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THE ROLE OF METROPOLITAN ANDREI SHEPTYTSKYI IN THE FORMATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

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Abstract

The article examines the main statehood ideas and views of the socio-political and Church figure, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi's contribution to the struggle for the establishment of an independent, united Ukrainian state. The impact of the Metropolitan's activity as the hierarch of the Greek Catholic Church on the Ukrainian national spiritual revival in Ukraine (at the end of the 19th to middle 20th century) is clarified as the solid foundation which was laid by his ecumenical ideas. The judgment of A. Sheptytskyi regarding the necessary prerequisites for building a strong, independent Ukraine, and his ideas about reforming state authorities, the Church, and educational institutions, are explained. The Metropolitan's vision for the role of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the process of the Ukrainian statehood formation is highlighted. Public organizations created with his support and direct participation became the basis for the formation of civil society, which, in its religious morality did not succumb to any influence of party radicalism and extremism. It is established that the support of state interests for the Ukrainian people was based on cooperation with the centrist and right-wing political parties of Galicia. As a result of the analysis of A. Sheptytskyi's pastoral messages, it is concluded that he laid the foundations of national political culture and clearly outlined the concept of patriotism and the principles of public and political service. The Metropolitan's thoughts on the influence of religion on the formative process on the national identity of the Ukrainian people, and the need to form a single local church in Ukraine, are explained. A. Sheptytskyi was a far-sighted and flexible religious figure; he used his position primarily for the good of the Church and the people. Under his leadership, the Church became the national, Ukrainian church.

Keywords: church, spirituality, A. Sheptytskyi, idea, identity, Ukrainians, Ukrainian people, culture.

Introduction

Today, the problem of national identity has significantly worsened in the conditions of a full-scale, Russian-Ukrainian war. The Russian Federation has been making many efforts to change the identity of Ukrainian citizens for three centuries. For the purpose of the ideologues from the "Russian world" regarding the "triune nation" and "Holy Rus," Slavic unity, common history, and destiny are being widely implemented. Russians are claiming that Ukraine is an

artificial (unnatural) state.¹ The Russian policy towards Ukraine is currently based on the non-recognition of Ukrainians' right to self-determination. Russia directs its efforts to weaken or "erode" Ukrainian identity, generate separatism, and bring forth the idea of the federalization of Ukraine. Globalization processes have significantly influenced the national and civilizational self-identification of post-communist societies. These societies are experiencing complex and contradictory transformations in socio-economic systems, cultures, ways of life and thinking, and have become the subject of research and discussions—not only by theorists, but also by politicians, public and religious figures, and representatives of all knowledge branches.

Ukrainian identity is the determining basis for the formation of democratic foundations in the society and nation-state of Ukraine. According to UN and UNESCO documents, a nation-state is a state in which the titular ethnos makes up 67% of the population. According to a survey by the O. Razumkov Center, conducted in April 2017, the absolute majority of Ukrainian citizens (92%) consider themselves ethnic Ukrainians, while 6% identify as ethnic Russians, and 1.5% classified themselves as other ethnic groups.²

Over the past 10 years, significant changes have taken place in the identity of Ukrainian citizens. In particular, the role of national identity in relation to local and regional identity has increased, so has the value attitude towards the country and self-respect for oneself as a people. The Ukrainian national-cultural component of identity has increased, including in the East and South of the country with a Ukrainian sense of their "uniqueness." The distance between the positions of residents from different regions on fundamental issues over the country's future has decreased, and the formation of a consensus around the European civilizational choice and liberation from illusions about the attractiveness of Russia's Eurasian integration project has also decreased. There are signs of the formation of important features for the common identity of modern Ukrainian citizens; however, this process is not yet complete. There still remains the danger of the emergence and deepening of conflicts in society. This is on the basis of noticeable differences between residents from different regions related to the choice of directions for the further geopolitical development of the state, restoring the territorial integrity

¹М. Степико. *Загальноукраїнська ідентичність – головний об'єкт гібридної війни Росії проти України. Аналітична записка.* [All-Ukrainian identity is the main object of Russia's hybrid war against Ukraine. Analytical note]: <https://niss.gov.ua/sites/default/files/2017-12/identychnist-26c0e.pdf>

² Ibid.

of Ukraine, and the choice of the models of coexistence between residents of the currently occupied regions in regard to achieving reconciliation and understanding.³

Unfortunately, history is repeating itself, and we are once again defending our country, its integrity, freedom, and independence. Today, we face the task to form a real Ukrainian national state, which can develop harmoniously on the basis of the national idea.

The religious factor is a particularly important mechanism of national identity. In the conditions of independent Ukraine, the study of the national identity peculiarities in the Ukrainian people through the prism of religious consciousness, and the influence of religion on the process of its formation, is important for the reproduction of a complete picture of socio-political and cultural-national life. In this context, the return and involvement in the scientific circulation of political ideas and concepts of prominent Ukrainian figures and thinkers of the past, who devoted their works to the problems of religious life in Ukraine, is of particular importance.

Among the figures whose activities played a significant role in the history of Ukrainian statehood and formation of Ukrainian national identity, is the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church Andrei Sheptytskyi (1865–1944). He was a prominent figure in the Ukrainian Church, a public, political, and cultural figure, an educator, a scientist, and a patron. The versatile activity of the Metropolitan has not lost its relevance to this day. His scientific, educational, and enlightening ideas have withstood the test of time, and their study and analysis are necessary in the development of an independent Ukraine.

The State of Research of a Scientific Problem

It is worth noting that for many decades there was almost no writing about the figures of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, or their spiritual, public, socio-political, and Ukrainian nation-building activities. Though, during the times of the USSR, A. Sheptytskyi was attacked by critical rationalism in ideological writings of various formats. A lot of dirt was poured on him—Soviet scientists called the Metropolitan a “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist,” “a sell-out,” and “a servant of Poland.” In particular, for the role of the Greek Catholic Church in the social and political life of Galicia and its bishops, the activities of A. Sheptytskyi, V.

³ *Ідентичність громадян України в нових умовах: стан, тенденції, регіональні особливості (Інформаційно-аналітичні матеріали за результатами першого етапу проєкту Центру Разумкова «Ідентичність громадян України: тенденції змін, виклики та перспективи для національної єдності»).* Національна безпека і оборона. (2016. № 3–4), с. 21. [*Identity of citizens of Ukraine in new conditions: state, trends, regional features (Information and analytical materials based on the results of the first stage of the Razumkov Center project "Identity of citizens of Ukraine: trends of change, challenges and prospects for national unity")*]. National security and defense. (2016. No. 3–4), p. 21].

Dobrychev, K. Dmytruk, A. Shysh, I. Biliaiev, O. Utkin, and I. Mynovych were negatively evaluated.⁴ The works of these scholars have a clearly expressed, ideologically engaged, and tendentious character, and some pursue the goal of discrediting the socio-political activity of the Metropolitan. A similar position regarding the Greek Catholic Church can also be traced in the works “Uniatism and Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism” and “Uniatism and Clerical Anti-Communism.”⁵

Such “scientific” studies formed a superstitious and contemptuous view of all Greek Catholic believers and their spiritual leaders, who were associated with Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in the public consciousness of the Ukrainian people of the central, eastern and southern regions. The negative reaction to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as a legacy of Ukrainian nationalists is still present in the mentality of pro-Russian citizens of Ukraine.

During the Soviet period, objective researchers were published mainly abroad. The work of S. Baran, a lawyer and a former ambassador of the Polish Sejm, deserves special attention. He discloses the life and activities of Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi and partially covers the general activities of the Church.⁶ The biography and ecumenical activities of Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi were also covered in the studies of I. Hryniokh, V. Doroshenko, V. Laba, O. Kravcheniuk, M. Vavzhonek, L. Tsehelskyi, and M. Ostroverkh.⁷

The proclamation of Ukrainian independence, which was so fought for by Metropolitan Andrei, allowed us to look at this extraordinary and truly powerful figure with completely

⁴ К. Дмитрук. *Під штандартами реакції і фашизму. Крах антинародної діяльності уніатської та автокефальної церков.* (Київ: Наукова думка, 1976), 383 с. [*Under the standards of reaction and fascism. The collapse of the anti-people activities of the Uniate and Autocephalous churches.* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1976), 383 pp.]; В. Добричев. *У тіні Святого Юра.* (Львів: Каменяр, 1970), 216 с. [*In the shadow of St. George.* (Lviv: Kamenyar, 1970), 216 p.]; А. Шиш. *Антигуманний характер моралі уніатства.* (Київ: Політвидав України, 1973), 116 с. [*The anti-human nature of Uniate morality.* (Kyiv: Polityvdav Ukrainy, 1973), 116 p.]. Are these the actual page numbers or the total number of pages? Should be actual page number. – It’s not the exact page, but the total number of the pages in this book.

⁵ *Уніатство і клерикальний антикомунізм.* (Київ: Видавництво політичної літератури України, 1982), 300 с. [*Uniatism and clerical anti-communism.* (Kyiv: Publishing House of Political Literature of Ukraine, 1982), 300 pp.]; *Уніатство і український буржуазний націоналізм* / Інститут філософії АН УРСР, С.. Возняк, В. Москалець, В. Фомін. (Київ: Наукова думка, 1986), 252 с. [*Uniatism and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1986), 252 p.].

⁶ С. Баран. *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: життя і діяльність.* (Мюнхен: Вернигора, 1947). 151 с. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi: life and activity.* (Munich: Wernigora, 1947). 151 p.].

⁷ Н. Прокоп. *Державно-правові погляди митрополита Андрея Шептицького.* Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата юридичних наук (доктора філософії) за спеціальністю 12.00.01. Харківський національний університет внутрішніх справ; Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна. (Харків, 2017), с. 22–23. [*State and legal views of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi.* Dissertation for obtaining the scientific degree of candidate of legal sciences (Doctor of Philosophy) by specialty 12.00.01. Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs; Kharkiv National University named after V. N. Karazin. (Kharkiv, 2017), pp. 22–23];

М. Островерха. *Великий Василян Слуга Божий Митрополит Андрей Шептицький ЧСВВ: нарис.* (Нью-Йорк: Накладом авт., 1960), 48 с. [*Great Basilian Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky ChSVV: essay.* (New York: Nakladom Auth., 1960), 48 p.].

different eyes. In 2015, the work of His Beatitude Lubomyr Husar *Andrei Sheptytskyi, Halytskyi Metropolitan (1901–1944) Herald of Ecumenism* was published in Ukrainian. The publication is a doctoral thesis successfully defended in English in Rome by the young theologian-priest Lubomyr Huzar in 1972, at the Pontifical Urbanian University. The studies of Ya. Bilas, M. Vegesh, L. Gentosh, H. Gladka, Ya. Zaborovskyi, A. Kravchuk, K. Korolevskyi, O. Krasivskyi, L. Krupa, V. Lentsyk, V. Marchuk, Ya. Moskalyk, N. Prokop, O. Sheremeta,⁸ and others are devoted to the understanding of the socio-political, social, and religious views contained in the bishop's messages, letters and sermons, his educational and cultural activities, as well as the phenomenon of "pacification" and A. Sheptytskyi's attitude to it.

In recent years, generalizing analytical works by H. Tereshchuk, H. Tsvengrosh, M. Marynovych, L. Voloshyna, R. Horak, and L. Riznyk⁹ have been published. In 2020, for the 155th anniversary of the birth of the Metropolitan, a bibliographic index of his works was published in Lviv.¹⁰ In addition to historiographical works, a number of documentary sources have been published, in which valuable archival documents and materials related to the issues of our research have been collected.¹¹

⁸ Н. Прокоп, с. 23–24, 60–69; «Нехай кожний виростає громадянином»: бібліографічний покажчик [уклад. Л. Крачковська]; КЗ ЛОР "Львів. обл. б-ка для юнацтва ім. Романа Іванчука". (Львів, 2020), 50 с. [*"Let everyone grow up to be a citizen": bibliographic index* (Lviv, 2020), 50 pp.].

⁹ *Мойсей українського духа* / автор-упоряд. О. Михайлюк. (Львів, 2015), 564 с. [*Moses of the Ukrainian spirit* / author-editor. О. Mykhailiuk. (Lviv, 2015), 564 pp.]; Г. Терещук, О. Думанська. *Шептицький від А до Я*. (Львів, 2015), 72 с. [*Sheptytsky from A to Ya*. (Lviv, 2015), 72 pp.]; Г. Цвєнґрош. *Апостольський Престол і митрополит Андрій Шептицький. Невідомі взаємини між Апостольським престолом і Митрополитом А. Шептицьким у 1918–1919 рр. (у контексті східногалицької політики Франції)*. (Львів, 1991), 38 с. [*The Apostolic See and Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytskyi. Unknown relations between the Apostolic See and Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi in 1918–1919 (in the context of France's Eastern Galician policy)*. (Lviv, 1991), 38 p.]; М. Маринювич. *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький і принцип «позитивної смуги»*. (Львів, 2019), 248 с. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi and the principle of the "positive lane"*. (Lviv, 2019), 248 pp.]; Л. Волошин. *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький у творчих долях українських художників*. Кн. 2. Том 4. (Львів: ПП Видавничий дім «Артклас», 2017), 327 с. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi in the creative destinies of Ukrainian artists. Book 2. Volume 4*. (Lviv: PP Publishing House "Artklas", 2017), 327 p.]; Р. Горак. *Андрей Шептицький. Увійди в радість мою...* (Львів, 2019), 840 с. [*Andrey Sheptytskyi. Enter my joy ...* (Lviv, 2019), 840 p.]; Л. Різник. *Поет і владика*. (Львів: Світ, 2008), 376 с. [*Poet and bishop*. (Lviv: Svit, 2008), 376 p.].

¹⁰ «Нехай кожний виростає громадянином»: бібліографічний покажчик [уклад. Л. Крачковська]; КЗ ЛОР «Львів. обл. б-ка для юнацтва ім. Романа Іванчука». (Львів, 2020), 50 с. [*"Let everyone grow up to be a citizen": bibliographic index* (Lviv, 2020), 50 p.].

¹¹ *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Вибране: 365 днів з Великим Митрополитом: Роздуми на щодень* / упоряд. О. Гайова, В. Кіт. (Жовква, 2015), 568 с. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi. Selected: 365 days with the Great Metropolitan: Reflections for every day* / edit. О. Gaiova, V. Kit. (Zhovkva, 2015), 568 pp.]; *Митрополит А. Шептицький. Документи і матеріали. 1941–1944* / упоряд. Ж. Ковба. (Київ, 2003), 313 с. [*Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi. Documents and materials. 1941–1944* / edited by J. Kovba. (Kyiv, 2003), 313 pp.]; *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький у документах радянських радянських органів державної безпеки*

One of the most important documentary sources for our coverage on the main stages of A. Sheptytskyi's biography, formation, national-political, and religious views is the memoirs of his mother Sofiia Sheptytska. She recalls his childhood and youth years in detail by year and ends with a description of the first Divine Liturgy, which he conducted on September 11, 1892.¹²

So, an entire era of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for state independence, and the achievement of religious and national unity, was reflected in the works and activities of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi. They trace his significant contribution to the formation of the national consciousness of Ukrainians, the national-patriotic education of youth, and the development of the UGCC (Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church) as the foundation of Ukrainian statehood.

Features of the Main Periods of A. Sheptytskyi's Life and Activity, the Formation of His National and Patriotic Views

Andrei Sheptytskyi was born on July 29, 1865 in Prylbychy, Yavoriv County (now a village in Lviv region, Yavoriv District) in the Ukrainian boyar family of Count Yan-Kant-Remigian and Sophiia-Ludvika-Cecilia-Constantia. At baptism, he received the names Roman–Maria–Aleksander. He studied at the best classical gymnasium named after St. Anna in Krakow in the fall of 1884, at the University of Wroclaw. As S. Sheptytska, his mother recalls that Roman immediately showed himself as an exemplary Catholic in his views, religious practices, and all ideals. In a short time, he managed to gather friends around him, among whom there were even outstanding professors, and his friends became his students. He attracted people with his personality, ideas, “which he testified by his own actions at the prompting of God's favors and became their uncompromising confessor, he impressed and won people's hearts everywhere, and heads bowed before his spiritual power.”¹³ However, A. Sheptytskyi refused a promising military and legal career. On May 28, 1888, he and his mother arrived in Dobromyl, where, with the personal blessing of Pope Leo XIII, he became a monk of the Dobromyl Monastery of the Basilian Fathers. Here, on September 13, he took his first

(1939–1944) / ред. В. Сергійчук. (Київ, 2005), 480 с. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi in the documents of the Soviet state security bodies (1939–1944)* / ed. V. Serhiychuk. (Kyiv, 2005), 480 pp.].

¹² Софія з Фредрів Шептицька *Молодість і покликання о. Романа Шептицького*. (Львів: Свічадо, 2015), 292 с. [*Sophia from Fredryu Sheptytska Youth and vocation of Fr. Roman Sheptytskyi*. (Lviv: Svichado, 2015), 292 pp.].

¹³ Ibid. pp. 80–81.

monastic vows and took the monastic name Andrei.¹⁴ At the same time, A. Sheptytskyi continued his studies at the University of Krakow. From that time, his missionary work as a preacher began. He also founded a printing house and publishing house of a religious magazine, conducted reforms of monastic communities, organized monasteries, and taught at the theological school of the Basilian fathers during this time.

In the early 1890s, A. Sheptytskyi completed spiritual studies at the Jesuit monastery in Krakow and became a Doctor of theology and philosophy. From August 3 to October 4, 1891, A. Sheptytskyi fell seriously ill with typhus, as a result of which, his parents were forced to take him to Prylbychy and call for doctors from Krakow and Lviv. On the advice of doctors, on October 17, 1891, he went to a rehabilitation resort in Zakopane; and on May 17, 1892, he returned to the Dobromyl Monastery. On August 11, 1892, Brother Andrei took his second monastic vows in the Krystynopil Monastery. On September 3, 1892, Bishop Julian Peles in Przemyśl ordained him a priest, and on September 11, 1892, Hieromonk Andrei conducted the first Divine Liturgy in his family village of Prylbychy.¹⁵

On June 22, 1896, A. Sheptytskyi became the abbot of the Lviv monastery of St. Onuphrius, where he developed an extensive missionary activity. The following year, he was elected as the secretary of the Archabbot of the Galician Province of the Basilian Order; and on May 1, 1897, together with Fr. Platonid Filyas, founded the first religious month in the region “Missionar,” which became a notable event in the church-religious life of the Carpathian territories.¹⁶

On February 2, 1899, Hapsburg Emperor Franz Joseph I appointed 34-year-old Andrei Sheptytskyi as bishop of the Stanislaviv Diocese, which was quite large: it had 336 parishes and 8 monasteries, and approximately one million faithful people. On September 24 of the same year, he was enthroned in the Stanislaviv Cathedral Church. He began his activity by visiting parishes, taught and received confessions, and helped the poor—which earned the love and respect of the faithful ones. On February 14-15, 1900, A. Sheptytskyi was welcomed by the pupils of the Ukrainian gymnasium in Kolomyia. His first pastoral letter to the clergy and believers touched on the urgent problems of the entire Ukrainian people—he called on them to live according to the Christian laws of justice, unite, take care of public education, advance a

¹⁴М. Островерха. *Великий Василянин Слуга Божий Митрополит Андрій Шептицький ЧСВВ: нарис.* (Нью-Йорк: Накладом авт., 1960), с. 20–23. [*Great Basilian Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky ChSVV: essay.* (New York: Nakladom Auth., 1960), pp. 20–23].

¹⁵ Sofiia from Fredriv Sheptytska Youth and vocation of Fr. Roman Sheptytskyi, p. 157–168.

¹⁶ В. Марчук. *Церква, духовність, нація.* (Івано-Франківськ: Ярина, 2016), с. 135. [*Church, spirituality, nation.* (Ivano-Frankivsk: Yaryna, 2016), p. 135].

sense of duty to society, independence, and honest work in young people.¹⁷ Already, on December 17, 1900, Andrei Sheptytskyi was nominated Halytskyi Metropolitan, Archbishop of Lviv and Bishop of Kamianets-Podilskyi.

A trip to Kyiv in 1887 had a significant impact on the formation of young A. Sheptytskyi's views and his decision to join the Greek Catholic Church. Here he was able to study the history, art, and culture of Ukraine. In Kyiv, A. Sheptytskyi found himself in the midst of the patriotic Ukrainian intelligentsia. V. Antonovych, a historian, archaeologist and ethnographer, a professor at the University named after St. Volodymyr, and a Pole by origin who broke with the Polish state and joined the Ukrainians, as well as young M. Hrushevskyi, made a great impression on him.

Andrei Sheptytskyi was also active in politics; he was a deputy of the Vienna Parliament and the Halychyna Parliament. In 1903–1913, he was deputy marshal of the Halychyna Regional Parliament. In January 1906, A. Sheptytskyi headed a delegation to Emperor Franz Joseph I, which raised the issue of granting Ukrainians equal rights with other peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1914, he managed to agree with the Polish side on an electoral reform that would increase the political representation of Ukrainians in the Halychyna Parliament. However, the war prevented the implementation.

In the interwar period, Metropolitan Andrei continued his work on the development of the UGCC. On his initiative, the Lviv Greek Catholic Academy (1928), the Theological Scientific Society (1929), and the Ukrainian Catholic Institute of the Church Union named after Rutskyi Metropolitan (1939) were founded. In 1933, like many other representatives of the Church, A. Sheptytskyi condemned the famine in Ukraine. During the Second World War, he blessed the creation of a new Ukrainian state, defended the Jews from extermination by the fascists, and condemned German policy in the East.

Native Language and Culture in the Formation of National Self-Awareness in the Work of A. Sheptytskyi

Awareness and understanding of one's own identity is one of the most important motivational factors of human behavior. The main structural element of the national idea is national identity. It is a set of ideas, views, interpersonal relationships and historical ideas about the interests of its nation, which has its own historical territory, language, historical memory, culture, myths, traditions, objects of worship, national idea and related with belonging and

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 135–136.

loyalty of people to a certain nation. The essence of this concept is a combination of innate and acquired traits, mythologized ideas and real images. National identity is based on a certain system of traits—racial or ethnic, cultural, psychological (anthropological type, language, religious beliefs, traditional rituals, customs). Its basis is biological, linguistic, cultural and religious, and also the awareness, rational choice based on consciousness, political will, citizenship, political culture.¹⁸

National identity is not an innate trait. It is formed as a result of the interaction of a social subject with the nation, its symbols, values, language, culture, history, territory, state and legal institutions, political and economic interests, and is manifested through national feelings, national consciousness, national character, mentality, national images of the world, and the national idea. National identity is not the same as nationality or citizenship, although they can be factors that have a strong influence on it. The connection between these concepts is strong and universally recognized.

Language is one of the signs of national identity, and there is a strong connection between these concepts. Language plays a significant role in the formation of Ukrainian identity during the time of independence. It is the language that distinguishes us from others, it is the language that unites us, and it is the language that is the “symbolic key to national culture.” A. Sheptytskyi, in his work “How to Build a Native House,” argued: “What makes a certain number of people one nation? First of all, it is language. All those who speak Ukrainian or who consider the Ukrainian language as their native language will make up the Ukrainian people. Undoubtedly, the unity of the language is a link that unites people, but it does not always unite them into nations.” At the same time, using the examples of Great Britain, the USA, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, he notes that the use of one language may not be a sufficient factor for uniting people into a nation.¹⁹

Though, the Ukrainian language is a key factor in the unity of the Ukrainian people, the formation of which is closely related to its formation. During the years of independence, there were changes in the spheres of the Ukrainian language functioning in education, science, office management, and in public places. The prestige of the Ukrainian language is increasing, and

¹⁸ В. Волобуєв. Ідентичність національна. *Малий етнополітичний словник*. (Київ: МАУП), 2005, с. 142. [*National identity. Small ethno-political dictionary*. (Kyiv: MAUP), 2005, p. 142.]; Л. Нагорна. *Ідентичність національна*. Енциклопедія історії України: Т. 3: Е-Й / Редкол.: В. Смолій (голова) та ін. НАН України. Інститут історії України. (Київ: Наукова думка, 2005), 672 с.: іл. [*National identity. Encyclopedia of the history of Ukraine: Vol. 3: E-Y*. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2005), 672 pp.].

¹⁹ *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Наша державність. Як будувати Рідну Хату?* (Львів: Бібліотека Української Галицької партії, 2020), с. 24–25. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi. Our statehood. How to build a Native House?* (Lviv: Library of the Ukrainian Galician Party, 2020), pp. 24–25].

the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people is growing. To ensure the development of the Ukrainian language, a substantial number of artistic, scientific, and political works are published today—which highlight our history, philosophical thought, Ukrainian customs, and traditions. Language is our culture, a sign of our national recognition.

One cannot be indifferent to how we use language, how we express our thoughts, how we value our native language. Therefore, each of us shall take care of the “language of the community,” our national language, as a means of creating national spirituality and national culture, since language ensures the survival of culture. It connects the culture of the ethnic group in one continuous process: from the past through the present to the future. The stronger the position of a language in society, the more reliable the prospects of culture. Therefore, defending the originality of our native language, we thereby protect the originality of our own national culture and spirituality. Without their language, their history, Ukrainians will cease to be Ukrainians.

Metropolitan Andrei, having a fluent command of at least 10 European languages, had a deep knowledge of the Ukrainian vernacular, which was spoken by various ethnographic groups of Ukrainians in Galicia. The hierarchs who headed the Galician Metropolitan throne before A. Sheptytskyi preferred the Polish language, which for many centuries was dominant in Galicia. Some cultivated the Church Slavonic language as the language of church and religious services and, in every conceivable way, opposed the access of the vernacular to the confessional sphere. Beginning in 1919, Poland occupied Eastern Galicia for two decades, and the policy of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was aimed towards the assimilation of the Ukrainians. Ukrainian intelligentsia and clergy (including Sheptytskyi) tried to resist this process by all possible means. At that time, only a few rulers in Galicia used the Ukrainian vernacular both in everyday life and in the official sphere.²⁰

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi was perhaps the first to break this tradition and address believers in their native language, thanks to which he gained great affection and love. It was he who introduced a fundamental innovation—instead of the Church Slavonic language at services, he ordered the exclusive use of the Ukrainian vernacular to preserve the national image of both the Church and the people. Starting in the first years of the 20th century, Church

²⁰ М. Лесюк. *Видатні представники Галичини в розбудові української літературної мови*. Василь Стефаник, Іван Франко, Андрей Шептицький у контексті культурно-історичних процесів кінця XIX–XX століть: колективна монографія. (Івано-Франківськ: ВГЦ «Просвіта», 2020), с. 153. [*Prominent representatives of Galicia in the development of the Ukrainian literary language*. Vasyl Stefanyk, Ivan Franko, Andrey Sheptytskyi in the context of cultural-historical processes of the end of the 19th–20th centuries: a collective monograph. (Ivano-Frankivsk: VHC "Prosvita", 2020), p. 153].

documents of the Lviv Metropolis (orders, circulars, pastoral messages, letters, etc.) began to be published in the Ukrainian literary language.²¹

Instead of “Rusyns” and “Ruthenians,” he introduced such words as “Ukraine” and “Ukrainians,” for which the Metropolitan was criticized. This is evidenced by a letter dated April 11, 1933, sent to the Metropolitan by the Holy Congregation of the Eastern Churches in Rome. The Apostolic Capital suggested that he avoid using such undesirable phrases as “his Ukrainian people,” “the majority of this people,” and “Ukraine” in documents. However, as we can see in later documents and appeals of A. Sheptytskyi, he did not follow this recommendation.

The Metropolitan thoroughly reflects on the definitions of world and national cultures and their roles and functions in people’s lives. He also points to the manifestation of national culture in the daily life of individual people because it “becomes a guide for each of us in the details of life, this culture is primarily national,” and he writes about the complexity and laboriousness of distinguishing the tasks of world and national culture.²²

Folk customs, rites, and celebration traditions, which were an integral part of everyday life and became a means of preserving Ukrainian identity, were of great importance for the national self-consciousness of Ukrainians. They reflect not only ethnic identity, but also aesthetics, moral values, mentality, and history. The customs of the Ukrainian people are connected with the traditional worldview, which has been formed over many centuries and preserved the signs of pre-Christian beliefs. With the change in living conditions, the traditions of celebration also changed. A constant transformation of ritual actions took place, some of their elements disappeared and were replaced by others, but the main content and sacred meaning were preserved.

You can never break with the customs and traditions of your native culture. A. Sheptytskyi emphasized the importance of nurturing national culture in order to enrich the world’s cultural treasury, because a cultural product interesting and valuable for the entire human community can be created within the framework of the national tradition. He claimed that Ukraine has become a place where East and West converge. Their connection, embodied in the living organism of the Ukrainian people, has given eastern countries new life, energy

²¹ І. Гель. *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький і українська національна ідея*. Літературна Україна. 08.02.1996, с. 3. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi and the Ukrainian national idea. Literary Ukraine*. 08.02.1996, p. 3.].

²² Л. Гентош. *Погляди митрополита А. Шептицького на місце і завдання української культури у контексті універсальності культури*. Емінак: Науковий щоквартальник. (2015. № 4(12)), с. 27. [*Views of Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi on the place and tasks of Ukrainian culture in the context of the universality of culture*. Eminak: Scientific quarterly. (2015. No. 4(12)), p. 27].

and a pledge of new bright development; and it has given western countries the terrain of new future victories, and a wide and powerful impact.²³ I agree with Sheptytskyi's opinion that in the combination of these two cultures, which shall be based on the unity of faith, one can find a solution to many problems of national culture and Ukrainian identity.

As an art connoisseur, the Metropolitan was a patron of painters and carvers. In 1905, he founded the Ukrainian National Museum, which contains monuments of Ukrainian art. At his inauguration, A. Sheptytskyi expressed the opinion that the search for a combination of the Byzantine aesthetic canon and Western cultural achievements could become a way to develop modern Ukrainian art and culture: "Will we not find a solution to the problem in the union of two cultures based on the unity of faith, which is facing us, the problems of the future of our national culture?"²⁴ He considered the National Museum as a foundation for the cultural growth of Ukrainian believers, as an important institution for the creation of high Ukrainian culture, which should occupy a worthy place in the world cultural space. A. Sheptytskyi took care of the permanent replenishment of the museum's collections and purchased 15,000 exhibits for it, having paid two million crowns. Artistic works (including one of the largest collections of icon paintings, different kinds of paintings, and graphics), books, manuscripts, old prints, valuable archival documents, Roman and Byzantine coins, archaeological monuments, and other items, were kept here. Understanding the complicated political situation of Ukrainians at that time and the broad task of the museum, A. Sheptytskyi financed the acquisition of those cultural rarities that could be of great importance for Ukrainians on different sides of the political border. In particular, he purchased scores and copyrights of 350 works by M. Lysenko, Hetman universals, and financed archaeological excavations in Krylos.²⁵

The art historian I. Svientsytskyi organized museum exhibits, as a result of which the National Museum became the largest museum treasury of Ukraine: by 1939, it had more than 80,000 exhibits in 10 departments, published 16 volumes of scientific notes, and arranged about 70 exhibitions. The museum had a unique library: more than 30,000 volumes of albums from various areas of Ukrainian studies and art history.

²³ *Дванадцять листів о.Андрея Шептицького до матері* / Упорядкував Григор Меріям-Лужницький. (Філадельфія, 1982), с. 50–52 [*Twelve letters of Father Andrey Sheptytskyi to his mother*. (Philadelphia, 1982), pp. 50–52].

²⁴ Л. Гентош, р. 28.

²⁵ Л. Гентош. *Погляди митрополита А. Шептицького на місце і завдання української культури у контексті універсальності культури*. Емінак: Науковий щоквартальник. (2015. № 4(12)), с. 30. [*Views of Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi on the place and tasks of Ukrainian culture in the context of the universality of culture*. Eminak: Scientific quarterly. (2015. No. 4(12)), p. 30].

A. Sheptytskyi's aesthetic tastes formed under the influence of various experiences of communication with works of art and cultural artifacts. From his youth, he admired the icons of rural Greek Catholic churches. The creators of these works of sacred art were not professional artists, but representatives of folk art. In the icon painting, the Metropolitan saw exactly that authentic and original sense, which can enrich the world culture, become the cultural achievement that will allow Ukrainian culture to become an attractive and interesting phenomenon for the entire human community and show the originality and value of its own culture.²⁶

It is important to note that A. Sheptytskyi considered art as an important means to form the general cultural level of the people, and also as one of the main factors in the education of a nationally and religiously conscious society. This is clearly evidenced by his letter-message “On Church Singing” dated April 25, 1941, and a letter to Prof. Kubyovych regarding the project of an art school for drawing teachers dated August 8, 1942.

The Metropolitan’s Views on the Importance of the Religious Factor, Education, and Upbringing in the Formation of Ukrainian Identity

One of the features of the Ukrainian people, which formed as a result of the interaction of religion and ethnicity in the conditions of a long enslaved national existence, is its religiosity. The national features of religions are formed as a result of the mutual influence of the specific living conditions of peoples—their national spirituality. Due to the geopsychological factor, geographical conditions, and belonging to an agricultural nation, mostly a peasant way of life, a mentality corresponding to Christian ideals became a favorable ground for the deep religiosity of Ukrainians.²⁷ Despite centuries of statelessness, national, cultural and spiritual destruction by the tsarist, later communist regimes, the Ukrainian nation has shown a unique ability to preserve its ethnic identity. The decisive factor was the nation's reliance on spiritual values, of which religion became the most important. Playing an important role in Ukrainian social and political life in shaping the consciousness of Ukrainians, the Church and religion helped consolidate the Ukrainian people, especially during the formation of Ukrainian statehood.

Being the leader of Ukrainian ecumenism (the movement for cooperation and mutual understanding between Christians of different denominations) during the 20th century, thus imitating Metropolitans Velyamin Rutskyi and Peter Mohyla, A. Sheptytskyi perfectly

²⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

²⁷ В. Марчук. *Церква, духовність, нація*. (Івано-Франківськ: Ярина, 2016), с. 55–56. [*Church, spirituality, nation*. (Ivano-Frankivsk: Yaryna, 2016), pp. 55–56].

understood the concept of “Serve the people, then serve God.” He was a supporter of the idea that the unity of Ukrainian lands was a necessary prerequisite for ensuring free national development. This was discussed among Ukrainian political parties in Galicia, and it was believed that the Greek Catholic Church was called to play a leading role in the process of unifying Ukrainian lands, and that all Ukrainian believers must first of all unite within the Kyiv Patriarchate.

With his life, the Metropolitan combined the Christian and the national, proving that they can and should co-exist and complement each other. Realizing that in Ukraine the fate of the people and the Church are closely connected, he was fascinated by the idea of uniting the people religiously, which, in his opinion, would also contribute to national unity. He was convinced that the “Native House” (as he called Ukraine) should also have a “Native Mother.” Such a native and real mother for Ukrainians is their church. Without a mother, the family declines spiritually and materially; and in the absence of a single and united Church, Ukraine deteriorates due to national strife and religious disputes. He promoted the idea of the expediency of uniting the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and outlined the possibility of forming the Kyiv Patriarchate headed by an Orthodox archbishop subordinate to the Pope. Such church unity, according to A. Sheptytskyi, will make the Ukrainian people stronger and more united and will help get rid of foreign influence and oppression; it will be an example of what national unity should look like.²⁸

According to A. Sheptytskyi, the revival of the United Ukrainian Church is closely connected with the Ukrainian national revival. In letters to Orthodox bishops and in decrees of the Archdiocesan Council (on unity), he claimed that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the Ukrainian language, and culture are the factors that distinguish Ukrainians from their eastern and western neighbors. Therefore, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church should become a connecting link between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, the western and eastern world in general, and in order to fulfill its unifying mission, it should undergo certain changes. He substantiated the idea of the expediency of uniting the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and outlined the possibility of forming the Kyiv Patriarchate headed by an Orthodox archbishop subordinate to the Pope. Such church unity, according to A. Sheptytskyi, will make the Ukrainian people stronger, more united, help get rid of foreign influence and oppression, and it will be an example of what national unity should look like.²⁹

²⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

According to A. Sheptytskyi, church unity is required for three reasons. First, such unity will become a crucial factor in connecting Ukraine with the West because in the cultural and spiritual sense, Ukrainians belong to the European community, not to the Euro-Asian community. Secondly, the union with the Ecumenical Church would become a model for the national unity dreamed of by the Ukrainian people for centuries. Thirdly, religious and national processes of people's unification are interrelated and condition each other.³⁰ According to the Metropolitan, church unity is a strength and an example of what national unity should look like, and the building of the unity of the Ukrainian people can begin with the construction of one, holy, universal, apostolic Church. A. Sheptytskyi emphasized the need to separate the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, as he was convinced that Orthodoxy planted by the Moscow Synod aimed to destroy the idea of Ukrainian statehood. For this, it had to be reformed by carrying out a number of transformations: "The Ukrainian Church would be freed from the power of the St. Petersburg Synod, prayers for the tsar would be prohibited, and prayers for his majesty would be stopped," Great Russian-Moscow saints, and other Russian aspects, he felt, should also be removed from the calendar.³¹ In addition, all orders for church changes should be issued by clerics, not civilians, "so as to completely break with the Russian system. The creation of a synod similar to the one in St. Petersburg would be clearly inappropriate. All these decrees could, in the name of the 'Metropolitan of Galicia and All Ukraine,' implement such measures that would be consistent with the fundamental principles of the Eastern Church, with the traditions of the Metropolitan throne and would be approved by the military administration."³² A. Sheptytskyi offered his personal help in conducting such church reforms. If such a plan is approved, "a central seat of spiritual power and the Church as an organism representing an indivisible whole will be created in Ukraine. It will be completely separated from the Russian Church."³³ At the same time, it was proposed to preserve the traditions and ceremonies important to the people

³⁰ М. Басараб *Державотворча концепція та національно-патріотичні ідеї митрополита Андрія Шептицького*: автореф. Дис ... канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01. (Ужгород, 2007). с. 9–10. [M. M. Basarab. *State-building concept and national-patriotic ideas of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi*: autoref. Dis ... Cand. history Sciences: 07.00.01. (Uzhhorod, 2007), pp. 9–10].

³¹ В. Басараб *Державотворчі та патріотичні ідеї А. Шептицького в історичному контексті*. Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету. Серія: Історія. (Вип. 2(39). Ужгород: «Говерла», 2018), с. 15)). [State-building and patriotic ideas of A. Sheptytskyi in the historical context. Scientific Bulletin of Uzhhorod University. Series: History. (Vol. 2(39). Uzhhorod: "Hoverla", 2018)), p. 15.

³² Ibid., p. 15.

³³ Ibid.

and to not destroy the Orthodox Church. Orthodoxy “must be retained in its entirety. It would only be necessary to cleanse it in a radical way from Moscow influences.”³⁴

Since the Church is an “organization not of man, but of God,” the Metropolitan noted, the duty of fulfilling the calling that God, embracing the fate of all nations, placed on the Ukrainian people lies primarily on it. A. Sheptytskyi believed that unity of the people largely depends on the unity of the Church, which for him “is a valuable and great strength.”³⁵ It was in a letter to Metropolitan Hilarion and the Orthodox hierarchs on December 30, 1941, he wrote that in order to achieve Ukrainian national ideals, it is necessary to eliminate, as much as possible, all quarrels and disagreements between Ukrainians, among whom religious issues occupy not the least place. Religious unity is a powerful impetus for achieving national unity.³⁶

A. Sheptytskyi tried to influence the development of Ukrainian national life precisely through the idea of “Christian patriotism,” which he considered as a much broader platform than political spheres. After all, politics cover a much narrower sphere of activity and does not always extend to such ideas as love for one's neighbor, striving for the truth, or respect for the dignity of another person. In creating a model of the Christian patriot, he wanted to formulate a set of rules that should apply across political or national divisions. In his intention, the Greek Catholic Church was supposed to guarantee the validity of these universal values in everyday life of Galician Ukrainians.

The Metropolitan emphasized that the Ukrainian people is far from a “natural organism.” Their society resembles a “heap of sand,” the individual grains of which are not related to each other, and not a mighty tree in which life develops, full of strength and health. Noting this peculiarity in Ukrainians, he asks: Where is the cause of this discord, hatred, disagreement, quarrels? What are the reasons for difficulties in understanding? Why, despite the unity of the language and customs, will they not be able to work together? Why does every misunderstanding between Ukrainians develop into a “chronic state of antagonism,” although there is “the greatest will and patriotism” on both sides?

Reflecting on these complex problems, A. Sheptytskyi aptly noted that this patriotism is always characterized by a “lack of self-criticism.” We measure our patriotism not by the

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi. Our statehood. How to build a Native House?, p. 37.

³⁶ І. Покотило. *Проблеми культурно-національного відродження та церковного єднання українства в епістолярній спадщині Андрія Шептицького та митрополита Іларіона (Івана Огієнка)*. Андрей Шептицький: наукові праці / упоряд. та наук. ред. Д. Герцюк, П. Сікорський. (Львів: «СПОЛОМ», 2016), с. 234. [*Problems of cultural and national revival and church unity of Ukrainians in the epistolary legacy of Andrey Sheptytskyi and Metropolitan Hilarion (Ivan Ohienko)*. Andrey Sheptytskyi: scientific works. (Lviv: "SPOLOM", 2016), p. 234].

mind, but by the heart—the temperature of which often “replaces all our signs in our eyes.” The Metropolitan notes with regret, “We are still primitive people, for whom demonstration, phrase and noise often seem to be more important than calm earthly entertainment and hard work.”³⁷

One of the reasons for these defects of the Galician Ukrainians is that their stay under the rule of Austria and Poland made them accustomed to limiting all the affairs of Ukrainians to the limits of their small region. In order to recognize and correct these “natural errors and fornications,” A. Sheptytskyi advises to form a sense of “Christian righteousness” in Ukrainians. This is what they can teach to overcome passions, which are the cause of all sin, all strife and separation, for which, “it becomes impossible to agree with people.” Because “the passion to which a person succumbs,” the Metropolitan notes, “so affects all his concepts, desires and actions that they create, as it were a whole world in which each person puts his own above all.”³⁸ In order to achieve Christian unity, it is required to overcome oneself with “submission, patience, mortification of everything that divides people.”

The Metropolitan developed a specific program of actions on “religious death,” which, in particular, includes the following conditions: 1) each faith must make such possible concessions “which conscience allows” and which do not go against obedience to its Holy Law against obligations to God. Concessions should be made by the Church, not individual believers; 2) the issue of reconciliation must be solved independently, “not to leave the decision to factors foreign to the Ukrainian people, and perhaps even hostile,” in particular to the Russian Church; 3) do not make the solution of your problems dependent on mutual understanding between Rome, Constantinople, or Moscow; 4) in the search for understanding, “it is the same to take religion for religion, and not consider it a political factor in achieving another goal; 5) to understand each other, you need to use the same language. This language, which serves as the basis for all communication, is the Christian worldview; 6) to get rid of the spirit of division and hatred, which causes that “a Ukrainian is an enemy of a Ukrainian.”³⁹

³⁷ Декрет Архієпископського Собору. 1943 р. Шептицький А. Листи-послання (1939–1944). (Львів, 1991), с. 410. [Decree of the Archbishop's Council. 1943. Sheptytskyi A. Letters-messages (1939–1944). (Lviv, 1991), p. 410].

³⁸ Ibid., p. 411.

³⁹ Л. Филипович. Греко-католицька програма релігійного і національного єднання українців: митрополит Андрей (Шептицький) [Greek-Catholic program of religious and national unity of Ukrainians: Metropolitan Andrey (Sheptytskyi)]. <https://ktds.org.ua/news/publish/gryeko-katolitska-programa-ryeligiynogo-i-natsionalnogo-yednannya-ukrayintsiv-mitropolit-andryey-sheptytskiy/>

Distinguishing “Christian patriotism” from pagan patriotism, the bishop notes that the latter is “love of one’s own, combined with hatred of all others.”⁴⁰ Taking care of the unity of their Motherland, Christians show their love for all people, therefore also for non-Christians and even their opponents, avoiding any hatred. It is the Christian unity of people that gives society what is most necessary and valuable in the national unity.

With the main goal of achieving an organic combination of national revival with the spiritual, the Metropolitan rightly believed that “today there is no greater sign for our people than unity, and there is no more important work for our Clergy than work on the national and Christian unity of the people.” A condition for such unity is the realization by all strata of the commonality of their interests, regardless of party or religious affiliation. To achieve such a state, in his opinion, Ukrainians, first of all, should abandon their provincialism and rise to the level of world culture and seek solutions to their problems on the basis of universal human values and Christian morality.⁴¹ A. Sheptytskyi believed that the state should not declare unlimited freedom of conscience and religion. It should be tolerant of all religions.

A. Sheptytskyi saw the Greek Catholic Church as the one that should fulfill the function of the most important educational institution in Ukrainian national life, and not be some kind of a political platform. Its pastoral efforts should aim for educating a correct understanding of “Christian virtues,” thanks to which the faithful can become “good patriots” and “wise citizens.” Setting such tasks before himself and the community, the Galician Metropolitan simultaneously monitored the subordinate clergy, so they were not directly involved in purely political activities. After all, according to A. Sheptytskyi, this can prevent priests from properly fulfilling their social mission among the faithful. This is evidenced by the fact that most of the Greek Catholic clergy, instead of serving their people and being an ethical and moral example for them, due to a mistaken understanding of patriotic duty, threw themselves into the maelstrom of secular disputes and political discussions. A. Sheptytskyi repeatedly regretted this fact and tried to counteract it. Especially since the politicization of the clergy had a negative impact on the Church itself. Some priests should not have transferred disputes and conflicts

⁴⁰ *Декрет Архієпископського Собору. 1943 р.* Шептицький А. Листи-повідомлення (1939–1944). (Львів, 1991), с. 413. [*Decree of the Archbishop's Council. 1943. Sheptytskyi A. Letters-messages (1939–1944).* (Lviv, 1991), p. 413].

⁴¹ М. Вегеш. *Митрополит Андрій Шептицький: сторінки життя і діяльності*. Історичні дослідження. Т. VI. Історія в портретах. (Ужгород, 2001), с. 63, 65. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi: pages of life and activity*. Historical studies. Vol. VI.. History in portraits. (Uzhhorod, 2001), pp. 63, 65].

from the secular sphere of politics to the foundations of church life. This situation led to a sharp decline in the authority of the Uniate Church among the people.⁴²

A. Sheptytskyi also paid special attention to the formative process of future priests. He believed that raising good priests is the key to successful preaching of the Gospel. In March and April 1901, the Metropolitan visited the Lviv Seminary, after which he decided to reorganize the institution. Andrei Sheptytskyi also took care of the opening of diocesan seminaries in Stanislaviv (1906) and Przemyśl (1907). He also sent the most able students to the universities of Rome, Innsbruck, Friborg in Switzerland, and the Augustineum in Vienna very regularly. Ten years later, thanks to a series of reforms, the Metropolitan already had a sufficient number of trained and educated priests.

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi put earnest efforts into the development of the national and religious education system, to which he attached great importance. In his very first pastoral letter to the faithful of the Stanislav Diocese dated August 2, 1899, “The First Word of the Pastor,” the future Metropolitan noted that education is more valuable than wealth.⁴³ He constantly took care of secondary education, and institute studies of Ukrainians even outside the territory of Galicia.

Naturally, the Metropolitan paid the most attention to the development of spiritual education. Through his efforts, theological seminaries were built in Przemyśl and Stanislaviv. At the same time, it is important to note that A. Sheptytskyi never divided education into “purely religious” and “purely secular.” On the contrary, he constantly emphasized their interdependence and interconnection. He sought to arm the clergy and believers not only with theological knowledge, but also with “sufficient knowledge of philosophy, sociology and political science, general world science,” to give impetus to the development of legal education, because he rightly believed that “in our people there is a general lack of a clear and firm concept of the law ... there is a lack of talented legislators among our people, because even a famous lawyer can be a weak parliamentarian.”⁴⁴

⁴² О. Макарук. Концепція “християнського патріотизму” в поглядах митрополита Андрія Шептицького. Василь Стефаник, Іван Франко, Андрей Шептицький у контексті культурно-історичних процесів кінця XIX–XX століть: колективна монографія..(Івано-Франківськ: ВГЦ “Просвіта,” 2020), с. 161–162. [*The concept of "Christian patriotism" in the views of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi. Vasyl Stefanyk, Ivan Franko, Andrey Sheptytskyi in the context of cultural and historical processes of the end of the 19th–20th centuries: a collective monograph. (Ivano-Frankivsk: VHC "Prosvita", 2020), pp. 161–162.*]

⁴³ М. Вегеш, Н. Концур-Карабінович, В. Марчук, М. Палінчак, Я. Голонич. *Українська Греко-Католицька церква: минуле і сучасне*. (Fairmont, 2020). с. 213–214 [*Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church: past and present. (Fairmont, 2020), pp. 213–214.*]

⁴⁴ Андрей. Шептицький *Письма – послання (1939–1944 р.р.)* [підгот. І. Стефанюк]; Фонд духовного відродження ім. Митр. Андрія Шептицького. (Львів, 1991), с. 33–34. [*Andrei Sheptytskyi. Letters – messages*

Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi's ideas were largely implemented in the activities of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy founded by him, which opened on October 6, 1929 in Lviv and became a nationwide affair, an important step in the creation of a new Ukrainian national university. But, unfortunately, the First World War prevented this work from being carried out.

Paying exclusive attention to the problems in education and upbringing, A. Sheptytskyi was aware that the foundation of any national education system is to be on spiritual and philosophical-methodological principles. They are designed to determine the meaning and value orientations of pedagogical activity, as well as the relationship between universal, national, and personal in the human-world system.

At the same time, it is important to emphasize that highly valuing education and science as a manifestation of the cognitive activity of the human mind, A. Sheptytskyi constantly pointed out the relationship between the goal and the ways of education with Christian principles, the very essence of Christianity. The philosophy of education laid out by A. Sheptytskyi in "Christian Righteousness" proves logically, neatly, and in a worldview that there should be no antagonistic contradictions between knowledge and wisdom, knowledge and good, theory and practice. On the contrary, knowledge becomes true knowledge only when the axiological (value) is organically combined with the logical-epistemological (theoretical) and praxeological (practical) aspects, and when they are interpreted with the understanding of good (grace). Indeed, the detachment of human knowledge from its spiritual and moral foundations, the loss of good (grace) as the main reference point leads to "pride of the mind," which is a direct path to "woe from the mind," an example of which is the current ecological state.⁴⁵

A. Sheptytskyi was convinced that knowledge should not be a weapon; it is not power in the positivist understanding of this term, it is the basis for ascending to higher wisdom, i.e., Divine revelation through spiritual self-improvement.⁴⁶

According to A. Sheptytskyi, the synthesis of psychological and moral consciousness is achieved by the unity of education and upbringing. Therefore, the problems of education were always in the center of the Metropolitan's attention; he constantly addresses them in his

(1939–1944) [prepared by I. Stefaniuk; Fund of Spiritual Revival named after Mitr. Andrey Sheptytskyi. (Lviv, 1991), pp. 33–34].

⁴⁵ М. Вегеш. *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: сторінки життя і діяльності*. Історичні дослідження. Т. VI. Історія в портретах. (Ужгород, 2001), с. 67–68. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi: pages of life and activity*. Historical studies. Vol. VI.. History in portraits. (Uzhhorod, 2001), pp. 67–68].

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 68.

pastoral messages. A peculiar generalization of his views was the speech “On Education” delivered at the Archdiocesan Council in 1942.⁴⁷ On the basis of this report of the Metropolitan, on December 10, 1942, the Council adopted the Rules “On the Education of Youth,” which constitute a short code of Christian education. This would begin with theses that reveal the motivation for compiling this document, “Let all Pastors remember that, by the nature of things, each of them must be an educator of the youth. Although catechists are also teachers of religion, their more important task is to educate young people to be holy Christians and true citizens.”⁴⁸

Education is very important, and at the same time, a difficult problem according to A. Sheptytskyi. He calls education “the art of arts” and “the knowledge of all knowledge.” Catechists in working with youth in secondary schools were given the task: “Youth must be brought up in sincere love for the Ecumenical Church and the Motherland.”⁴⁹

According to A. Sheptytskyi, the goal of education “is the development of the child so that he becomes an adult man with all the ways of mind, will, and heart developed and carefully nurtured. That development depends, obviously, on the concept of a person, which is the leading idea of education. That concept depends again on the whole worldview, among which a person has to live.”⁵⁰

A. Sheptytskyi distinguishes three types of worldview, which determine the corresponding directions and ideals of the educational process. The first is materialistic, in which a person is considered a natural being, and therefore education is aimed at developing those abilities and strengths that a person needs to satisfy material needs. The second is a humanistic worldview. Here, a person is the highest autonomous being, capable of endless development of science, art, and culture. The third type of worldview is Christian. Here a person is considered a child of God, combining the natural and the supernatural, and education is aimed at developing all the virtues of Christian life—the most important of which is love for your neighbor.⁵¹

Among the main elements of education, A. Sheptytskyi includes, firstly, the influence of the environment on the child; secondly, science; thirdly, the Christian atmosphere. A. Sheptytskyi considers the foundations, or most important principles of education, to be a)

⁴⁷ Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: *Життя і діяльність. Документи і матеріали 1899–1944. Том II. Церква і суспільне питання. Кн. 2: Листування* / За ред. А. Кравчук. (Львів: Місіонер, 1999), с. 990. [Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi: *Life and activities. Documents and materials 1899–1944. Volume II. Church and social issue. Book 2: Correspondence* / Ed. A. Kravchuk. (Lviv: Missioner, 1999), p. 990].

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 990–991.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 992.

⁵⁰ Андрей Шептицький *Про виховання. Письма послання (1939–1944 pp.)*. (Львів, 1991), с. 231. [Andrey Sheptytskyi. *About education. Epistle letters (1939–1944)*. Lviv, 1991), p. 231].

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 232.

preservation of innocence in youth; b) cultivating humility; c) nurturing courage; d) nurturing prayer.⁵²

The Metropolitan also paid great attention to the patriotic upbringing of Ukrainian youth. He was one of the founders of the Ukrainian scout organization “Plast” and supported it all his life. He transferred part of his land for camps and the needs of the Plastuns, supported the youth organizations “Sokil” and “Sich,” generously helped the “Prosvita” societies, the Ukrainian school organization “Ridna Shkola,” and other associations that were engaged in the education of the younger generation.

“Let’s give the youth such enlightenment that would teach them not only the theory, but also the practice of life. Teach them to live ... Cultivate self-sufficiency, individuality in young people, teach them to rely more on themselves than on others, not looking back at the help of the government and the region, but on their own initiative to complete an independent existence,” wrote the Metropolitan.⁵³

A vital component of Christian education, according to A. Sheptytskyi, is the formation of correct concepts about the Church and religious studies in young people. Love for the Church must be based on clear concepts of the unity of the Church, and a deep belief that there is no salvation outside of it. At the same time, the youth should be brought up in the spirit of love for all Orthodox, and awareness of the need and ways of rapprochement and unification of all churches. Church unity should be considered as an integral and dominant element of patriotic upbringing and formation of national unity.⁵⁴

Thus, in his educational and cultural-educational activities, Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi relied on a well-thought-out, logically argued, and coherent philosophical-worldview and theological system of beliefs, which he tried to implement.

⁵² М. Вегеш. *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: сторінки життя і діяльності*. Історичні дослідження. Т. VI. Історія в портретах. (Ужгород, 2001), с. 81–83. [*Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi: pages of life and activity*. Historical studies. Vol. VI.. History in portraits. (Uzhhorod, 2001), pp. 81–83].

⁵³ Позняк-Хоменко Н. “На службі Богу й Україні...” До дня народження митрополита Андрея Шептицького [*At the service of God and Ukraine." To the birthday of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi*]. Available at: <https://uinp.gov.ua/informaciyni-materialy/statti/na-sluzhbi-bogu-y-ukrayini-do-dnya-narodzhennya-mytropolitya-andreya-sheptyckogo>

⁵⁴ М. Вегеш. *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: сторінки життя і діяльності...* [Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi: pages of life and activity, p. 84].

Conclusions

National, ethnic, religious, social, and other traditional factors of identity formation are still relevant, but they are not capable of rapid transformation under the influence of changes in society itself—which is manifested in the feeling of instability of life itself.

National identity is the process of forming the main components of national existence, the imperative of the historical development of ethnic entities, ensuring national interests. It is essential that the realization of identity requires Ukraine to turn to the existential depths of the Ukrainian people, their culture, and religious traditions.

Heading the Greek Catholic Church for 44 years, Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi directly influenced the socio-political, national-cultural, and religious processes in Ukraine in the first half of the 20th century through his social, political, and church activities. His works and theoretical writings present an entire era of the Ukrainian people's struggle for a Ukrainian sovereign, conciliar, independent state, and the achievement of religious and national unity.

The Metropolitan's worldview has evolved from the task of establishing the Greek Catholic Church to the statist-independent life principles of the Ukrainian people. He came to the conclusion that Ukraine and Ukrainians must independently fight for their independence and rely only on God and their own strength in this. He did not understand those who believed that "our nation must always and constantly serve someone, and the independence of Ukraine should be buried 'in eternal memory' in the grave."⁵⁵

The goal of A. Sheptytskyi's work was to form a unified spirit of the people for the establishment of a nation whose center of unity is God, healthy morality, and a high position on the world stage. He drew attention to the fact that the Ukrainian people for many centuries were divided territorially, religiously, and internally-ideologically, as a result of which there was a lack of agreement between political forces in ways to achieve the common good. This is especially important given the fact that the Ukrainian people "lie on the border of two different and almost hostile cultures—Eastern and Western."⁵⁶ Because of this, the main direction of church policy, in his opinion, should be to overcome misunderstandings and disagreements that have arisen between the people and the clergy. "Today, there is no more important work for our clergy than work on the national and Christian unity of the people ... and you cannot successfully work on the unification of the people as work on love for your neighbor," the

⁵⁵ *Дванадцять листів о.Андрея Шептицького до матері* / Упорядкував Григор Меріям-Лужницький. (Філадельфія, 1982), с. 53. [Twelve letters of Father Andrey Sheptytskyi to his mother. (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 53].

⁵⁶ Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi. *Our statehood. How to build a Native House?*, pp. 28–29.

bishop noted.⁵⁷ The basis of the national idea is national unity. “The Ukrainian people are one people, some even want to say one organism, therefore it should become a solid national creation.”⁵⁸

When thinking about the problems of education, Metropolitan Andrei in his pastoral messages to the clergy and believers constantly drew attention to both the positive moral values that should be cultivated in oneself, and to what Christian education should be directed against. The Metropolitan paid special attention to the incompatibility of combining the concepts of national patriotism and terrorism. In his opinion, instilling in Ukrainian youth of the mandatory observance of the Christian morality in the political struggle was a necessary condition for the formation of the future of the Ukrainian nation. In the course of the national and political development of Ukrainians, A. Sheptytskyi primarily cared about the education of highly educated and highly qualified personnel.

Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi actively involved the younger generation in church and national life. The leading and most responsible role in the upbringing of the bishop was assigned to the family; he repeatedly addressed families with pastoral letters.

Caring about youth, initiating and actively participating in the creation of a number of educational organizations, he pursued specific tasks: to protect young Ukrainians from negative influences; subject them to God’s laws; and to raise good citizens and sincere patriots. A. Sheptytskyi focused special attention on raising good spiritual leaders for the Ukrainian people. Therefore, he was constantly looking for those among the youth who wanted to devote their lives to serving God and Ukraine.

Reflecting on the fate of Ukraine and its people, he was struck by how Ukrainians, mostly poor and uneducated peasants, had to constantly repel the attacks of the Turks, Tatars, and other invaders who tried to destroy our faith, language, culture. Overcoming the terrible consequences of those wars and losing during certain periods of their statehood, they were able to preserve the spirituality inherent only to them, the expression of which is Ukrainian icon painting, the Ukrainian language, artists, and icon-painting schools.

A. Sheptytskyi considered the unification of all Ukrainian lands into one national state to be one of the most important and necessary stages in the subsequent Ukrainian state-building process. And although he did not achieve his political goal during his lifetime, he managed to attract the attention of Western politicians to the state-building movement of Ukrainians.

⁵⁷ Pokotylo I. *Problems of cultural and national revival and church unity of Ukrain*, p. 234.

⁵⁸ Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi. *Our statehood. How to build a Native House?*, p. 24.

Analyzing A. Sheptytskyi's views on the role of morality and law in Ukrainian nation-building, we can come to the conclusion that he was aware of the state system reforms in various countries around the world and their consequences. This provided a synthesis of the religious and the secular and became the property of public morality. At that time, the philosophy of existentialism was the center of social consciousness and morality in France, philosophical rationalism dominated in Germany, Marxism-Leninism in the USSR, the philosophy of pragmatism and personalism combined in the USA and Canada, and conservatism reigned in England. Revealing the main tasks for the formation of Ukrainian national state consciousness the bishop adhered to English conservatism, not in its indestructible form, but with the slow renewal of Ukrainian Christian morality with the norms of democracy and law that strengthen civil society.

Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi believed that the principle of the revolutionary breaking of the Christian morality norms valid at that time in Ukrainian society would lead to arbitrariness, given Ukrainian individualism. He believed that the despotism of both power and morality should not be present in the Ukrainian state. Therefore, he strove to find such forms of cooperation with all strata of the Ukrainian people, which would provide an opportunity to carry out the renewal of Christian morality on new bases that relate to secular life. It is primarily about expanding the rights and freedoms of citizens and their organizations.

It is up to Ukrainians to clarify for themselves all the principles by which a sovereign people will live. They have the natural right to choose the form of government (monarchical, oligarchic, or democratic) and power in their state by participating in elections, plebiscites, or referenda; and it is necessary to use it wisely and in a Christian way.⁵⁹

This government should serve all citizens, and guarantee them (families, fraternities, societies, cooperatives, etc.), together with other structures, the exercise of rights and freedoms of activity. "In order to preserve the natural and correct freedom of citizens, the governing authority establishes fair laws that are not contrary to God's law and the common good, and an independent judiciary, which adapts general laws to individual cases and delimits the mutual rights and obligations of citizens," noted A. Sheptytskyi.⁶⁰

In the views of Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi thought that on the future of the Ukrainian state, the perspective of the national idea is outlined, in which the fundamental principles of the theory of the state and the law of neoliberalism, the philosophical ideas of G.W.F. Hegel

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

and I. Kant, as well as the national principles of state building and Christian morality are seen. Hegel's idea about the creative role of the spirit is very close in essence to Christian theology.

The main credo of A. Sheptytskyi in his views on Ukrainian state-building was, firstly, the need to resolve the confrontation within Ukrainian society and solve cases jointly; and secondly, he warned the leaders of the national radical movement of Ukraine against extremism in the inter-party struggle—which involves different parts of Ukrainian society in the conflict.

He constantly emphasized that Ukrainian society suffered in its historical development, in the realization of the national idea due to the lack of ideological unity. He was convinced that the national goal should not be achieved through struggle but through competition. In his opinion, a reasonable construction of the national idea should first of all be fixed in the public consciousness and reform its core from a worldview and world understanding into world creation.

Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi acted as a representative of the idea of Ukrainian independence and a defender of the Ukrainian people against the German occupation authorities during the Second World War. He tried to bring peace and harmony to the activities of Ukrainian political parties and movements of that period.

Summarizing, it is possible to single out three main tasks implemented by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi: building the nation on the basis of Christian morality and raising its cultural and educational-scientific level in order to combine the idea of the Church with the idea of serving the nation; rapprochement of the Ukrainian West with the Ukrainian East; and unification of the Eastern Christian Church with the Western one, an important role of which should be the Ukrainian people.

Unfortunately, the theological justification of the need for the religious unity of Ukrainians and those practical steps of Metropolitan Andrei did not lead to the establishment of friendly relations with Orthodoxy, or to religious rapprochement and mutual recognition. His efforts remained unrealized. Though, the relevance of the questions raised by A. Sheptytskyi became obvious only now when Ukrainians are gaining independence as a nation and are looking for ways to achieve it sooner, turning their views towards the church and Christianity.

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