the Eastern Catholics, who were completely suppressed.<sup>9</sup> In the 1880's, Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903) attempted to make diplomatic overtures to improve relations with Orthodox Russia and to ease the draconian restrictions on Catholics within its empire.<sup>10</sup> Pope Leo considered the Eastern Catholic Churches to be the ideal bridge between the Catholic and the Orthodox world. Consequently, he introduced reforms designed to strengthen these Churches, the largest of which was the Greco-Catholic Church in Austrian Galicia.<sup>11</sup> Foremost among these

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<sup>8</sup> Idem, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement before 1914," *Morality and Reality*, 30–33. Athanasius D. McVay, "Catholicize not Latinize: The Missions of Achille Ratti and Giovanni Genocchi according to the Archives of the Apostolic See" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, October 2007), 152–63.

<sup>9</sup> Giuseppe M. Croce, "Le Saint-Siège, l'Église orthodoxe et la Russie soviétique," in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée* 105 (Rome: 1993), 267–297. Coco, 33–91. Roberto Morozzo della Rocca, "La Russie, l'URSS et le Saint-Siège," in *Nations et Saint-Siège au XXe siècle*, dir. H. Carrère d'Encausse & Philippe Levillain (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 235.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Hajjar, *Le Vatican, la France et le catholicisme oriental (1879–1914)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Beauchesne Religions Société Politique, 1979), 26–98. Diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Russia were partially restored in 1894: Coco, 59–91. Victor P. Gadjuk, "Russia e Vaticano tra XIX e XX secolo: Il dialogo secondo materiali d'archivio inediti," *Santa Sede e Russia da Leone XIII a Pio XI*, vol. I (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2002), 46. Jean-Marc Ticchi, "La représentation du Saint-Siège au couronnement des tsars Alexandre III (1883) et Nicholas II (1896): deux étapes dans les relations vaticano-russes," in *Le Pontificat de Léon XIII. Renaissances du Saint-Siège?* Études réunies par Philippe Levillain et Jean-Marc Ticchi (Collection de l'école Française de Rome 368) (Rome, 2006), 139–47. Angelo Tamborra, *Chiesa Cattolica e Ortodossia Russa* (Cinisello Balsamo: Edizioni Paoline, 1992), 334–335.

<sup>11</sup> A watershed of this policy was Pope Leo's Apostolic Letter *Orientalium Dignitas* of 30 November 1894: *Acta Leonis XIII*, vol. XIV, 358–370;

measures was the reform of the Ruthenian Basilian Order, for the Apostolic See hoped that the reformed Basilians would promote unity with the Roman pontiff and spearhead Eastern Catholic missionary activity throughout Eastern Europe.<sup>12</sup>

The young Sheptytsky became imbued with the ideals of Leo XIII, including the notion of bringing Russia into union with the Roman Church.<sup>13</sup> To further these ideals, Sheptytsky chose to join the reformed Ruthenian Basilians in 1888.<sup>14</sup> Before entering the Basilian Order, he visited the great cities of the Russian Empire and spoke with the famous religious philosopher Vladimir Soloviev, who was encouraging Russians to

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*Acta Sanctae Sedis* (1894–1895), 257–264. The document rejected Latinization and provided concrete legal-canonical provisions for the preservation of the Eastern Catholic Churches: Archivio Segreto Vaticano [ASV], Archivio della Sacra Congregazione per gli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinarii [A.E.S.], *Russia*, pos. 610 P.O., fasc. 5, f. 3, Pienza della S. Congregazione Pro Ecclesia Orientali, no. 9, prot. 3952, June 1920, 17, no. 20. For a well-researched expose of Leo XIII's unionistic policies, see: Tamborra, *Chiesa Cattolica e Ortodossia Russa*, especially 389–390; Coco, 31–168, especially 76–91. Hajjar, 18–23.

<sup>12</sup> Apostolic letter *Singulare praesidium*, 12 May 1882: in *Acta Leonis XIII*, vol. III, 58–68; also in *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiae Ucrainae Illustrantia*, ed. Athanasius Welykyj (Analecta OSBM [AOSBM]), section III, vols. I–II, (Rome: 1954), II:454–459. *Acta et Decreta Synodi Provincialis Ruthenorum Galiciae habitae Leopoltitan* 1891 (Romae, 1896), 105. Cf. Hajjar, 141–42. John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867–1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1999), 79–84, 119. McVay, “Catholicize not Latinize,” 230–232.

<sup>13</sup> Олександр Баран, “Митрополит Андрей Шептицький і його екуменічні ідеї” in *Український Історик*, 1–4 (120–123), рік XXI (New York: 1994), 182–188. Korolevskij, *Le Metropolitte*, 9. Jaroslav Pelikan, “The Church between East and West: The Context of Sheptytsky's Thought,” in *Morality and Reality*, 4. Zofia z Fredrów Szeptycka, *Młodość i powołanie ojca Romana Andrzeja Szeptyckiego zakonu św. Bazylego Wielkiego*, ed. Bogdan Zakrzewski (Wrocław: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Polonistyki Wrocławskiej, 1993), 37–38, 47–48. Id., *Memories of a Mother* (Winnipeg, 1982), 40–41, 55–58; Eadem, “Léon XIII et Romain André Szeptyckij,” in AOSBM, series II, vol. I, fasc. 4, 582–586. Міхал Вавжонек, *Екуменічна Діяльність Митрополита Андрея Шептицького в Україні та Росії*. AOSBM, section I, vol. 52 (Рим, 2006), 29–32.

<sup>14</sup> Атанасій Пекар, “Митрополит Андрей Шептицький як монах Василянin,” in AOSBM, series II, vol. XV (XXI) (Рим, 1996), 480–481. Сліпий, “Про молодечий вік,” 201–206, 215–217.

consider Rome as the centre of Church unity.<sup>15</sup> Leo XIII and his counsellors looked upon Andrei Sheptytsky as the ideal exponent of their Eastern Catholic plan, and thus favoured his appointment as archbishop-metropolitan of Lviv, primate of the Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia.<sup>16</sup> Following his appointment in 1900, Metropolitan Andrei began to prepare his Church to take on a missionary role to the East. A wonderful opportunity presented itself after the first Russian Revolution of 1905, when Tsar Nicholas II<sup>17</sup> issued a decree granting religious freedom in his realms.<sup>18</sup> That same year,

<sup>15</sup> Vladimir Solovyev, *Russia and the Universal Church* (London: Geoffrey Bles-The Centenary Press, 1958), 85–144. Excerpts from Solov'ev's 1884 "Славянский вопрос," in *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький і Греко-Католики в Росії. Документи і матеріали, 1899–1917*. Ред. Юрій Аввакумов й Оксана Гайова (Львів: Видавництво Українського Католицького Університету, 2004) [МАШГКР], Додаток I, 745–752. "In the last decade, among Russian theologians, many things have changed for the better, that is, in favour of union with the Roman See" [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 907, fasc. 294, ff. 4v-11r, Sheptytsky to Pius X, (prot. 9464, 12691), Leopoli, 30 June 1905; also reproduced in МАШГКР, document no. 36. 102. Cfr. Coco, 61. Hajjar, 26, 99. Z.P. Jakhimovitch, "Russia e Vaticano: Problemi nelle relazioni diplomatiche tra XIX e XX secolo," in *Santa Sede e Russia da Leone XIII a Pio XI*, vol. I (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2002), 71–73. Tamborra, *Chiesa Cattolica e ortodossia russa*, 319.

<sup>16</sup> Coco, 91–168. McVay, *The Episcopal Nominations of Andrei Sheptytsky*, 10–33. Idem, "The Reluctant-to-Accept and Reluctantly-Accepted Bishop Count Andrei Roman Alexander Sheptytsky," in *Progress Ukrainian Catholic News*, no. 15/2144 (Winnipeg: 24 August 2008), 6, 10, 11.

<sup>17</sup> Nikolai Alexandrovych Romanov-Holstein-Gottrop (1868–1918): Nicholas II Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, Tsar of Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir, Novgorod, Kazan, Akstrakhan, Poland, Siberia etc., 1894–1917; executed by the Bolsheviks, 1918: *Almanach de Gotha*. Annuaire généalogique; diplomatique et statistique (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1917), 79–80.

<sup>18</sup> "Cum in decreto tolerantiae civile hac in se stantur, ... Persuassum habeo, quod ejusmodi declaratio magno fere causam unionis in Russia promovere potest." ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 907, fasc. 294, ff. 4r-11r, Sheptytsky to Pius X, (prot. 12681), Leopoli, 30 June 1905; also reproduced in МАШГКР, document no. 36, 100–103. "Desiring to take advantage of the liberty of religion decreed in Russia with the famous ukaz of 1905, he asked from the H[oly] Father Pius X an audience which he obtained in the first months of 1907.... [The] H[oly] Father Pius X granted him *verbally* all that he asked" (my translation): ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 636 P.O., fasc. 23, ff. 5r-7v, Papadopoulos to Gasparri, prot. 5936/21 (22627), Roma, 20 June 1921.

Sheptytsky attempted to restore the ancient Greek-Catholic diocese of Kholm (Chełm), which had been illegally suppressed by the Russian government.<sup>19</sup> Two years later, in 1907, Pope Leo XIII's successor, Pius X (1903–1914), granted the metropolitan full powers over the Eastern Catholic Churches in Russia,<sup>20</sup> but kept this concession secret, even from his closest advisors.<sup>21</sup> Endowed with such authority, Metropolitan Andrei began the process of establishing a Russian-Rite Catholic Church.<sup>22</sup> The greatest obstacle to Sheptytsky's plan was the Russian government, which was

<sup>19</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 907, fasc. 294, ff. 4r-11r, Sheptytsky to Pius X, (prot. 12681), Leopoli, 30 June 1905.

<sup>20</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1318, fasc. 518, 66r-71r, faculties written in Sheptytsky's hand, signed and sealed by Pius X, 17 February and 18 December 1908: an excerpt is reproduced in МАИИГКР, document no. 93, 218–219. "In February of 1908 Mons[ignor] Sheptytsky returned to Rome to receive confirmation from the same H[oly] Father in *writing* the faculties which he had obtained the previous year" [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 636 P.O., fasc. 23, ff. 5r-7v, Papadopoulos to Gasparri, prot. 5936/21 (22627), Roma, 20 June 1921. The documents were authenticated by two cardinals, at least one of which was present at the audience: "Exemplar hoc cum originali signata Summi pontificis et Pontificio munito concordare testor. G[eorg] Card[inal] Kopp Pr[inceps] Ep[iscopu] Vratisl[aviensis]." ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 48, f. 84rv, Papadopoulos to the Secretariat of State, Roma, 9 April 1923. Cf. Vittorio Peri, *Orientalis Varietas*. Roma e le Chiese d'Oriente- Storia e Diritto canonico. Kanonika 4 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1994), 269. Unaware of these documents, some authors, such as Michail I. Odincov, "I cattolici e la Chiesa cattolica in Russia nel 1914–1920," in *Santa Sede e Russia da Leone XIII a Pio XI*, vol. II (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2006), 140, continue to cast doubt on the authenticity of Sheptytsky's secret faculties.

<sup>21</sup> "The existence of these faculties remained secret even to the Most Em[inent] Cardinal Secretary of State of the time, Merry del Val, [...] thus there occurred immediately *protests* from the Latin bishops of Russia and from the Government" [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 636 P.O., fasc. 23, ff. 5r-7v, Papadopoulos to Gasparri, prot. 5936/21 (22627), Roma, 20 June 1921.

<sup>22</sup> Jurij E. Karlov "La Russia e il Vaticano tra il febbraio e l'ottobre 1917: un'occasione perduta," *Santa Sede e Russia da Leone XIII a Pio XI*, vol. II, 111–112. Roberto Morozzo della Rocca, *Le nazioni non muoiono*. Russia rivoluzionaria, Polonia indipendente e Santa Sede (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992), 24. Maciej Mróz, "Działalność unijna metropolity Andrzeja Szeptyckiego w Rosji i w Polsce w latach 1917–1922," in *Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki. Studia i materiały*, 169–80.

very wary of a Greek-Catholic metropolitan's interest in the religious affairs of a country where Orthodoxy was the state religion.<sup>23</sup> The government complained to the Holy See of Sheptytsky's Catholic activities, but the papal secretariat of state was unable to deal with the issue, having been kept in ignorance regarding the metropolitan's secret jurisdiction. In 1912, when Sheptytsky entered Russia incognito, he was recognized and expelled from the country.<sup>24</sup> This minor incident was a preview of more sinister events yet to come.

In an age of imperialism, the Russian and Austrian empires vied for political control over their smaller neighbouring states. In the event of war, they both planned to extend their rule over a portion of the opposing empire. Russia began preparing for the conquest of Galicia<sup>25</sup> and Austria considered annexing Russian Poland and Ukraine. Possibly at the request of the Austrian heir to the throne (Archduke Franz Ferdinand)<sup>26</sup> or of the government itself, Metropolitan Andrei

<sup>23</sup> Fëdorov to Sheptytsky, Roma, 4 November 1907, in МАШИГКР, document no. 65, 160–161. Cfr. Odincov, 140–141. Ivan Muzyczka, “Sheptytsky'skyi in the Russian Empire” in *Morality and Reality*, 316.

<sup>24</sup> “The Vatican is not ignorant of the fact that, already several years ago, M[onsi]g[no]r Sheptytsky entered Russia disguised and furnished with false documents in order to pursue his political campaign, and it is only out of deference for the pope and so as not to give rise to incidents disagreeable to the Holy See that the Imperial Government closed its eyes and, instead, gave M[onsi]g[no]r Sheptytsky the possibility to leave Russia without having been arrested” [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, f. 50r, Memorandum of the Imperial Russian Legation to the Holy See, Roma, 18 February 1915. Cfr. Hajjar, 335. Mróz, “Działność unijna,” 172.

<sup>25</sup> Odincov, 125. Włodzimierz Osadczy, *Święta Ruś. Rozwój i oddziaływanie idei prawosławia w Galicji* (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2007), Chapter VII, 522–570. Cfr. Pollard, “Nationalismes et paix: l'impossible dialogue,” in *Nations et Saint-Siège au XXe siècle*. Dir. H. Carrère d'Encausse & Philippe Levillain (Paris, 2003), 38.

<sup>26</sup> “It appears that the Russians, having taken the archepiscopal palace, found correspondence of M[onsi]g[no]r Sheptytsky with the late Archduke Francis-Ferdinand, in which was discussed the separation of Ukraine from Russia in order to make it an independent kingdom” [my translation]. ASV. A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 494, f. 58r, Zaleski to Gasparri, undated (circa September 1917). Anonymous Memorandum of Austrian Foreign Ministry, 20 August 1918, in *Ereignisse in der Ukraine 1914–1922, deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe*, ed. Theophil Hornykewicz,



submitted a memorandum to the Austrian foreign ministry, dated 15 August 1914.<sup>27</sup> This document presented a project for the future ecclesiastical and political organization of eastern Ukraine, in the event of its being freed from Russian rule. The purpose of the memorandum was to provide a model which would foster Ukrainian national and religious identity and, most importantly, would favour the mission of the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine.<sup>28</sup> After Austria declared war on Russia, Sheptytsky exhorted his Galician flock to remain firm in their loyalty to the Catholic Church and to the Hapsburg monarch.<sup>29</sup> However, not a month after the outbreak of the First World War, at the beginning of September 1914, Russian armies invaded Galicia and the metropolitan found himself in enemy hands.<sup>30</sup>

In the aftermath of the Russian invasion, Metropolitan Sheptytsky was careful not to provoke the occupying forces.<sup>31</sup>

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vol. III (Philadelphia: 1968), 293. Franz Ferdinand Karl Ludwig Josef Maria von Habsburg-Este (1863–1914): *Almanach de Gotha* (1917), 5.

<sup>27</sup> A reproduction of this document was sent by the Russian legation to the Holy See: ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, ff. 35r-39r, Sheptytsky to Urbas, Lemberg, 15 August 1914. It is also reproduced in *Ereignisse*, vol. I (Philadelphia: 1966), document no. 4, 8–11.

<sup>28</sup> Петро Ісаїв, “Меморандум митрополита Андрея Шептицького до урядів центральних держав,” in *Богословія XXXII* (Рим 1968), 30–76. Bohdan Budorowycz, “Sheptyts’kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement after 1914,” Chapter 3 of *Morality and Reality*, 48.

<sup>29</sup> “Іменем Божим, яко ваш Митрополит і Душпастир закликаю Вас, [...] не слухайте голосу ложних безбожних, що сміють намовляти Вас до зради Цісаря – Вітчизни – Віри.” Sheptytsky to the villagers near the Russian border, Львів, 21 August 1914: in *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький Життя і Діяльність*, том I, Церква і Церковна Єдність. Документи і Матеріали 1899–1944 (Львів: Свічадо, 1995) [МАШЖД], tome II, vol. II, document no. 40, 443–444. Hussarek to Burian, prot. 4391/K.U.M. (8253), Wien, 14 November 1916: reproduced in *Ereignisse*, vol. II, document no. 427, point 2, 417–418. Cfr. Wolfdieter Bihl, “Sheptyts’kyi and the Austrian Government” in *Morality and Reality*, 26. Osadczy, *Święta Ruś*, 570–592.

<sup>30</sup> Martin Gilbert, *La Grande Storia della Prima Guerra Mondiale* (Milano: Oscar Mondadori, 1998), 65. Rudolph Jeřabek, “The Eastern Front,” in *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary*, ed. Mark Cornwall (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), 154. Subtelny, 341.

<sup>31</sup> Sermon of Sheptytsky in the Church of the Dormition, Львів, 6 September 1914: in МАШЖД, tome II, vol. II, document 27, 626–627;

He even sent a laudatory letter to Tsar Nicholas II, in a desperate attempt to save his flock from persecution.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the Russian government had long since decided to suppress the Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia, just as it had done in all of its other territories, and the greatest obstacle to this plan was Metropolitan Andrei.<sup>33</sup> In confiscating his private papers, the Russians discovered Sheptytsky's memorandum on Ukraine, which they used as a pretext to arrest and deport him.<sup>34</sup> Despite Russian accusations, Sheptytsky's actions had been consistent with international law since, as an Austrian subject, he was ethically and legally bound by an oath of loyalty to his sovereign. In addition, his conduct was consistent with the principles of justice since, unlike Poland and Russia, the Hapsburg monarchy had protected the Greek-Catholic Church from persecution and had granted significant civil rights to the

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МАШГКР, document 224, 701–702. Despite reports to the contrary in Russian journals: ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, ff. 17r–20v, Scapinelli to Gasparri, prot. 2273 (1183), Vienna, 30 October 1914.

<sup>32</sup> Российский Государственный Исторический Архив, ф. 821, оп. 12, д. 150, ф. 22, Sheptytsky to Nicholas II, Київ, 10 October 1914: cited in Osadczy, 683. Cfr. Krawchuk, 70, 261–263.

<sup>33</sup> Архив Внешней Политики Российской Империи, *Фонд политического отдела*, оп. 474, д. 161, ff. 3–4, Sazonov to Nicholas II, 3 September 1914: cited in Odincov, 126. “Archbishop Sheptytsky was not taken as a prisoner of war but as a political agitator, whose presence was impossible in Galicia.” [my translation] ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, f. 41r, Scapinelli to Gasparri, prot. 2355 (1548), Vienna, 20 November 1914. Cf. Krawchuk, 48–50; Odincov, 125–127; Osadczy, *Święta Ruś*, 570–592.

<sup>34</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, f. 2rv, Scapinelli to Ferrata, prot. 2213, Vienna, 3 October 1914. “When the city of Lviv was occupied, the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan M[onsig[no]r] Sheptytsky, much venerated by [the people of] his diocese, against all the pressures exerted upon him, persisted in his decision to remain [during the] occupation of the city because, as supreme ecclesiastical shepherd, he did not want to leave his flock. When the Russian troops appeared, M[onsi]g[no]r Sheptytsky, by all accounts, was first arrested in Lemberg and then afterwards was interned in a Russian city” [my translation]: Ibid., f. 3rv, Scapinelli to Ferrata, prot. 2215, Vienna, 5 October 1914. МАШЖД, tome II, vol. 2, documents no. 24–27, 612–627. On the deportation itself: Архив Внешней Политики Российской Империи, ф. *Ватикан*, д. 161, ф. 164: cited in Karlov, 102. Cfr. Odincov, 127.

Ruthenian-Ukrainians.<sup>35</sup> Most importantly, Metropolitan Andrei's loyalty was based on religious principles: experience had demonstrated that Austria had guaranteed freedom to the Catholic Churches whereas Russia had not.<sup>36</sup> In a letter to the cardinal secretary of state, the apostolic nuncio to Vienna described Sheptytsky's conduct, in the face of the enemy, as "heroic patriotism."<sup>37</sup>

Sheptytsky was first detained on 3 or 4 September 1914 and then arrested on 15 September<sup>38</sup> and deported via Kyiv and Moscow to Nizhni Novgorod in Russia, and then on 30 September to a prison in Kursk, Siberia.<sup>39</sup> The Austrian government immediately sought information through a neutral country's embassy in the Russian capital.<sup>40</sup> Informed of the arrest through the papal nuncio in Vienna, Secretary of State

<sup>35</sup> Magocsi, 408–425, 445–457. Rudnytsky, 315–317. Subtelny, 307–335.

<sup>36</sup> ASV, *Segr. Stato*, rubr. 244, fasc. 29, Gasparri to Scapinelli, Vaticano, 12 January 1915: English translation in John Francis Pollard, *Benedict XV The Pope of Peace* (New York: Continuum, 2005), 97. Cfr. Rudnytsky, 315–316.

<sup>37</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, ff. 12r-13r, Scapinelli to Gasparri, prot. 2255 (952), Vienna, 24 October 1914.

<sup>38</sup> From the Lviv Basilian Monastery Chronicle: in МАИЖД, tome II, vol. 2, document no. 24, 613.

<sup>39</sup> "The Greek Catholic Metropolitan M[onsi]g[no]r Sheptytsky, based on an order coming from Petersburg, as reported by the "Russkoje Slovo" of Nizhni-Nowgorod, was transported from this [latter] city to Kursk, where he will remain until further orders. From Nizhni-Novgorod the Metropolitan, under a heavy guard of gendarmes, was taken away 30 September at 9 in the morning. At the station of Rostow, from the second-class compartment where he had been [seated], he was immediately conducted into the security room, where he had to wait for an hour to take the train that was to transport him further. At 10 in the morning, this time he left for Kursk on the direct train, where he arrived at 12 1/4 at night. From the station the Metropolitan, surrounded by a heavy guard, was conducted to the hotel Foltorazkaja, where he was logged in room No. 54, together with his jailer. Two gendarmes are guarding the room" (my translation): ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, f. 10r, Scapinelli to Gasparri, prot. 2250 (877), Vienna, 24 October 1914.

<sup>40</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, f. 3r, Scapinelli to Ferrata, prot. 2215 (643), Vienna, 5 October 1914. Wolfdieter Bihl, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Austrian Government," Chapter 1 of *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyj*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi (Edmonton: CIUS, 1989), 21.

Cardinal Gasparri<sup>41</sup> replied that “the unfortunate events concerning Monsignor Sheptytsky ... greatly preoccupy the Holy See.”<sup>42</sup> Gasparri immediately launched a massive effort, enlisting the international Vatican diplomatic corps, in an attempt to free Sheptytsky or at least to improve the conditions of his confinement. In total, two-hundred and forty-three letters and telegrams passed between the papal secretariat of state and its representatives, pertaining to Sheptytsky’s detention in Russia. On the same subject, nineteen pieces of correspondence passed directly between the Vatican and the Russian imperial representative to the papal court.<sup>43</sup>

As early as October 1914, after being informed by the Viennese nuncio, the American ambassador to Austria spontaneously offered to approach his government on Sheptytsky’s behalf.<sup>44</sup> Cardinal Gasparri then instructed the papal representatives (apostolic delegates) in Canada and the United States to approach the Canadian and American governments for help.<sup>45</sup> While the United States proved less anxious to intervene,<sup>46</sup> the Canadian minister of justice Charles Doherty<sup>47</sup> immediately approached the governor general, the Duke of

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<sup>41</sup> Pietro Gasparri (1852–1934): priest, 1877; titular archbishop, 1898; cardinal 1907; secretary of state, 1914: Romeo Astorri, “Gasparri, Pietro,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* [DBI], vol. 52 (Catanzaro: 1999), 502–507.

<sup>42</sup> “Riferendomi alle dolorose vicende di Mgr. Szeptycki, la cui situazione tiene per tanto preoccupata la S. Sede.” ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, f. 26r, prot. 1185, Vaticano, 13 November 1914.

<sup>43</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, 493, 494, entitled “Dolorose vicende dell’Arcivescovo greco-ruteno cattolico di Leopoli.”

<sup>44</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, f. 3r, Scapinelli to Ferrara, prot. 2215, Vienna, 5 October 1914.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 6r, and 15r Gasparri to Bonzano and Stagni, telegrams, prot. 1207, Vaticano, 16 and 30 October 1914.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 35r, Bonzano to Gasparri, prot. 16423-d (16564), Washington D.C., 10 November 1914.

<sup>47</sup> Charles Joseph Doherty (1855–1931): judge of the Québec Supreme Court, 1891–1906; member of federal parliament, 1908; federal minister of justice, 1911–1921; Canadian delegate at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919; delegate to the League of Nations, 1920–1922; Imperial privy counselor, 1920.

Connaught,<sup>48</sup> uncle of the reigning King George V (1910–1936). The Russian and British Empires were allies in the First World War, so His Royal Highness wrote directly to Major Sir John Hanbury-Williams,<sup>49</sup> military attaché to the tsar's uncle, Grand Duke Nicholas, commander-in-chief of the Russian armies.<sup>50</sup> Hanbury-Williams made discreet inquiries but replied to the duke that a petition to the tsar on Sheptytsky's behalf would not be received.<sup>51</sup>

This first attempt having failed, on 13 November 1914 the Holy See petitioned the Russian legation for Sheptytsky's release, suggesting that he be permitted to exercise his ministry in Canada or the United States, under the watchful eye of Russia's allies.<sup>52</sup> However, the Russian envoy replied that his government had had no choice but to exile Sheptytsky from Lviv as a political agitator. Nonetheless, he assured the Holy See that there was no reason to be alarmed as the metropolitan was being held comfortably in a way "conforming to his ecclesiastical dignity."<sup>53</sup> This information was deliberately

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., ff. 24r-25r, Stagni to Gasparri, prot. 11849 (1149), Ottawa, 3 November 1914. Prince Arthur William Patrick Albert (1850–1942): youngest son of Queen Victoria (1819–1901) and Prince Albert, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (1819–1861); created Duke of Connaught and Strathern and Earl of Sussex, 1874; Governor General of Canada, 1911–1916: *Almanach de Gotha* (1917), 39–40.

<sup>49</sup> Major-General Sir John Hanbury-Williams (1859–1946): secretary to the Governor General of Canada, 1904–1909; head of the British military mission in Russia, 1914–1917; Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, 1917; His Majesty's Marshall of the Diplomatic Corps, 1920–1934; knight grand cross of the Royal Victorian Order, 1934 etc.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., f. 27r, Stagni to Gasparri, telegram (prot. 1449), Ottawa, 19 November 1914. Nicholas Nikolaevich Romanov-Holstein-Gottrop (1856–1929): grandson of Tsar Nicholas I (1796–1855); supreme commander of the Russian armies, August 1914 to 21 August 1915; viceroy in the Caucasus; lived in exile in France from 1919.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., ff. 46r-47r, Stagni to Gasparri, prot. 12065 (3677), Ottawa, 14 January 1915.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., f. 26r, Gasparri to Scapinelli, prot. 1185, Vaticano, 13 November 1914.

<sup>53</sup> "Le Métropolitain Szepticki a éloigné comme agitateur politique. Il est interné en Russie dans des conditions confortables à sa dignité ecclésiastique." Ibid., f. 34r, Nelidov to Pacelli, Roma, undated November 1914. Cfr. Ibid., f. 41r, Scapinelli to Gasparri, prot. 2355 (1548), Vienna, 20 November 1914.

misleading. Instead of being treated as a “noble prisoner,”<sup>54</sup> as the Russians claimed, Metropolitan Sheptytsky was being treated as “a snake,” the term which Tsar Nicholas had scribbled in the margin of the letter which Kyr Andrei had sent to him. Pitiably living conditions and the Siberian climate would permanently ruin Metropolitan Andrei’s health.<sup>55</sup> The Austrian government subsequently approached Spain, a neutral country, to act as mediator with the Russian authorities. At Austria’s behest, in March 1916, the Spanish ambassador proposed that Sheptytsky be exchanged for a famous Russian journalist taken prisoner by Austria.<sup>56</sup> Two months later, a group of French aristocratic ladies petitioned the empress of Russia to free the metropolitan. Both interventions came to nothing.<sup>57</sup>

During the early part of his confinement, Sheptytsky had been permitted to correspond with the outside world; he had sent at least three letters to the Pope, dated 14 December 1914, 29 April and 27 July 1915,<sup>58</sup> in addition to others messages to clergy and friends.<sup>59</sup> In his correspondence, Sheptytsky spoke

<sup>54</sup> “Mons. De Szeptycki, il quale però è trattato come un *prigioniero nobile*.” Ibid., f. 35r, Bonzano to Gasparri, prot. 16423-d (16564), Washington D.C., 10 November 1914.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., f. 64r, Scapinelli to Pacelli, (prot. 6138), Vienna, 23 April 1915. “I have learned from a very reliable source, direct from Russia, that the Uniate Metropolitan of Lemberg M[onsi]g[no]r André C[oun]t Sheptytsky has fallen gravely ill and that his very days are numbered. He cannot endure imprisonment” [my translation]: Ibid., fasc. 493, f. 15r, Tyshkevych to Pacelli, (prot. 18885), Ouchy-Lausanne, 17 July 1916.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., fasc. 492, f. 71r, Scapinelli to Gasparri, telegram, Wien, arrived 17 April 1916. Ibid., 72r, Gasparri to Nelidow, prot. 15875, Vaticano, 22 April 1916. Ibid., fasc. 493, f. 7r, Gasparri to Nelidow, 16879, Vaticano, 24 May 1916.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., fasc. 494, ff. 4-7r, Memorandum on Sheptytsky from the Bureau Ukrainienne en Suisse, annex 1 to Marchetti to Gasparri, prot. 617 (22685), Berne, 16 November 1916.

<sup>58</sup> Sheptytsky to Benedict XV: ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, 14 September 1914 (“m’a été remise par le Comte Stanislaus Krasicki, qui l’a porta sur la frontière russe dans une de ses bottes” Ibid., f. 55r, Benelius to Benedict XV, Stockholm, 23 January 1915). Ibid., ff. 66r-67v, Kursk in Russia, 29 April 1915. ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Vienna* 763, fasc. 3a, ff. 93r-94v, Kursk, 27 July 1915.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., f. 458v, Sheptytsky to Stojan, [Kursk], 18 August 1915, a French translation of which appears in Augustyn Babiak, *Des Ukrainiens*

of the suffering of his clergy and faithful, who had been imprisoned in Siberia for their fidelity to Catholic unity.<sup>60</sup> The pope asked Cardinal Gasparri to write to the metropolitan on 15 March 1915, but this letter never reached its destination.<sup>61</sup> After receiving Sheptytsky's second letter, Pope Benedict himself sent words of comfort and praise for the former's courage and his fidelity to Rome and to his Ukrainian flock. Sheptytsky had petitioned "the blessing of the Vicar of Christ" that he would be able to sacrifice his life by a martyr's death.<sup>62</sup> The pope, however, responded: "You express the hope that you would soon join the Divine Saviour. Yet we ardently desire that you would be able to return among His children, in order to assuage their wounds with paternal charity, to sustain them on the road of sacrifice with your example, to guide with your teachings towards their heavenly home."<sup>63</sup>

By 1916, however, Russia's initial victories had turned to defeats: Austro-German forces had liberated Galicia from Russian occupation and reinstalled the Greek-Catholic hierarchy<sup>64</sup> – all except the imprisoned metropolitan. Perhaps in an

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*aux Congrès de Velehrad (1907–1936)* (Paris: Société Scientifique Ševčenko, 2007), Annex 8, document 3, 147–149. Центральний Державний Історичний Архів України, Львів [ЦДІАУЛ], ф. 358, оп. 2, спр. 33, ф. 136, Sheptytsky to Vojnarovsky, Kursk, 29 May 1915: in МАШЖД, tome 2, vol. 2, doc. 34, 643–644.

<sup>60</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Vienna* 763, fasc. 3a, f. 458v, Sheptytsky to Stojan, [Kursk], 18 August 1915.

<sup>61</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 492, f. 58r-59v (unsent good copy f. 61rv), Gasparri to Sheptytsky, prot. 4701, Vaticano, 15 March 1915. At the top of the draft the notation reads: "Consigned to F[ather] Tacchi Venturi S.J. so that he find a way to transmit it and if he cannot to make known to the prisoner-Archbishop that the H[oly] Father thanks him [for his letter] and blesses him" [my translation].

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 66r-67v, Sheptytsky to Benedict XV, Kursk in Russia, 29 April 1915.

<sup>63</sup> "Tu aneli anche al che ti congiunga più presto al tuo Divin Salvatore. Ma Noi bramiamo che tu possa ritornare in mezzo ai Suoi figli per medicare con paterna carità le loro piaghe, per sostenerli col tuo esempio nella via del sacrificio, per guidarli coi tuoi insegnamenti verso la Patria celeste." *Ibid.*, f. 68r-70r, Benedict XV to Sheptytsky, prot. 4702, Vaticano, undated [circa May] 1916.

<sup>64</sup> Lviv had been recaptured on 22 June 1915: Gilbert, 221. Bishop Khomyshyn was able to return to his diocese by the beginning of September

attempt to break his spirit, Metropolitan Sheptytsky's captors imposed upon him a new regime of complete isolation, depriving him of his freedom of communication, his manservant and all but a single book, the Bible. Yet he managed to scribble a note asking for the Pope's blessing and assuring him of his daily prayers.<sup>65</sup> On 23 May 1916, Jesuit general superior, Father Ledóchowski,<sup>66</sup> informed the secretariat of state of this development,<sup>67</sup> prompting Cardinal Gasparri to launch an energetic protest to the Russian legation.<sup>68</sup> On 6 June, Gasparri wrote directly to Foreign Minister Sazonov,<sup>69</sup> arguing that Sheptytsky's treatment violated human and religious decency and even international law. The cardinal further noted that Sheptytsky was the only bishop who had been arrested during the war.<sup>70</sup> On 1 July, Sazonov rebutted that Sheptytsky

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1915: ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Vienna* 764, fasc. 11, f. 383r, Khomyshyn to Scapinelli, no. 63/ord., Stanislao poli, 6 September 1915.

<sup>65</sup> Sheptytsky asked that the pontifical benediction be communicated to him in a coded message, in the words "his uncle wishes him well." *Ibid.*, fasc. 494, f. 19r, Ledóchowski to Gasparri, (prot. 24880), Zizers, 30 December 1916. The note probably arrived many months after it had been sent, when the metropolitan had already been transferred to Jaroslavl: *Ibid.*, f. 20r, Gasparri to Ledóchowski, prot. 24880, Vaticano, 16 January 1917.

<sup>66</sup> Włodzimierz Dyonizy Count Halka-Ledóchowski (1866–1942): entered the Society of Jesus, 1889; ordained priest, 1894. provincial of Galicia, 1902–1906; assistant to the general, 1906; twenty-sixth general superior, 1915: Bronisław Natoński in PSB, vol. XVI, 635–637. Dunin Borkowski, 546–547.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, fasc. 493, ff. 8r-9r, Ledóchowski to Gasparri, Zizers, 23 May 1916.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 10r-12v, Gasparri to Nelidow, prot. 17319, Vaticano, 6 June 1916.

<sup>69</sup> Sergei Dmitrievich Sazonov (1860–1927): Imperial foreign minister, September 1910 to June 1916.

<sup>70</sup> "Le Cardinal Secrétaire d'Etat sousigné a l'honneur de rappeler à l'attention de V.E. de fait qu'en Europe durant la guerre actuelle, M<sup>gr</sup> Szeptycki est le seul évêque catholique qui ait été arrêté et déporté; ce qui apparait d'autant plus grave que des mesures aussi rigoureux ont été prises contre ce prélat. Mais en presence des renseignements précités concernant les mesures de rigueur prises contre l'Archevêque, le Cardinal soussigné, par ordre du Souverain Pontife, se fait un devoir de s'adresser directement aux nobles sentiments qui distinguent V.E. pour lui signaler le traitement infligé à M<sup>gr</sup> Szeptycki, et lui exprimer la douleur profonde et l'amertume qu'en éprouve le coeur de Sa Sainteté. Le soussigné nourrit par dessus tout la confiance que le Gouvernement Impérial, dans laquel V.E. occupe une place



represented a political threat because he had conspired to “detach vast provinces” from the Russian Empire and had claimed Vatican approval for this project.<sup>71</sup> Sazonov’s arguments were a misreading of Sheptytsky’s 1914 memorandum, which merely presented a plan in the event of an Austrian takeover. As to the “Vatican approval” mentioned in the memorandum, this referred not to a political takeover but to the religious jurisdiction in the Russian Empire secretly granted to Sheptytsky by Pope Pius X. In the face of Russian inflexibility, the cardinal secretary of state toned down his next communication, which he addressed to the new foreign minister Stürner.<sup>72</sup> In this letter of 25 August, the cardinal stated that the matter of Ukraine was a misunderstanding and renewed his request to transfer Metropolitan Andrei to protective custody in Canada, England, or even the Vatican.<sup>73</sup>

The Holy See’s diplomacy promptly produced a result: on 8 September 1916, the Holy Synod (a Russian government department) decreed that “Count Andrei Sheptytsky be transferred from Siberia to a monastery in Suzdal,” where he was

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di digne et si importante, voudra, grace à vos bons offices, pourvois enfin, d’auprès l’équité et l’humanité à la douloureuse situation de l’Archevêque.” Ibid., ff. 10r-12v, Gasparri to Sazonov, prot. 17319, Vaticano, 24 July 1916. Cfr. Carlo Monti, diary of 7 April 1917, in Antonio Scottà, *La Conciliazione Ufficiale, Diario del barone Carlo Monti “incaricato d’affari” del governo italiano presso la Santa Sede (1914–1922)* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997), vol. II, 66.

<sup>71</sup> “La minute de ce curieux document, écrit et signé par Mgr. Szeptycki est daté du 15 Août 1914, est entre les mains du Gouvernement Impérial. [...] à la IV il affirme que son projet de démembrement de la Russie a obtenu l’approbation du Vatican. ... Mais ce qu’il m’importe de reveler avant tout dans le document en question c’est le preuve irréfutable du complot ourdi depuis longtemps par Mgr. Szeptycki contre la Russie dont il serait détacher de vastes provinces.” ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 493, f. 31r-33r, Sazonov to Gasparri, no. 48 (prot. 19087), Péetrograd, 1/14 July 1916.

<sup>72</sup> Boris Vladimirovich Stürner (1848–1917): prime minister, February–November 1916; foreign minister, July to November 1916.

<sup>73</sup> “Le Saint Siège aime à penser qu’il faut attribuer à un malentendu regrettable. [...] si le Gouvernement Impérial Russe voulait bien accorder à Mgr. Szeptycki son transfert soit au Canada ou en Angleterre sous la surveillance des autorités civiles de ces pays, soit encore à Rome, en ce palais du Vatican.” Ibid., f. 40rv, Gasparri to Stürner, prot. 19824, Vaticano, 25 August 1916.

moved on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of that month.<sup>74</sup> Located 215 kilometres north of Moscow,<sup>75</sup> the Spas-Evtymiski Monastery in Suzdal was a detention centre for religious dissidents run by the Russian Orthodox Church. On 2 December, Cardinal Gasparri communicated to the secretary of the Russian legation, Nikolaj Bok,<sup>76</sup> that “this news has profoundly saddened the Holy Father” that a Catholic bishop was being detained in a prison for renegade Orthodox.<sup>77</sup> In an attempt to satisfy the Holy See, perhaps in view of the deteriorating internal situation in Russia itself, Bok informed Gasparri, on 8 December, that Sheptytsky “was transferred, the day before yesterday, from Suzdal to Jaroslavl, where he will be housed in a private residence, under the surveillance of the local authorities.”<sup>78</sup> Vatican diplomacy had obtained another partial success, yet Sheptytsky still remained in captivity. On 31 December, the cardinal informed Bok that, although the pope was pleased with the move to Jaroslavl, he nonetheless regarded it as merely a first step towards the metropolitan’s eventual release. In this letter, Gasparri renewed his suggestion to transfer Sheptytsky to the British Dominions or to Rome.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., f. 50r, Skirmunt to Pacelli, Einsiedeln, 12 October 1916. Ibid., f. 54r-61r, Klymenti Sheptytsky to Gasparri, Innsbruck, 23 October 1916. Ibid., ff. 62-63r, Bok to Pacelli, (prot. 22684), Rome, 16 November 1916.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., fasc. 494, f. 19r, Ledóchowski to Gasparri, (prot. 24880), Zizers, 30 December 1916.

<sup>76</sup> Nikolaj Bok (Nicolas Bock) (1880–1962): secretary of the Russian Legation to the Holy See; later became a priest of the Society of Jesus: Pietro Doria, “La documentazione Vaticana sui rapporti Santa Sede-Russia (1917–1919),” in *Santa Sede e Russia da Leone XIII a Pio XI*, vol. II, 62, 90. Karlov, 102, 112. Cfr. Nicholas Bock, *Russia and the Vatican on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: 1961).

<sup>77</sup> “Cette nouvelle ayant profondément attristé le Saint Père qui voit dans la translation du Métropolitain dans un endroit de ce caractère une mesure qui n’est pas conforme aux dispositions en vigueur pour le traitement équitable des prisonniers et qui constitue en outre une grave offense à la personne et à la dignité de Mgr Szeptycki dans sa qualité d’Archevêque Catholique.” ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 493, ff. 10r-11r, Gasparri to Bok, prot. 23171, Vaticano, 2 December 1916.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., f. 12r, Bok to Gasparri, no. 421 (23171), Rome, 8 December 1916.

<sup>79</sup> “Le Saint Père a après avec plaisir le transfert précité, qui tend à adoucir une peu les conditions pénibles de l’Archevêque, mais que Sa

During his captivity, Metropolitan Andrei continued to share his thoughts on the future of Catholicism in Russia with the pope. These reflections were communicated in two additional letters to Pope Benedict XV (1914–1922): the first from Suzdal, in September 1916,<sup>80</sup> and the second from Jaroslavl, in March 1917. In the second letter, the metropolitan declared that “the old regime that had always persecuted the Catholic Church ... has fallen, as if quashed by the hand of the Almighty.”<sup>81</sup> The February 1917 revolution had indeed brought the fall of the tsarist regime and its autocratic policies, resulting in amnesty to political prisoners and religious liberty to the nation.<sup>82</sup> At the continued insistence of the Holy See, Sheptytsky's case was reviewed by the Provisional Government and his sentence was officially reversed.<sup>83</sup> Following his release, Metropolitan Andrei traveled to the capital city of

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Sainteté se plait surtout à voir dans cet acte un premier pas vers des dispositions équitables et définitives, ayant pour but de mettre ce Prélat dans une situation convenable [...] que Monsiigneur Szeptycki soit transféré au Canada ou en Angleterre, sous la vigilance des autorités civiles de ce-pays, ou encore à Rome au Palais du Vatican.” Ibid., ff. 15r-16r, Gasparri to Bok, prot. 24358, Vaticano, 31 December 1916.

<sup>80</sup> МАШГКР, documents no. 225 and 226, Sheptytsky to Benedict XV, Suzdal, 23 and 29 September 1916, 703–706.

<sup>81</sup> “L’ancien regime toujours persecuteur appui et soutien du schisme a croulé, comme foudroyé par la main du Tou-Puissant [...]” ASV, A.E.S., *Stati Ecclesiastici*, pos. 1429, fasc. 572, ff. 9r-12r, Sheptytsky to Benedict XV, Jaroslavl, 16 March, and Petersbourg, 25 March 1917: also reproduced in МАШГКР, document no. 231, 713–716.

<sup>82</sup> On 20 March 1917, the Russian provisional government abolished all legal restrictions on the Catholic Church: Karlov, 104. The news of the fall of the Tsar was greeted with enthusiasm in the Roman Curia: Morozzo della Rocca, *Le Nazioni*, 13 and 21. Ibid., “Santa Sede e Russia rivoluzionaria,” 162. Croce, “Le Saint-Siège, l’Église orthodoxe et la Russie soviétique,” 267.

<sup>83</sup> Архив Внешней Политики Российской Империи, ф. *Особый политический отдел*, оп. 474, д. 161, ф. 164: cited in Karlov, 102, footnote 8. Государственный Архив Российской Федерации, ф. 1779, оп. 1, д. 6, ф. 19: cited in Odincov, 129. As had been recommended by Nikolaj Bok: Ibid., 139.

Petrograd (St. Petersburg) to resume the work of building a Russian Catholic Church.<sup>84</sup>

Due to the fact that his jurisdiction over Russia had been conferred secretly by the late Pope Pius X, Metropolitan Andrei wrote to the new pope on 26 April 1917, asking permission to come to Rome to discuss this mission privately.<sup>85</sup> The reason for continued secrecy was no longer the opposition of the Russian government but the opposition that was being voiced by a number of Polish clergy.<sup>86</sup> They considered that those who embraced Catholic unity should necessarily abandon their liturgical and spiritual traditions and embrace the Latin Rite. On his way to Rome, the metropolitan stopped in neutral Switzerland where he again announced his intention to visit Rome in a letter to Pope Benedict, dated 8 August.<sup>87</sup> Being an Austrian subject, Metropolitan Andrei, in order to visit the pope, would have had to enter Italy, a country still at war with Austria. Sheptytsky's planned visit to the pope was already being construed by the Italian Government as a political mission to convince the pope to support Austria and Germany.<sup>88</sup> Consequently, as much as the pope wanted to discuss matters face-to-face, such a visit could have been politically awkward, especially in a time when the Holy See was still deprived by Italy of its temporal sovereignty. Having been made aware of the accusations made against him, the metropolitan assured Pope Benedict that his visit was to be exclusively religious.<sup>89</sup> The Italian foreign minister, however, made it clear that Sheptytsky would not be welcome and, furthermore, that his safety could not be guaranteed.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Mróz, "Działalność unijna," 172–174. Muzyczka, 313–327. Йосиф Сліпий, "Петроградський Синод 1917. р.," reprinted in *Твори Кип'яносифа*, том. III–IV, ред. Іван Хома, Юрій Федорів (Рим: 1970), 75–83.

<sup>85</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Stati Ecclesiastici*, pos. 1429, fasc. 572, ff. 9r-12r, Sheptytsky to Benedict XV (prot. 34678), Jaroslavl 16 March, and Petersburg, 26 April 1917; also reproduced in МАШГКР, doc. 231, 713–716.

<sup>86</sup> Karlov, 112–113.

<sup>87</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 494, f. 42r, Sheptytsky to Gasparri (prot. 39982), Fribourg, 8 August 1917.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 49r, Two articles from *Il Corriere d'Italia*, 19 August 1917.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 43r-45r, Sheptytsky to Benedict XV, Fribourg, 8 August 1917.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 28rv, Grandi to Gasparri, (prot. 37358), Roma, 19 July 1917.

Austrian politicians, the papal delegate in Switzerland, and even the cardinal secretary of state made every effort to dissuade Sheptytsky from his intentions.<sup>91</sup> But it was only when the papal delegate to Switzerland told the metropolitan that his visit would place the Holy Father in a very difficult position<sup>92</sup> that Sheptytsky renounced his trip to Rome.<sup>93</sup> Given that a face-to-face interview was excluded, he wrote to the pope on 8 August, presenting his plan for Russia in detail and asking for his the reconfirmation of his special powers. However, due to mounting pressure from the Polish clergy, Pope Benedict temporarily suspended these faculties<sup>94</sup> but restored them on 24 February 1921, after speaking with the metropolitan in person.<sup>95</sup>

In August 1917, however, Sheptytsky was forced to return to his native land without having seen the pope. Upon his arrival in Lviv, on 27 August 1917, Sheptytsky was given a hero's welcome and was awarded the Grand Cross of the Leo-

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<sup>91</sup> Czernin to Hadik, telegram no. 308, prot. 5701, Wien, 17 July 1917: in *Ereignisse*, vol. II, document no. 450, 442–443. ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 494, f. 40r-41r, Marchetti to Gasparri, prot. 1301, 8 August 1917. Ibid., f. 42r, Sheptytsky to Gasparri, (prot. 39982), Fribourg, 8 August 1917.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., ff. 40r-41r, Marchetti to Gasparri, no. 1301, Berne, 18 August 1917.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., f. 48r, Sheptytsky to Marchetti, annex to prot. 1326 (40289), Fribourg, 15 August 1917.

<sup>94</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1318, fasc. 518, f. 65rv, Gasparri a Marini, prot. 87318, Vaticano, 22 February 1919.

<sup>95</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Stati Ecclesiastici*, pos. 1429, fasc. 572, ff. 19r-36r, Sheptytsky to Benedict XV, (prot. 483/28), Einsiedeln, 18 August 1917. "Il S. Padre nell'udienza accordata al sottoscritto Assessore della S. Congne Pro Ecclesia Orientali, il 23 Febbraio corr. si è degnato confermare all'Illmo e Rmo Mgr. Andrea Szeptycki, metropolita Ruteno di Leopoli, tutte le facultà straordinarie che egli aveva ricevuto dal Suo predecessore, S.S. Pio p. X nell'udienza del 18 e 22 Febbraio 1907 in vista dell'azione cattolica da esplicarsi in Russia; eccettuata però la facultà di nominare e consacrare vescovi per quel vasto territorio." ACCO, *Pro Russia*, pos. 130/28, f. 46rv; ЦДІАУЛІ, ф. 358, оп. 3п, спр. 104, арк. 1–4, Papadopoulos to Sheptytsky, prot. 5230/21, Roma, 24 February 1921: Ukrainian translation in МАШЖД, tome I, document no. 78, 189. Cf. ASV, A.E.S., Russia, pos. 636 P.O., fasc. 23, ff. 5r-7v, Papadopoulos to Gasparri, prot. 5936/21 (22627), Roma, 20 June 1921. Morozzo della Rocca, *Le nazioni*, 169–70.

pold Order.<sup>96</sup> Kyr Andrei's suffering to preserve his people's faith had greatly increased his prestige in Austrian, Ukrainian, and Catholic circles.<sup>97</sup> This prestige would be the cause of further sufferings for the Ukrainian nation and their church after the collapse of the Austrian Empire in November 1918.

## *II. Sheptytsky and Poland*

In the same way that Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky's religious mission had collided with the political plans of the Russian tsarist regime, so too his ideals would come into conflict with the goals of the nascent Polish Republic. Initially, as a young and capable Ruthenian-Polish aristocrat, Sheptytsky's vocation among the Ruthenians was highly favoured by Polish society.<sup>98</sup> His personal goal was to reconcile his two nations, but he believed that a lasting reconciliation had to be based on equality and justice, rather than on domination of one and submission of the other.<sup>99</sup> However, by identifying with the interests of his Ruthenian-Ukrainian flock, the metropolitan soon came into conflict with Polish political aspirations.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> "Monsignor Sheptytsky reached [Vienna] at 8 a.m. and immediately went to the Ukrainian national church, dedicated to Saint Barbara, where he celebrated solemn Mass and made a speech. [...] The next day the Metropolitan was received in audience by His Majesty the Emperor" [my translation]: ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Vienna* 805, fasc. 7, f. 278rv; A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1204, fasc. 494, ff. 50r-51r, Valfrè di Bonzo to Gasparri, prot. 2212 (44385), Vienna, 9 September 1917. The Leopold Order was conferred on 27 August 1917: ЦДАУЛ, ф. 358, оп. 1, спр. 70, арк. 22: in МАШЖД, tome II, vol. 2, document no. 66, Huyn to Sheptytsky, prot. 30562/пр., Львів, 15 December 1917 (misdated 1918). Huyn cites the Minister of Religion and Education's rescript, no. 3839 K.U.M., 19 November 1917.

<sup>97</sup> Himka, "Sheptytsky and the Ukrainian National Movement before 1914," 42. Subtelny, 343.

<sup>98</sup> Ryszard Torzecki, "Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society" in *Morality and Reality*, 76.

<sup>99</sup> Krawchuk, *Christian Social Ethics*, 83–84. A.J.P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809–1918* (University of Chicago Press, 1976), 218.

<sup>100</sup> Krawchuk, *Christian Social Ethics*, 54. Andrzej A. Zięba, "Sheptyts'kyi in Polish Public Opinion" in *Morality and Reality*, 381–382.

Many Poles began to look upon him as having betrayed their nation.<sup>101</sup>

In November 1918, following the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, Poles and Ukrainians fought for control of Eastern Galicia.<sup>102</sup> During the First World War, the European clergy had taken sides against their nations' opponents.<sup>103</sup> Sheptytsky and his fellow Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops supported an independent Western Ukrainian state, while the Polish Roman Catholic bishops supported the inclusion of Eastern Galicia in the new Polish Republic.<sup>104</sup> As the most

<sup>101</sup> "That man, who was Polish before, was virtually compelled by the Ukrainians who doubtlessly confided in him, [and] those who were the bitter enemies of Poland enticed him to their side." [my translation] ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 191, ff. 825r-827r, no. 17 (prot. 961), Bilczewski to Ratti, 3 April 1919: reproduced in *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae*. Ed. Stanislaus Wilk (Romae: Institutum Historicum Polonicum, 1995–1999) [ANP], vol. LVII/4, document no. 647, 262. "Mons[ignor] Sheptytsky is considered the leader of the Ukrainian party in Galicia, and he being from a Polish family (even though Ruthenian in origin) is considered by the Poles as a traitor and disowned, and because of this is much despised" [my translation]: Archivio della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali [ACCO], rubr. 117, fasc. 5, env. 9, internal fasc. 3, 7, Marini to Lauri, prot. 6394/21, Roma, 13 September 1921. "The personal history of Sheptytsky symbolized this rejection and offended Polish national pride. In fact, the Sheptytsky family, Ukrainian in origin, had been Polonized between the XVIII and XIX centuries and the choice of the young Andrew to become a Ruthenian priest, occurring as it did when the members of the family had become perfectly integrated in the best Polish society, gave rise to much scandal in Poland" [my translation]: Morozzo della Rocca, *Le nazioni*, 125.

<sup>102</sup> Степан Баран, "Західньо-Українська Республіка," 82–84. Magocsi, 512–513. Isidore Nahayewsky, *History of the Modern Ukrainian State 1917–1923* (Munich: Ukrainian Free University and Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1966), 117–121. Subtelny, 367–368.

<sup>103</sup> Youssef Taouk, "The Roman Catholic Church in Great Britain during the First World War. A Study in Political Leadership" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Western Sydney, June 2003), especially 59–99.

<sup>104</sup> Emblematic were the replies of Bilczewski and Sheptytsky to Apostolic Visitor Ratti, each in support of their nations' cause: ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 192, ff. 1035r-1036v; A.E.S., *Austria-Ungheria*, pos. 1318, fasc. 518, ff. 72r-73v, Ratti to Gasparri, prot. 825 (90194), Varsavia, 19 March 1919: reproduced in ANP, LVII/4, document no. 597, 172. On the political intervention of the Polish bishops: ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 54, fasc. 38, f. 2rv, Maglione to Gasparri, prot. 1722 (86857), Berna, 20 January 1919. Cfr. Krawchuk, *Christian Social Ethics*, 87. Magocsi, 513. Nahayewsky, 22 and

powerful moral leader and figurehead of the nation, the Greek-Catholic metropolitan of Lviv was seen as the chief opponent of the Polish civil and religious leaders in Galicia.<sup>105</sup> Thus, when Polish armies entered Lviv in January 1919, they interrogated Sheptytsky and placed him under house arrest.<sup>106</sup> Just as the Russians had done in 1914, so too Polish soldiers searched through the metropolitan's private papers, yet in vain, for incriminating evidence.<sup>107</sup> Even though both he and his Roman-rite counterpart had made serious efforts to mitigate the effects of the conflict,<sup>108</sup> following the siege, Polish military and church leaders accused Sheptytsky and his clergy of

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117. Liliana Hentosh, "Rites and Religions. from the History of Inter-denominational and Inter-ethnic Relations in Twentieth-Century Lviv," trans. Andrew Sorokowski, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 24 (2000–2002): 173–174 and 186.

<sup>105</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 191, ff. 767r-777v, Koziński to Ratti, (prot. 880), Léopol, 21 February 1919: reproduced in ANP LVII/4, document no. 608 Annex, 193. *Ibid.*, ff. 825r-827r, no. 17 (prot. 961), Bilczewski to Ratti, Leopoli, 3 April 1919: reproduced in ANP LVII/4, document no. 647, 259–263. Sheptytsky to Genocchi, Rome, 12 February 1923: French original in Korolevskij, *Le Metropolitane*, 62; Ukrainian translation in МАШЖД, tome II, vol. 2, document no. 81, 725. Cfr. Zięba, "Sheptytsky in Polish Public Opinion," 386.

<sup>106</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 82, fasc. 55, f. 3r, Maglione to Gasparri, prot. 1810 (87023), Berna, 1 February 1919. ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 192, ff. 1238r-1239r, prot. 1207, Ratti to Gasparri, Varsavia, 7 June 1919: reproduced in ANP, LVII/5, document no. 819, 165–166. "Mgr André is interned in his palace" [my translation]: Archives Association Les Amis du cardinal Eugène Tisserant, 21/3, Korolevskij to Tisserant, Rome, 1 August 1919: reproduced in Cyrille Korolevskij, *Kniga Bitija Moego (Le livre de ma vie)*, ed. Giuseppe M. Croce (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 45) (Citté du Vatican, 2007), vol. III, document no. 62, 175. ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 610 P.O., fasc. 5, f. 3, Ponzona della S. Congregazione Pro Ecclesia Orientali, no. 7, prot. 3952, June 1920, 44.

<sup>107</sup> "The searches performed resulted in nothing compromising being found at his [palace]" [my translation]: ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 192, ff. 869r-873v, Ratti to Gasparri, prot. 505, Varsavia, 15 January 1919: reproduced in ANP, LVII/3, document no. 427, 298. ACCO, *Pro Russia*, pos. 135/28, env. 23, f. 20r; ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 90, fasc. 59, ff. 6r-11r, Papadopoulos to Benedict XV, point 11, Audience of 28 January 1920.

<sup>108</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 191, ff. 825r-827v, Bilczewski to Ratti, no. 17 (prot. 961), Leopoli, 3 April 1919: reproduced in ANP, LVII/4, document no. 647, 262. МАШЖД, documents no. 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 7 November 1918 to 1 March 1919, 690–697 *passim*.



bearing the moral responsibility for the war.<sup>109</sup> Taken to their logical conclusion, these arguments signified that, while it was justifiable for the Poles to oppose a Ukrainian state, for the Ukrainians to have opposed Polish rule was immoral. Sheptytsky masterfully refuted these arguments in his open letter of 4 January 1919, which was censored by the occupying forces.<sup>110</sup> Polish soldiers further prevented Sheptytsky from meeting the Polish head of state, Marshall Pilsudski, during the latter's visit to Lviv.<sup>111</sup>

After they had conquered Eastern Galicia, the Polish military regime began a campaign of persecution against the Greek-Catholic Church, in an attempt to subjugate and assimilate the Ukrainian population.<sup>112</sup> Every word and action by the metropolitan was scrutinized<sup>113</sup> and the central government sought to have him transferred from Lviv, viewing him as an obstacle to their plans.<sup>114</sup> In reply to such a request,

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<sup>109</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 191, ff. 767r-777v, Koziński and Bartosiński to Benedict XV, (prot. 880), Lwów (Léopol), 21 March 1919: reproduced in ANP, LVII/4, document no. 608 annex, 193–194. *Ibid.*, ff. 828r-829r, copy of Bilczewski to Sheptytsky, (prot. 789), Léopol, 23 February 1919: reproduced in ANP LVII/4, document number 597 annex no. 2, 175–177. ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 997, fasc. 361, ff. 13r-14r, Rozwandowski to Sheptytsky (87642), undated (circa 1 January 1919).

<sup>110</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 997, fasc. 361, ff. 15r-17r, annex 2 to prot. 2006 (87642), French translation Sheptytsky to Rozwandowski, Lemberg, 4 January 1919: also reproduced in Korolevskij, *Le Metropolitane*, Appendix, document 2, 407–411.

<sup>111</sup> Budorowycz, 5. Zięba, “Sheptyts’kyi in Polish Public Opinion,” 385–386. Although the Polish Government denied this: ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 634 P.O., fasc. 20, f. 30r, Polish Legation to the Holy See, Roma, 19 July 1922.

<sup>112</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 193, ff. 426r-498r; A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 77, fasc. 51, ff. 4r-38v, Pellegrinetti to Gasparri, prot. 4833 (23790), Varsavia, 1–8 July 1921: reproduced in Ottavo Cavalleri, *L'Archivio di Mons. Achille Ratti Visitatore Apostolico e Nunzio a Varsavia 1918–1921*. Inventario. A cura Germano Gualdo. Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 23 (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1990), Appendix I B, 171.

<sup>113</sup> ACCO, *Pro Russia*, pos. 135/28, env. 23, f. 24, 7, point 13, Marini to Genocchi, prot. 3275/20, Roma, 13 March 1920.

<sup>114</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 194, fasc. N, ff. 316r-317v, Ratti to Gasparri, prot. 360, point 4, Varsavia, 11 September 1919. ACCO, *Pro Russia*, pos. 135/28, env. 23, f. 24, 7, point 13, Marini to Genocchi, prot. 3275/20, Roma, 13 March 1920. Archiwum Akt Nowych [AAN], *Minis-*

Cardinal Gasparri informed the Polish government on 8 October 1919 that the Holy See could find no reason to transfer the prelate.<sup>115</sup>

Every effort was made to denigrate Sheptytsky's reputation, especially in the press. On Christmas Eve 1919, commenting on such a newspaper report, the papal nuncio to Poland, Archbishop Achille Ratti,<sup>116</sup> stated that "what has been written about Monsignor Sheptytsky ... is totally absurd."<sup>117</sup> However, these reports created a negative climate for the metropolitan. Discouraged by this persecution,<sup>118</sup> he decided to make his *ad limina* visit to Pope Benedict XV;<sup>119</sup> a visit

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*terstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego [MWRiOP]*, sygn. 416, f. 12, Wierusz-Kowalski to Ministry of Religion, Rzym, 8 October 1919: cited in Maciej Mróz, *Katolicyzm na Pograniczu. Kościół katolicki wobec kwestii ukraińskiej i białoruskiej w Polsce w latach 1918–1925* (Toruń: Adam Marzałek, 2003), 95.

<sup>115</sup> AAN, *Arch. Paderewskiego*, sygn. 1002, f. 11, Polish Foreign Ministry to Wierusz-Kowalski, 16 September 1919 and *Ibid.*, *MWRiOP*, sygn. 416, f. 12, Wierusz-Kowalski to Foreign Ministry, Rzym, 8 October 1919: cited in Mróz, *Katolicyzm na Pograniczu*, 94–95.

<sup>116</sup> Ambrosio Damiano Achille Ratti (1857–1939): priest, 1879; prefect of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, 1907; prefect of the Vatican Library, 1914; apostolic visitor to Poland, 1918; apostolic nuncio to Poland, 1919; cardinal-archbishop of Milan, 1921; elected Pope Pius XI, 6 February 1922: Marc Agostino, "Pio XI," in *Dizionario Storico del Papato*, dir. Philippe Levillain, trans. Francesco Saba Sardi (Milano: Bompiani, 1996), 1165–1175. Yves Chiron, *Pie XI (1857–1939)* (Paris: Perrin, 2004). Francesco Margiotta-Broglio, "Pio XI," in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, vol. 3, (Roma, 2005), 617–632. McVay, *Catholicize not Latinize*, especially Chapter 2, The Mission of Monsignor Achille Ratti in Poland and Russia, 59–101.

<sup>117</sup> "Excerpta ex "Nowa Rada" credo omnia absurda: an iis autem quoad Exc[ellentissim]um Szeptycki scribentur." ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 197, f. 169r, Ratti to Bilczewski, prot. 1151, Varsaviae, 24 December 1919.

<sup>118</sup> ACCO, *Pro Russia*, pos. 135/28, ff. 31rv and 32rv, Genocchi to Marini, No. 4 and 5 (prot. 4232/20 and 4120/20), Varsavia, 30 June and 20 July 1920: also reproduced in Gianpaolo Rigotti, "Sources Concerning Ukraine in the Archives of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches," in *Ukraine's Re-Integration into Europe: A Historical, Historiographical and Politically Urgent Issue* ed. Giovanna Brogi and Giulia Lami (Alessandria: Edizioni del Orso, 2005), 126–28. ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 1012, fasc. 366, ff. 9r-14r, point 3, Genocchi to Benedict XV (prot. 11004), Vienna, 14 September 1920.

<sup>119</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 200, f. 300rv, Sheptytsky to Ratti, (prot. 3143), Léopol, 8 October 1920.

which he had been prevented from performing since his release from Russian detention. Thanks to the intervention of the Nuncio Ratti, Sheptytsky obtained a passport on 16 December 1920<sup>120</sup> and traveled to Rome in the company of Ratti's assistant, Monsignor Pellegrinetti.<sup>121</sup> During his audience with Pope Benedict, in January 1921, Sheptytsky recounted the state of his Church and its people in Galicia and also presented the documents by which the late Pope Pius X had granted him secret jurisdiction in Russia.<sup>122</sup> Sheptytsky completely won over Pope Benedict, who restored his special jurisdiction and wrote a public letter to the metropolitan, dated 21 February, alluding to Sheptytsky's heroism and to the persecution of his people.<sup>123</sup> Back in Poland, the furious reaction to the papal letter<sup>124</sup> resulted in the appointment of a more aggressive envoy to the papal court, Count Władysław Skrzyński.<sup>125</sup> The new envoy's instructions were clear: the

<sup>120</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 48, f. 89rv, Lauri to Gasparri, prot. 5195 (19510), Varsavia, 24 June 1923. Cfr. Baran, 95. Budorowycz, 52. Krawchuk, *Christian Social Ethics*, 89. Torzecki, "Sheptytsky and Polish Society," 82.

<sup>121</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 194, fasc. S, f. 899v, Pellegrinetti to Ratti, (prot. 3738), Roma, 18 December 1920.

Erminigildo Pellegrinetti (1876–1943): priest, 1898; secretary to the apostolic visitor of Poland, 1918; auditor of the nunciature of Warsaw, 1919; *charge d'affaires*, June to October 1921; titular archbishop, apostolic nuncio in Yugoslavia, 1922; cardinal 1937: Terzo Natalini, *I Diari del Cardinal Emenegildo Pellegrinetti 1916–1922* (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 35) (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1994).

<sup>122</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 636 P.O., fasc. 23, ff. 5r-7v, point 9, Papadopoulos to Gasparri, prot. 5936/21 (22627), Roma, 20 June 1921.

<sup>123</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* [AAS] XIII (1921), Benedict XV to Sheptytsky, 218–219; also reproduced in *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiae Ucrainae Illustrantia*, ed. Athanasius Welykyj AOSBM, section III, vols. I–II (Romae: 1954) [DRPHUI], vol. II, 528–530.

<sup>124</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 200, ff. 384r-385r; A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 92, fasc. 60, ff. 3r-4v, Pellegrinetti to Gasparri, prot. 4743 (22642), Varsavia, 13 June 1921. *Ibid.*, pos. 90, fasc. 59, f. 19r, Copy of *Bulletin Catholique de Pologne*, no. 2–3, Varsovie, 15 June 1921, 39.

<sup>125</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 200, ff. 384r-385r; A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 92, fasc. 60, ff. 3r-4v, Pellegrinetti to Gasparri, prot. 4743 (22642), Varsavia, 13 June 1921.

Władysław Bolesław Ignacy Skrzyński (1873–1937): count; diplomat; vice-minister of foreign affairs, 1919; ambassador, 24 November 1919; head

metropolitan must be opposed at all costs, and prevented from returning to Galicia.<sup>126</sup>

As a means to allowing negative Polish opinion to subside, Rome commissioned Kyr Andrei to make a visitation (inspection) of the Greek-Catholic communities in Brazil and Argentina. He was also given leave to visit North America and Western Europe, in order to collect financial aid for the war-torn Galician Ukrainian population. During these visits, he did not hesitate to bring the needs of his people to the attention of the international community. Their most essential needs were basic human rights, which were not being guaranteed them by the Polish administration. As a consequence of Sheptytsky's lobbying, instead of subsiding, Polish public opinion against the metropolitan became further inflamed.

During Metropolitan Andrei's time abroad, Pope Benedict XV died and the former Polish nuncio, Achille Ratti, was elected as his successor, taking the name Pius XI. Galician Ukrainians reacted negatively to Ratti's election because they thought that, when he was nuncio, he should have spoken out against their mistreatment.<sup>127</sup> In reality, they had not been privy to the numerous behind-the-scenes interventions that Ratti had made on the Ukrainians' behalf.<sup>128</sup> With first-hand knowledge of their plight, the new pope was resolved to find a solution that would guarantee them equal rights in Poland. The most eloquent example of Pius XI's resolve was his unyielding support for Metropolitan Sheptytsky's return to Lviv. Despite ongoing government pressure to remove Sheptytsky, on 26

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of the Legation to the Holy See, 31 August 1921: see Wojciech Biliński, in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [PSB], vol. XXXVIII, 469–472.

<sup>126</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 92, fasc. 60, ff. 22r-30r, Skrzyński to Gasparri, Roma, 6 October 1921. *Ibid.*, pos. 92, fasc. 61, f. 2r, Skrzyński to Borgongini, n. 410/21 Pol (27837), Roma, 1 November 1921. Cf. Torzecki, "Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society," 82–84. Zięba, "Sheptyts'kyi in Polish Public Opinion," 384.

<sup>127</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 223, pos. 5a, f. 612rv, Schryjvers to Lauri, (prot. 1055), Zboiska, 2 April 1922. ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 634 P.O., fasc. 19, f. 49rv, Lauri to Gasparri, prot. 1085 (2558), Varsavia, 10 April 1922. Archives of the General Curia of the Basilian Order of St. Josaphat, *Josaphat Jean*, *Memoires*, 112 (7 February 1922).

<sup>128</sup> Many such interventions are contained in ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 194 and 200. Cf. McVay, "Catholicize not Latinize," especially 137–40.

April 1922, Cardinal Secretary of State Gasparri told the new nuncio to Poland that “the Holy See is not in any way considering to impede him from returning.”<sup>129</sup> Meanwhile, reports regarding the mistreatment of Greek-Catholics continued to arrive at the Vatican.<sup>130</sup> The Apostolic See sought a way to lend moral support to the persecuted Ukrainian minority, without offending the sensitive Polish regime.<sup>131</sup> Prime Minister Władysław Sikorski's<sup>132</sup> moderate administration requested that the Holy See dispatch the Vatican's consultant on Ukrainian affairs, Father Giovanni Genocchi,<sup>133</sup> as a religious inspector (apostolic visitor) to Eastern Galicia.<sup>134</sup> When in

<sup>129</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 634 P.O., fasc. 19, f. 50rv, Gasparri to Lauri, prot. 2558, Vaticano, 26 April 1922. ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 223, pos. 5a, f. 614r, Lauri to Schryjvers, prot. 1271, Varsovie, 10 May 1922.

<sup>130</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 538, fasc. 3, ff. 15r-18v; Archivio dell'Ordine Basiliano di San Giosafat, Roma [ArchOSBMR], *Metr. A. Šeptyc'kyj* 3, Petrushevych to Pius XI, (prot. 1413), Vindobonae, 25 March 1922. A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 644, fasc. 26, ff. 36r-42r, Bandrivsky to Borgonini, (prot. 1403), Roma, 30 March 1922; *Ibid.*, pos. 634, fasc. 20, f. 65r-68r, Eastern Ukrainian Association of the League of Nations, Vienna, 15 November 1922.

<sup>131</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 23 P.O., fasc. 33, ff. 21r-22v, Genocchi to Pius XI, Roma, 28 September 1922. ArchOSBMR, *Metr. A. Šeptyc'kyj* 1, Buchko to Sheptytsky, Рим, 18 April 1922.

<sup>132</sup> Władysław Eugeniusz Sikorski (1881–1943): Galician civil engineer, officer and politician; major-general, 1919–1920; commander, 1922; prime minister, 1923; war minister, 1924; prime minister of the government in exile, London, 1940–1943: see Roman Wapiński, in PSB, vol. XXXVII, 468–478.

<sup>133</sup> Giovanni Genocchi (1860–1926): Vincenzo Ceresi, *Padre Genocchi* (Città del Vaticano: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1934). R. Cerrato, “Genocchi Giovanni,” in DBI, vol. 53 (Catanzaro: 1999), 135–139. Иван Хома, “О Джованні Дженоккі Апостольський Візитатор України,” in *Апостольський Престіл і Україна 1919–1922. Relationes diplomaticae inter S. Sedem et Rempublicam Popularem Ucrainae annis 1919–1922* (Roma: Catholica Universita S. Celemente, vol. LX, 1987), 68–129. McVay, “Catholicize not Latinize,” 321–392.

<sup>134</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 634 P.O., fasc. 20, f. 54rv, Genocchi to the Secretariat of State, Roma, 5 October 1922. Cfr. Giovanni Choma, “La visita apostolica del padre Giovanni Genocchi in Galizia (Ucraina occidentale) nell'anno 1923 (II)” in AOSBM, vol. III, fasc. 3–4 (Roma: 1960), 492–515.

The nomination of Genocchi: “In view of the special circumstances, Father Genocchi will be sent [as] Apostolic Visitor for [the] Ruthenian

March 1923 the League of Nations granted Poland permanent sovereignty over this territory,<sup>135</sup> Sikorski's government turned to Visitor Genocchi to help resolve the problem of Sheptytsky's return.<sup>136</sup>

Several obstacles prevented Sheptytsky's immediate return to Lviv: the first was the government's fear of his support for the Ukrainian independence movement; the second was Polish public opinion, which the press had caused to be one of exasperation;<sup>137</sup> the third was Sheptytsky's failing health. In the summer of 1923, these three these obstacles would converge together, compelling the pope to make a rapid decision that would decide Metropolitan Andrei's fate.

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dioceses [of] Lviv, Przemyśl, Stanislaviv" [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 27 P.O., fasc. 35, f. 69r, Gasparri to Lauri, telegram 35, prot. 13187, Vaticano, 3 February 1923. "The Holy Father has benevolently deigned to nominate the Most Rev[erend] F[ather] Giovanni Genocchi Apostolic Visitor of the Ruthenian dioceses of Lviv, Stanislaviv and Przemyśl" [my translation]: *Ibid.*, f. 70rv, Gasparri to Tacci, prot. 13643, Vaticano, 7 February 1923.

<sup>135</sup> Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2002), 226. Magoesi, 525–526. Subtelny, 427.

<sup>136</sup> "While I was conversing with the Minister in the salon-wagon, his attaché was conversing in the other corner with my secretary Father Buchko, and he told him that the Government wants Metropolitan Sheptytsky to return immediately, in order to initiate a strategy of peace and understanding with the Ruthenians" [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 27 P.O., fasc. 36, ff. 7r-8v, Genocchi to Gasparri, no. 7 (prot. 16325), Przemyśl, 25 March 1923. See also AAN, *MWRiOP*, sygn. 423, f. 142, Foreign Ministry to Religion and Education Ministry, Warszawa, 9 March 1923: cited in Mróz, *Katolicyzm*, 97.

<sup>137</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Russia*, pos. 634 P.O., fasc. 19, f. 12r; ArchOSBMR, *Metr. A. Šeptyc'kyj* 1, Buchko to Borgongini, Roma, 12 March 1922. De Salis to Curzon, in *Anglo-Vatican Relations*. Confidential Annual Reports of the British Ministers to the Holy See. Ed. E. Hachey (Boston: Hall, 1972), 52. Cf. Maria Klaczko, "Podróż metropolity Szeptyckiego do Zachodniej Europy i Ameryki w latach 1920–1923," in *Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki. Studia i materiały*, 155–168, and Torzecki, "Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society," 82–84.

Regarding the first obstacle, in an interview with Genocchi at the beginning of April 1923, Prime Minister Sikorski stated that his government required only “a small guarantee” from the metropolitan, that he would not engage in political activity and accept Polish rule over Eastern Galicia.<sup>138</sup> Leading Poles considered this issue to be the most difficult, whereas the Holy See considered it to be the easiest to resolve, confident as it was in Sheptytsky's fidelity.<sup>139</sup> Father Genocchi suggested that the three Ukrainian bishops make a public declaration regarding Poland, in the form of a pastoral letter to their faithful.<sup>140</sup> Pope Pius XI decided, however, that the metropolitan alone would issue the letter, the composition of which would be coordinated with the papal secretariat of state.<sup>141</sup> The final draft, which spoke of the Christian duty of obedience to the civil authorities, was then approved by the Polish envoy to the Holy See, Count Skrzyński, and by the pope himself.<sup>142</sup>

Regarding the second obstacle, the Holy See sought to alleviate the tensions by having the metropolitan return quietly, without any public welcoming ceremonies, during the

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<sup>138</sup> “Sikorski [...] affirmed that the Government was ready to accept Metropolitan Sheptytsky back to his See, provided that [it] had some sort of guarantee (eine kleine Garantie) that he would concern himself with his pastoral office and non engage in anti-Polish politics” [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 27 P.O., fasc. 36, f. 17rv, Genocchi to Gasparri, no. 8 (prot. 17105), Varsavia, 9 April 1923.

<sup>139</sup> “The Visitor will seek to inform the H[oly] See precisely regarding the true condition of that that most dignified Prelate, whose attachment to the H[oly] See is beyond doubt” [my translation]: ACCO, *Pro Russia*, pos. 135/28, env. 23, f. 24, 7, point 13, Marini to Genocchi, prot. 3275/20, Roma, 13 March 1920.

<sup>140</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40, fasc. 48, f. 59r, Genocchi to Gasparri, no. 15 (prot. 17731), Varsavia, 8 May 1923.

<sup>141</sup> “The Holy Father, to whom I did not neglect to report that which You communicated to me, will ask Mons[ignor] Sheptytsky to write from Italy an opportune pastoral letter on the occasion of his return” [my translation]: *Ibid.*, f. 60rv, Gasparri to Genocchi, prot. 17731, Vaticano, 16 May 1923.

<sup>142</sup> “Le Ministre polonais l'a lue en présence de P. Genocchi, et a déclaré qu'il en était tout-à-fait satisfait.” ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 48, f. 64r, Sheptytsky to Ciriaci, unnumbered, Rome, 8 July 1923. Cfr. Klaczko, 166.

summer vacation.<sup>143</sup> However, at the end of May 1923, the moderate coalition of General Sikorski was replaced with a right-wing government, which opposed Sheptytsky's return altogether.<sup>144</sup> Fearful of his stance toward the state, the new government deemed the wording of the metropolitan's pastoral letter to be insufficient and forcibly prohibited its publication.<sup>145</sup> Excuses and new conditions followed: Firstly, the government informed the Vatican that it could not guarantee Metropolitan Andrei's safety, but the Holy See insisted that "it was the obligation of the government to protect Sheptytsky, just as it protects the Polish Bishops and other major dignitaries."<sup>146</sup> Secondly, the government demanded a formal public oath of allegiance to Poland from Sheptytsky, before he would be permitted to enter the country.<sup>147</sup> The Warsaw nunciature suggested that such tactics were intended to neutralize his authority among the Ukrainians, something to which Holy See was diametrically opposed.<sup>148</sup> Thus, on 23 July 1923, Cardinal Gasparri telegraphed the nunciature that the

Holy Father was painfully surprised to learn that the pastoral letter of Sheptytsky has to be approved by the Government, and all the more because it was already confidentially communicated by this Ambassador of

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<sup>143</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40, fasc. 48, f. 60rv, Gasparri to Genocchi, prot. 17731, Vaticano, 16 May 1923.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, pos. 27 P.O., fasc. 36, ff. 43-44r, Genocchi to Gasparri, no. 17 (prot. 18911), Varsavia, 11 June 1923.

<sup>145</sup> ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 223, pos. 5, ff. 513r-514r, Buchko to Lauri, (prot. 5257), Leopoli, 18 July 1923. ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40, fasc. 49, ff. 23rv-26v, Chiarlo to Gasparri, prot. 5422 (20721), Varsavia, 21 July 1923.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, fasc. 48, f. 58rv, Genocchi to Gasparri, no. 15 (prot. 17731), Varsavia, 8 May 1923.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, fasc. 49, f. 52r, Perowski to the Holy See, Roma, 3 September 1923. *Ibid.*, ff. 82rv-84r, Chiarlo to Gasparri, prot. 5710 (21409), Varsavia, 4 September 1923.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 23rv-26v, Chiarlo to Gasparri, prot. 5422 (20721), Varsavia, 21 July 1923.



Poland and the Holy See attests it to be worded in moderate terms.<sup>149</sup>

The third obstacle to Sheptytsky's return was his health, which had been ruined in the Siberian gulag. Since his trip to the United States, he had been suffering from a serious attack of phlebitis and, for a time, it was thought his right leg might have to be amputated.<sup>150</sup> Nevertheless, the pope ordered Kyr Andrei to enter Poland before his passport expired.<sup>151</sup> Sheptytsky was convinced that he would be assassinated upon his return, but before leaving Rome, he wrote a spiritual testament, again offering his life as a sacrifice, in obedience to the papal command.<sup>152</sup> After Sheptytsky's arrival in Vienna, the Polish government attempted to block his progress.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, on 8 August, the cardinal secretary sent word through the Viennese nuncio that, as soon as Sheptytsky was well enough to travel, he must go to Warsaw, where the local archbishop would accompany him to see the Polish president.<sup>154</sup> However,

<sup>149</sup> “[The] Holy Father, painfully surprised to learn that [the] pastoral [of] Sheptytsky needs to be approved by the Government, and all the more so because it was already confidentially communicated [by] this envoy [of] Poland and [the] Holy See understands it to be composed in pacifying terms” [my translation]: Ibid., fasc. 48, f. 94r, Gasparri to Chiarlo, telegram 48, prot. 20091, Vaticano, 23 July 1923.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., ff. 75rv-77r, Chiarlo to Gasparri, prot. 5675 (21409), Varsavia, 30 August 1923. “The illness was very serious; all the symptoms of blood poisoning were repeated, that which, the previous year, he had already experienced so painfully in America” (my translation): Ibid., *Russia*, pos. 34 P.O., fasc. 22, f. 48rv, Kotsylovsky to Genocchi, (prot. 21180), Premislia, 9 August 1923. Cf. Bohdan P. Procko, “Sheptyts’kyi and Ukrainians in the United States” in *Morality and Reality*, 357 and 361, footnote 54.

<sup>151</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40, fasc. 49, f. 16r; *Arch. Nunz. Vienna* 854, fasc. 3/2, f. 594r, Gasparri to Sibia, telegram no. 25, prot. 20712 (945), Vaticano, 8 August 1923.

<sup>152</sup> “Je quitte Rome prévenu que peu après mon retour à Léopol je serai assassiné.” Sheptytsky to Pius XI, Rome, 4 July 1923: reproduced on the back cover of Babiak, *Des Ukrainiens aux Congrès de Velehrad*.

<sup>153</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 49, f. 8r, Polish Legation to the Holy See, no. 41 (prot. 20386), undated (July 1923). ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Vienna* 854, fasc. 3/2, Gasparri to Sibia, telegram no. 863, Roma, 28 July 1923.

<sup>154</sup> “Y[our] L[ordship] will communicate to Mons[ingor] Sheptytsky, as soon as his health permits and before the expiration of the duration of his

two days before the passport expired, permission had not arrived from the Polish authorities. Still in extremely precarious health, on 22 August, the metropolitan left Vienna and crossed the Polish border, whereupon the police, under government orders, detached his carriage from the rest of the train and diverted it to Poznan. There he was taken in a stretcher to the local hospital and prevented from leaving until he signed an oath to Poland.<sup>155</sup>

A diplomatic battle then ensued between the government and the Holy See. Legate Skrzyński was recalled for incompetence in having approved the text of Sheptytsky's pastoral.<sup>156</sup> The government accused Sheptytsky of having committed an act of rebellion by entering Poland against its wishes. Father Genocchi explained to the Polish legation that,

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passport, that he go to Warsaw and through the mediation of the Ap[osto]lic Nunciature of Poland, that he ask Card[inal] Kakowski, who will try to accompany him to the President of the Republic: if His Em[inen]c[e] is unable to accompany him, Mons[ingor] Sheptytsky alone will ask the President for an audience" [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O, fasc. 49, f. 16r; *Arch. Nunz. Vienna* 854, fasc. 3/2, f. 594r, Gasparri to Sabilia, prot. 20712 (945), Vaticano, 8 August 1923.

<sup>155</sup> "Despite his worsening [health] and persistent fever, the Metropolitan decided to leave Vienna the 22<sup>nd</sup> August, because his passport expired the 24<sup>th</sup>. At noon, in a stretcher, he was put in the car by the medical staff and transported in the sleeping car and at 1 [pm] the train left with myself accompanying [him]. At 10 [pm] it arrived at a Dzidzice, on the Polish border, where the sleeping car was detached, while the [rest of the] train continued on. Our car remained in the station until the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup> and we remained inside and were transported to Kattovitz. Only at 8:30 [pm] of the 24<sup>th</sup> did we continue to Posen, where we arrived the 25<sup>th</sup> at 4 in the morning. We were then taken to the sisters' hospital. The Metropolitan is in exile, having been prohibited from returning to Lviv, his see. The doctors are not allowing the Metropolitan to rise from his bed, as, each day, he has a fever of about 38 and higher" [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O, fasc. 49, f. 49rv, citation from Kowalsky to Genocchi, Poznań, 28 August 1923, in Genocchi to Gasparri, undated August 1923. Canon Kowalsky had recounted the same, in German, to the Viennese nuncio: ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Vienna* 854, fasc. 3/2, f. 610rv, Posen, 27 August 1923.

<sup>156</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O, fasc. 49, f. 50r, Genocchi to the Holy See, Roma, 31 August 1923. "Всю вину звалоють на Скшинського" ЦДІАУЛ, ф. 358, оп. 1, спр. 171, арк. 56, Kotsylovsky to Sheptytsky, Варшава, 29 August 1923: reproduced in МАШЖД, tome II, vol. 2, document 86, 749.

in doing so, the metropolitan was merely following the orders of the Holy See.<sup>157</sup> Furious with the government, Pius XI refused to deal through the Polish legation and, instead, communicated directly through his nunciature in Warsaw.<sup>158</sup> This method was a strong diplomatic statement of papal displeasure with the Polish regime.<sup>159</sup> Both Genocchi and the Polish nuncio informed the government that it could not exact further conditions after having already come to an agreement with the Holy See.<sup>160</sup>

At the beginning of September 1923, an exhausted Sheptytsky signalled his willingness to sign the oath, if commanded to do so by Rome.<sup>161</sup> The pope, however, had already made his decision and was inflexible to new Polish demands.<sup>162</sup> Sheptytsky's detention had become a matter of national debate: the left-wing parties declared the government's actions unconstitutional and supported the Holy See's position that the metropolitan could not be condemned for supporting Eastern

<sup>157</sup> "Andrycz e dice che Szeptychi ha fatto atto di ribellione al Governo passando la frontiera. Ma Szeptychi si affrettava ad entrare in Polonia per ordine della S. Sede." ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 49, f. 50v, Genocchi to the Holy See, Roma, 31 August 1923.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, fasc. 50, f. 11r, Gasparri to Chiarlo, telegram 51, prot. 21483, Vaticano, 2 September 1923. The verbal note: ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 223, pos. 5, f. 531r, Chiarlo to the Polish Foreign Ministry, Varsovie, 6 September 1923.

<sup>159</sup> "Le cose si incominciano bene- Il S. Padre è contento di essere stato fermo e di aver messo fuori combattimento l'incaricato d'affari Perlowski rispondendo volta per volta al Governo non con di lui mezzo, ma per mezzo della nunziatura." ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 50, f. 14r, internal note of Borgongini, prot. 21483, undated, circa 2 September 1923.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 53r-56r, Gennochi to Borgongini, unnumbered, Roma, 4 September 1923.

<sup>161</sup> "Je répondi, que j'étais décidé à obeïr au St Siege jusqu'en les petit details, et que parlé- comme de raison- je signerai toutes les déclarations, qu'on m'ordinnerait de signer." ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 223, pos. 5, Sheptytsky to Chiarlo, (prot. 5711), Posen, 2 September 1923.

<sup>162</sup> "Становище Свят[ішого] Вітця напрочуд стало. Коли кардинал Гаспаррі щось трохи зачав хитати ся під напором П[ольської] Р[ечі Посполитої] – згодити ся на се [...] почув від Свят. Вітця відповідь "Уряд п[ольський] має знати, що Ми самі читали Пастирський лист Митрополити і узнали його за вистарчаючий." ЦДІАУЛ, ф. 358, ап. 1, спр. 171, арк. 58–69, Kotsylovsky to Sheptytsky, Перемишль, 1 September 1923: reproduced in МАШЖД, tome II, vol. 2, document no. 87, 750.

Galician independence before the definitive decision of the Council of Ambassadors.<sup>163</sup> Even some right-wing politicians opposed the government's heavy-handed treatment of a Catholic prelate. One such politician, Monsignor Lutoslawski,<sup>164</sup> lamented that "it is impossible for a Catholic government to impede a bishop from returning to his diocese."<sup>165</sup> The scandal of Sheptytsky's arrest was also being discussed further abroad. The English Catholic journal *The Universe* commented: "When it comes to a Catholic Archbishop being cast into gaol by a Catholic Government on an issue of this kind, it is manifest that something must be done to clear matters up."<sup>166</sup>

The Catholic hierarchy in Poland had also become alarmed at the government's actions. On 10 September, Polish primate Cardinal Dalbor<sup>167</sup> wrote to the papal secretary of state:

That which has transpired with Monsignor Sheptytsky fills me with great apprehension and sorrow. I have written a letter to the President of the Republic, asking

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<sup>163</sup> "In the newspapers of the left-wing and also in those of the extreme right-wing, very strong articles against the government have appeared, bitterly condemning its conduct, which [they] described as anti-constitutional. [They stated that] the government could not act in such a way towards Mons[ignor] Sheptytsky, whom no Tribunal of the Republic has condemned and (it was added) could not condemn, because the propaganda against the interests of Poland was undertaken by Mons[ignor] Sheptytsky before the Council of Ambassadors in Paris had decided that [Eastern] Galicia was part of Poland's territory" [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 50, f. 32rv-34v, Chiarlo to Gasparri, prot. 5794 (22173), Varsavia, 14 September 1923.

<sup>164</sup> Kazimierz Lutosławski (1880–1924): ordained priest, 1912; one of the protagonists of the Polish National Democratic party; principal author of the preface of the Polish Constitution, March 1921: see Roman Wapiński, in PSB, vol. XVIII, 150–152.

<sup>165</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 48, f. 89rv, Lauri to Gasparri, prot. 5195 (19510), Varsavia, 24 June 1923.

<sup>166</sup> "Arrest of an Archbishop," in *The Universe* (London: 31 August 1923): cited in ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 223, pos. 5, f. 610r, Genocchi to Chiarlo, Roma, 6 September 1923.

<sup>167</sup> Edmund Dalbor (1869–1926): ordained priest, 1893; archbishop of Gnesen and Posen (Gniezno and Poznań), primate of Poland, 1915; cardinal, 1919: *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recientoris Aevi*, vol. IX (1903–1922), ed. Zenon Pięta (Patavii: Domus Editorialis "Il Messaggero di S. Antonio," 2002), 18, 23, 185.

him to influence the Government to permit Monsignor Sheptytsky to return to Lviv and allow the publication of his pastoral. I have also written to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, demanding that the Government definitively settle the Sheptytsky affair and not place further obstacles to his return to Lviv and to the publication of his aforementioned pastoral letter.<sup>168</sup>

The final solution to Sheptytsky's internment came, perhaps ironically, through the mediation of the Polish legate to the Holy See. Initially, Władysław Skrzyński had been appointed to his position in order to discredit the metropolitan. Now on the verge of being replaced, Skrzyński went to see Sheptytsky in Poznan and negotiated a clever compromise: Kyr Andrei would make a written but private declaration of loyalty, in the form of a request for a presidential audience. The petition, which was never made public, included the assurance that: "as a citizen of the Polish State, I will be loyal towards that state in all my actions."<sup>169</sup> Already in poor health, Sheptytsky proceeded to sign this request, even though the pope had not intended to oblige him to do so.<sup>170</sup> This solution saved Skrzyński's career; he was reinstated to his Vatican assignment<sup>171</sup> and, the following year, became the first ambassador to the Holy See, when the Polish legation was raised

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<sup>168</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 49, f. 86rv, Dalbor to Gasparri, Nr. 4720/23.O. (prot. 21419), Posnania, 10 September 1923.

<sup>169</sup> "Visiting the Metropolitan, I found that he had signed, by the interested suggestion of Legate Skrzynski, a request for an audience with the President, in order to 'present his homage and to reassure that, as a Polish citizen, he will be loyal to the State in all his deeds' [my translation]: Ibid., fasc. 50, f. 10r, Chiarlo to Gasparri, telegram 40, (prot. 21481), Varsavia, 12 September 1923. Polish and French drafts of the declaration are found in ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 223, pos. 5, f. 539r, Sheptytsky to Wojciechowski, Posen, 9 September 1923. The intentional secrecy regarding the oath is evidenced not only by complaints from the cabinet ministers to the British embassy of never having seen the text, but also by fact that it is not found in AAN: Klaczko, 168.

<sup>170</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 50, f. 5r, Gasparri to Chiarlo, telegram 52, prot. 21481, Vaticano, 5 September 1923.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., f. 23, Skrzyński to Borgongini (prot. 22116), Rome, 15 October 1923.

to the rank of an embassy.<sup>172</sup> The government forthwith ceased all opposition to the metropolitan's return and proceeded to order the publication of his pastoral letter. Indeed, Skrzyński was so pleased that he specially telephoned the apostolic nunciature in Warsaw to share the good news. The call was received by its young undersecretary, Father Giovanni Battista Montini, who would become Pope Paul VI forty years later.<sup>173</sup>

Hitherto, researchers appear to have had much difficulty in pinpointing the precise dates of Sheptytsky's release and return to Lviv. Some dated his return as late as 14 October 1923, others into the new year of 1924.<sup>174</sup> Yet the papal diplomats, the metropolitan, and his fellow Ukrainian bishops were diligent in keeping the Apostolic See informed as these events unfolded. The correspondence contained in the Vatican Archives reveals the following: in his initial request-declaration, Sheptytsky informed President Wojciechowski<sup>175</sup> that his physical condition required that he continue convalescing in

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<sup>172</sup> See his biography in Wojciech Biliński, in PSB, vol. XXXVIII, 469–472.

<sup>173</sup> “Mr. Skrzyński, during my absence, confidentially telephoned to F[ather] Montini that the matter stood to end well and believed this to be a motive of mutual satisfaction, whether for the publication of the pastoral [letter] without any variation, or for the Government having ceased to make difficulties for Mons[ignor] Sheptytsky to return to his see, after the visit to the President of the Republic.” [my translation] ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 50, ff. 33v-34r, Chiarlo to Gasparri, prot. 5794 (22173), Varsavia, 14 September 1923.

In the absence of the Nuncio, during almost the entire saga of Sheptytsky's internment, the entire affair was well handled by the first secretary, Monsignor Carlo Chiarlo (1881–1964): priest, 1904; secretary of the nunciature in Peru, 1917–1922; auditor of the nunciature in Warsaw, 1922; titular-archbishop and apostolic nuncio to Bolivia, 1928; nuncio to Costa Rica, Panama, Salvador, Honduras, 1932; mission for prisoners of war in Rome, 1941; head of the pontifical mission to Germany, 1945; nuncio in Brazil, 1946; cardinal, 1958: Natalini, 248.

<sup>174</sup> Michael Hrynchyshyn, *Articuli pro Causae Instructione Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Andraeae Szeptyckyj Archiepiscopi Leopoliensis Ucrainorum Metropolitanae Halycensis* (Roma-Grottaferrata: Scuola Tipografica Italo-Orientale “S. Nilo,” 1958), 26. Krawchuk, *Christian Social Ethics*, 111, footnote 69. Klaczko, 166–168.

<sup>175</sup> Stanisław Wojciechowski (1869–1953): co-founder of the Polish Socialist Party; minister of the interior, 1919–1920; president of the Republic, 1922–1926.

Poznan. When it had improved sufficiently, he would then send a second request directly to the presidential chancery, asking to set a date for the audience.<sup>176</sup> By the end of September, the date had already been set,<sup>177</sup> and Metropolitan Andrei was able to leave Poznan on 3 October, in order to be received discreetly, the following day, at the presidential summer residence in Spała.<sup>178</sup> Regarding this meeting, Sheptytsky wrote to the nuncio that the president had “received me very well, spoke as a good Catholic about the work of the clergy and its exalted vocation, and did not require of me any other declaration.”<sup>179</sup> Following the audience, Sheptytsky traveled directly to Lviv, arriving on the next day, October 5, at eight o'clock in the evening.<sup>180</sup> Although some government minis-

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<sup>176</sup> “By doctor’s orders I must remain in bed for at least another four weeks. I will ask, in another letter to the civil Chancery, to inform me of the day and the hour of the audience” [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 50, f. 33rv, Chiarlo to Gasparri, prot. 5794 (22173), Varsavia, 14 September 1923.

<sup>177</sup> “Having asked for and obtained the audience, which will take place next Thursday in the presidential villa at Spała, Mr. President of the republic will come specially from Warsaw in order to satisfy the desire of the Ruthenian Metropolitan, who, due to the particular situation in which he finds himself, has expressed his preference to visit the country residence di Spała rather than the Belvedere palace in Warsaw” [my translation]: Ibid., f. 38rv, Chiarlo to Gasparri, prot. 5852 (22546), Varsavia, 28 September 1923.

<sup>178</sup> “Lo trovai in procinto di partire per Spała, dove il di seguente, giovedì 4 ottobre, avrebbe avuto l’udienza col sig. Presidente della Repubblica.” Ibid., ff. 41rv-42r, Lauri to Gasparri, prot. 5852 (22546) and 5909 (23041), Varsavia, 28 September and 6 October 1923.

<sup>179</sup> “When Y[our] Excellency will have received this letter, I will already have been received by the president at Spała; I am leaving Poznań tomorrow and will go through Spała without stopping at Warsaw” [my translation]: Ibid., f. 597r, Sheptytsky to Lauri, (prot. 5923), Posen, 2 October 1923. “Le Président de la République m’a donc reçu à Spała comme V.E. le sait. Il m’a reçu très bien, a parlé en bon catholique du travail du clergé et de sa haute vocation, et n’a pas exigé de moi aucune autre déclaration sauf celle de logante d’après ma lettre pastorale.” Ibid., f. 605rv, Sheptytsky to Lauri, (prot. 5983), Leopoli, 10 October 1923.

<sup>180</sup> “metropolita andrea tornato felicemente leopoli – giosafat.” ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 50, f. 22r, Kotsylovsky to Gasparri, telegram no. 296, 423/4 10 6 18, Lvov, 6 October 1923. A similar telegram in ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Varsavia* 223, pos. 5, f. 566r, Kotsylovsky to Chiarlo, 6 October 1923. “jeri alle 8 della sera mons. metropolita andrea tornò

ters placed little value on Sheptytsky's private assurances, they were generally accepted by his principal detractors, the political right, whose newspapers even began to speak positively of Metropolitan Andrei.<sup>181</sup> After his release, Sheptytsky expressed his profound gratitude to the apostolic nunciatures of Warsaw and Vienna for all that the pope had done on his behalf.<sup>182</sup>

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky's release did not bring an end to the persecution that he, his Church, and his people, would be forced to further suffer under Polish and later under Russian-Soviet domination. The Polish government continued to make difficulties for him and his fellow bishops and to provoke the Greek-Catholic population by denying them religious and civic equality.<sup>183</sup> Sheptytsky would continue to suffer discrimination and illness, for the sake of Christ's flock; perhaps this was the Lord's way of answering his desire for

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felicemente alla sua sede arcivescovile." Ibid., f. 598r, Kotsylovsky to Lauri, (prot. 5974), Leopoli, 6 October 1923.

<sup>181</sup> ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 50, Annex to f. 23, Tadeusz Cieński, "Głosy publiczne. Po powrocie Metropolity." in *Słowo Polskie*, nr. 276 z dnia 8 października 1923. "The principal mouthpiece of the "National-Democratic" party in Poland *Słowo Polskie*, published on 16 September 1923 a leading article entitled "The Metropolitan of Lwów of the Greek Rite" in which it spoke in a rather conciliatory tone of the eventual return of Monsignor Sheptytsky to Lwów. ... If one attentively compares the present article with the one of 15 October, one must note a radical change in direction on the part of this nationalist mouthpiece, which indicates the positive effects of the efforts of Mr. Legate Skrzyński, and of the great victory, obtained by him in Warsaw, in the complicated affair of Monsignor Sheptytsky" [my translation]: ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 40 P.O., fasc. 50, ff. 25r-28r, Skirmunt to Borgongini, Roma, 30 October 1923.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., f. 34r, Chiarlo to Gasparri, prot. 5794 (22173), Varsavia, 14 September 1923. ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Vienna* 854, fasc. 3/2, f. 614r, Sheptytsky to Sibilina, Léopol, 26 October 1923.

<sup>183</sup> "Nous sommes depuis que nous appartenons à la Pologne – mais très spécialement depuis à peu près l'automne [1]937 – l'objet d'une persecution qui intensifie de jour en jour": ASV, A.E.S., *Polonia*, pos. 54, fasc. 60, f. 47r, Sheptytsky to Pacelli, (prot. 2007/38), Léopol, 18 March 1938. The correspondence continues in Ibid., fasc. 60–63. Cfr. Jerzy Kłoczowski, "La Polonia in Europa," in *Storia religiosa della Polonia*. A cura di Luciano Vaccaro (Milano: La Casa di Matriona, 1985), 49. Ryszard Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923–1929*. Idem, *Kwestia ukraińska w polityce III Rzeczy (1933–1945)* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1972).



martyrdom. In one sense, affliction would continue even after death, in the fact that Andrei Sheptytsky's beatification was first blocked and then inordinately delayed.<sup>184</sup> In God's Providence, such humiliations will surely serve to strengthen the faith and love of the two nations to which he belongs and for which he undoubtedly intercedes.<sup>185</sup>



#### Резюме

Митрополит Андрей Шептицький (1865–1944) був тричі позбавлений волі за те, що відстоював віру. Ця стаття базується на кореспонденції, знайденій у Ватиканських архівах і відкриває дотепер невідомі деталі його ув'язнень у Росії та Польщі. Нарис проливає світло на причини частих ув'язнень митрополита а також хронологізує активні втручання Риму на його захист та з метою якнайшвидшого звільнення та повернення владики до Львівської архієпархії. Походження Андрея Шептицького, його духовний шлях а також переслідування Росією та Польщею значною мірою перегукуються з історичними аспектами становлення української нації. Нарис аналізує паралелі між життям А. Шептицького а процесом національного пробудження коли народ, якого називали русинами усвідомлює свою національну тотожність, відмінну від польської та російської. І так само як український національний рух розпочався під проводом церковних діячів, національне пробудження Шептицького привело його до того, що він сам став ієромонахом і церковним діячем. Прийняття митрополитом візантійської традиції залишаючись при цьому

<sup>184</sup> Michael Hrynchyshyn, "Western Historiography and Future Research" in *Morality and Reality*, 425.

<sup>185</sup> "Blessed Archbishop Bilczewski was consecrated by Cardinal Jan Puzyna, Bishop of Kraków. With him as co-consecrators were Blessed Jozef Sebastian Pelczar, Bishop of Przemyśl, and the Servant of God Andrzej Szeptycki [...] At that moment, the Holy Spirit brought together three great pastors, two of whom have been beatified and the third will be with God's help." Pope John Paul II, Allocution at the Beatification of the Ukrainian Martyrs, Lviv, 26 June 2001, in *L'Osservatore Romano*. Weekly Edition in English (4 July 2001), 4. The original Polish version in AAS XCII (2001), fasc. 12, 847.

католиком поставило його в непрості взаємини із політично-церковними ідеологіями як Росії так і Польщі.

