

DOI: 10.21847/1728-9343.2020.4(168).210838

**RUSLAN DELIATYNSKYI,**

*Ivano-Frankivsk Academy of John Chrysostom (Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine)*

*e-mail: r.deliatynskyi@ukr.net, ORCID 0000-0002-6020-7666*

**VASYL GOGOL,**

*Ivano-Frankivsk Academy of John Chrysostom (Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine)*

*e-mail: otets.vasyl.gogol@ukr.net, ORCID 0000-0001-5236-885X*

**ALINA ZADOROZHNA,**

*The National Historical and Ethnographic Reserve "Pereyaslav" (Pereyaslav, Ukraine)*

*e-mail: alina0906@ukr.net, ORCID 0000-0002-9537-9054*

**ALLA BORTNIKOVA,**

*Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University (Lutsk, Ukraine)*

*e-mail: allabortnikova@icloud.com, ORCID 0000-0002-8132-1935*

**NADIYA RYZHEVA,**

*Mykolaiv V.O.Sukhomlynskyi National University (Mykolaiv, Ukraine)*

*e-mail: ryzheva.nadiya@gmail.com, ORCID 0000-0001-8379-4325*

## **MAIN MILESTONES OF LIFE OF BLESSED KLYMENTIY SHEPTYTSKY (1869-1951) THROUGH THE PRISM OF HISTORIOGRAPHY**

In the article, the biography of Blessed Father Klymentiy (Casimir) Count Sheptytsky (1869-1951) has been reconstructed in the "reference-encyclopedic" version on the basis of the achievements of diasporic and contemporary domestic historiography. Given the historiographical disproportions in the coverage of his biography, which has been reflected in relatively little attention to the early period of life and the creation of new "myths", the periodization of main stages (milestones) of life and consistent reconstruction of biography of Casimir / Klymentiy Sheptytsky have been conducted. His family environment, education, worldview formation and evolution have been described, the peculiarities of his social and political activity in the regional societies and the Austrian parliament have been shown, the motives and circumstances of the choice of monastic life have been clarified. The activity of Klymentiy Sheptytsky on the revival and development of Studite monasticism in Galicia, support of Andrey Sheptytsky's initiatives on the development of the Greek Catholic Church in different state-political regimes (Austria-Hungary, ZUNR, the Second Commonwealth, the first Soviet occupation, German occupation and formation of the USSR) and the spread of its influence outside Galicia, in the east, have been analyzed. The tragic page of the last years of Klymentiy Sheptytsky's life from arrest and exile to death has been covered. A number of "unresolved" issues in his biography that require the search for new sources and more detailed scientific studies have been identified, including the cheirotonia of a bishop.

**Key word:** *Greek Catholic Church; Casimir Count Sheptytsky; Doctor of Law; Ambassador of the Austrian parliament; Klymentiy Sheptytsky; Studite Rite; Hegumen; Archimandrite; Exarch; UGCC Blessed New Martyr.*

### **Introduction**

Memorialization of famous historical figures as a practice of honoring memory plays an important role in shaping the cultural code of the nation, preserving and transmitting the cultural values, that determine certain models of social behavior of certain groups of people, influence their moral and ethical motivation of life and activity through relevant historical examples, to future generations. One of the directions of memorialization, according to the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, is

"finding forgotten places of memory of the Ukrainian people and creating new ones" that are designed not only to remind of certain historical events, but also "to consolidate the Ukrainian people around important events and figures of national history" (UINP, 2016). The church practice of beatification and canonization is somewhat different from memorialization. It is manifested not only in honoring memory, but also in recognition of personal characteristics (Christian virtues) and the significance of their lives and activities (spiritual practices, martyrdom) for

ecclesial community to follow. In this regard, in 1994, Pope John Paul II noted that, taking into the account the phenomenon of martyrdom at the end of the second millennium, local Churches and the Holy See will take care of "addition of martyrologys of the world Church with special inclusion of sanctity of those who lived by the truth of Christ also in our time" (*Katolyckyj ohlyadach*, 2011, December 4). Both practices, memorialization and canonization, in our opinion, can be applied to honoring memory of Klymentiy (Casimir) Sheptytsky, in whose biography, by the way, periods of secular and spiritual life are clearly traced.

The life of Klymentiy (Casimir) Sheptytsky has already become the subject of scientists' careful attention, however, it still requires additional scientific studies. Summarizing the historiographical analysis conducted by the authors in the previous article (*Deliatynskyi, Gogol, Zadorozhna*, 2020: 67-77), the contribution to the study of K. Sheptytsky's biography made by such researchers as P. Senytsia (1983: 463-468, 471-475, 776-782), V. Lentsyk (1984: 3845), T. Pikulyk i L. Senyk (1997), S. Dmytrukh (1997; 2001; 2002), V. Chornopyska (2013; 2014); Y. Boiko (2018), I. Matkovskiy (2019) should be noted. A notable trend in historiography is a certain thematic disproportion in the coverage of K. Sheptytsky's biography, which has been reflected in relatively little attention to the early period of life marked by the choice of spirituality, and detailed coverage of activities as a monk, Hegumen and Archimandrite of the Studites. This circumstance actualizes the need to reconstruct the biography of Klymentiy (Casimir) Sheptytsky, taking into account the achievements of contemporary historiography, at least in the form of systematized scientific facts in "reference-encyclopedic essay", and to outline separate issues that will need the attention of future generations of historians, researchers and religious scholars.

**The purpose of this study** is to reconstruct the biography of Blessed Klymentiy Sheptytsky (1869-1951) against the background of socio-political processes in Galicia at the end of the 19th - the first half of the 20th century on the basis of compilation of the achievements of contemporary domestic historiography, to reflect the process of formation and evolution of his worldview, religious and socio-political views, to cover socio-political and, subsequently, church-religious activities aimed at the development of monasticism of the Studite Rite and the Greek Catholic Church.

#### Research methods

The study of the life and work of Klymentiy Sheptytsky is based on scientific principles of objectivity and historicism that induce taking into account specific historical circumstances and various factors influencing his personality. Among the full range of scientific methods, the most important were biographical and historiographical analysis. Thus, the biographical method allowed dividing the life of the Blessed into periods, clarifying his family ties and features of worldview formation, differentiating his social and religious activities, describing the main milestones of his biography. The method of historiographical analysis helped to distinguish scientific facts of the biography from historiography and to outline unresolved scientific issues for further scientific studies.

#### Materials and results of research

Casimir Maria (monastic name Klimentiy) Sheptytsky was born on November 17, 1869 in the village Prylbychi, Yavoriv powiat, the Kingdom of Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (now Yavoriv Raion, Lviv Oblast) as the sixth son in the family of Roman Catholic Count Jan

Kanty Remigian (1836-1912) and Sofia Ludvika Cecila of Fredro (1837-1904) (*Matkovskiy*, 2019: 57-58). On his father's side, Casimir was descended from the Ukrainian (Rus) Orthodox aristocratic family Sheptytsky, polonized and Latinized from the XVIII century, which ancestor was Fedor of Sheptych (XV century), and its prominent representatives included the Union hierarchs - Warlaam, Bishop of Galicia (1647-1715), Athanasius, Metropolitan of Kiev (1686-1746), Athanasius, Bishop of Przemyśl (1726-1779), Leo, Metropolitan of Kyiv (1717-1779), Hieronim Antoni, Roman Catholic Bishop of Polotsk (1700-1773) (*Smutok*, 2011: 592-602; *Shpytkovskyi*, 1933-1937; *Matkovskiy*, 2019: 35-44; *Chornopyska*, 2014: 51-52). Casimir's mother Sofia was the daughter of Count Aleksander Fredro (1793-1876), Napoleonic army officer and a prominent playwright who came from the ancient Polish aristocratic Fredro family with the coat of arms of Bonch (14th century) (*Matkovskiy*, 2019: 45-50). The marriage of Jan Kanty and Sofia united two powerful count families, Sheptytsky and Fredro, who represented the Polish nation and the Roman Catholic rite, but continued to follow the traditions of the Greek Catholic rite and nurtured a sense of origin from the Rus (Ukrainian) aristocratic family, combining them by the formula "Ruthenians by origin, Poles by nationality". It is noteworthy that, thanks to genealogical research of his own bloodline, Jan Kanty Sheptytsky gained the recognition of nobility (*nobilis*) in May 1871 and was elevated to the rank of Austrian count by Emperor Franz Joseph I, and since then, according to law, the title of count extended to his wife Sofia and their children (*Chornopyska*, 2014: 53; *Matkovskiy*, 2019: 60).

Count Sheptytsky spent his childhood in Prylbychi, where he received a thorough home education from the invited teachers Józef Svoboda, Dimlova, Kuilowska, Julia Arnetta, Adele Deforel, Fr. Panasinsky, Hegumen Vyshnevsky, who performed educational and upbringing functions. The basis of education and formation of Casimir's worldview was Christian nurture in the family, which was fostered by father Jan Kanty, on the example of family history, and mother Sofia, on the basis of a combination of lectures on catechism, foreign languages, music, drawing (*Y. K. Sheptytskyi*, 2016: 11-12; *Chornopyska*, 2014: 56; *Matkovskiy*, 2019: 64-68). The family tragedy, the death of his brother Yuriy (1863-1880), influenced the deepening of Casimir's Christian views (*Matkovskiy*, 2019: 70). On February 16, 1881, Casimir successfully passed the current exam in the disciplines he studied at home in Prylbychi under the guidance of teacher Cherna at the gymnasium in Przemyśl. The adoption of the first Confession and the first Holy Communion from Fr. Henryk Jankowski's hands in the Jesuit Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Krakow in April 1881 were important in the formation of Casimir's worldview. On September 1, 1882, Casimir began his studies at the St. Anna State Classical Gymnasium in Krakow, where he became one of the best students. At that time, he also took private lectures in English, French and German, drawing, and together with his brother Roman attended weekly meetings of the Krakow elite led by Paweł Popiel. Casimir graduated from the gymnasium in June 1887, passing the "matriculation exam" with honors (*Chornopyska*, 2014: 59-60; *Matkovskiy*, 2019: 72-79, 94).

In gymnasium, Casimir gradually formed an idea of the future spiritual vocation. Several events contributed to forming of this idea. In 1883, the elder brother Roman first announced his intention to enter the monastery of the Basilian Order to the family, which provoked discussions and influenced the formation of Casimir's life strategy (*Y. K. Sheptytskyi*, 2016: 32-33; *Matkovskiy*, 2019: 83-

88). From 1885, Casimir had helped his brother Roman with organization of meetings of the intellectual-spiritual society "Societas Goziana", where Fr. Marian Morawski and Fr. Eustace Strahowski were the regular participants (*Chornopyska, 2014: 61*). In August 1887, Casimir with the lead of Fr. Stefan Pawlicki and Fr. Stanisław Starowieyski visited the "Catholic Days" in Trier, Germany, and from then had thought about the vocation to the monastic life (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 94-95*).

In October 1887, Casimir began studying at the Jagiellonian University at the Faculty of Law and Administration (*Chornopyska, 2014: 62; Matkovskiy, 2019: 97*). At this time, he continued to expand his worldview, growing intellectually and spiritually. In March 1888, Casimir visited Rome at the invitation of his brother Roman, who came to an audience with the Pope for the blessing of entering the Basilian Order, and traveled through the cities of northern Italy with Fr. S. Pawlicki. Casimir completed his first year of studies with successfully passing a colloquium (exam) on Roman law on May 15, 1888, and in July he was chosen the librarian of the Student Society of Filarets in Krakow (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 98, 106-108, 113*).

In August 1888, Casimir first announced his intention to enter the monastery after completing his studies, that he had decided to continue in Germany, to his family (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 110-111, 113*). From October 1888, Casimir Sheptytsky had continued his studies at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, but only had one semester until March 1889. Here he established friendly relations with public figures Platers, K. Lubomirski, the Catholic clergy and the Apostolic Nuncio in Bavaria (*Chornopyska, 2014: 62-63; Matkovskiy, 2019: 115-117*).

Casimir returned to Krakow on March 22, 1889 to continue his studies at the university. He rejoined the public work of the Catholic student organization, which organized a Catholic congress in Vienna from April 30 to May 2, 1889. As part of this event, on May 2, Casimir reported on the charitable activities of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul in Galicia. On May 15, 1889, he was elected to the board of the student reading hall of the Jagiellonian University (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 118-120*).

In October 1889, Casimir began his studies at the Paris Institute of Political Studies (L'École libre des sciences politiques, or L'Institut d'études politiques de Paris), a specialized elite high school for training politicians, diplomats and government officials, where in 1890 he successfully completed education in social economy. In Paris, he joined the International Association for Social Economy (November 11, 1889), of which he was a member until 1910 (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 121-122*). Information about Casimir's studies in 1889/1890 is also kept in the University of Vienna (*Stępień, 2018: 179-232; Nowak, 2018: 143-178*).

From October 1890, Casimir continued his studies at the Faculty of Law and Administration of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. At the same time, he actively participated in public affairs and supported his mother Sofia, brothers Leon and Andrey (Roman), who also studied in Krakow. At that time, Casimir became a "vydiloviy" in the student library of the university. In the autumn of 1890, at the request of Fr. S. Pawlicki, Casimir Sheptytsky published a short article-review on the drama "Ni Dieu, ni maître" ("No God, no lord") by George Duruy in the magazine "Przegląd Polski". Analyzing the plot, he emphasized the possibility to convert even former atheists to God (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 124-125*). A typical example of Casimir's political views was his positive reaction to the Ukrainian-Polish agreement of November 25-27, 1890 in the Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria. His spiritual growth

and authority were evidenced by the fact that in February 1891 he was elected the first prefect of the student organization "Sodality of Our Lady" (Sodalicia Mariańska) in Krakow (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 127, 129*).

At the same time, in February 1891, Casimir decided to enter a monastery after graduating in Krakow, but his parents offered to obtain a doctoral degree in law first (*Y. K. Sheptytskyi, 2016: 50-51*). As early as December 18, 1891, Casimir passed the first oral doctoral examination (rigorosum) in Austrian civil procedure law, Austrian law and criminal code, commercial and promissory note law with highest distinction at the Jagiellonian University, which together with the dissertation was the basis for admitting to the degree of "Doctor of Law". On April 28, 1892, Casimir passed the second doctoral examination in political science, common law, Austrian public law and the law of nations, and on July 15, 1892, he passed the third doctoral examination in Roman law, canon law and German law. On July 16, he defended his dissertation and, on July 19, he received the degree of Doctor of Both Laws (Iuris Utriusque Doctor) at the Jagiellonian University. After that, on August 9-10, 1892, Casimir with Fr. S. Pawlicki, visited the Catholic Congress in Linz (*Chornopyska, 2014: 65; Matkovskiy, 2019: 131-136*).

On August 19, 1892, Casimir Count Sheptytsky returned to Prylbychi and, remaining intended to enter the monastery, decided to dedicate the next three years to helping his father Jan Kanty in estate affairs and forest management. On August 25-28, 1892, Casimir and his parents took part in the celebrations regarding the ordination of brother Roman, monk Andrey to subdeacon, deacon and hieres at the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Przemyśl from the hands of Bishop Yulian Pelesh (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 136-137*). At the end of August 1892, Casimir Sheptytsky came to Krzeszowice near Krakow to study French forestry theory and practice for a year. After his return in May 1893, he took possession of the family estate in Deviatinky in Zhydachiv Raion (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 145-147*). During 1893-1911, Casimir was actively helping his father Jan Kanty in managing the family estates in Prylbychi, Korchyn and Deviatinky, his brother Oleksandr in Horodysławice, and was taking care of his sick mother Sofia. In 1895, he traveled through the Kingdom of Poland (as part of the Russian Empire), the Kingdom of Prussia (as part of the German Empire) to search for selling markets of wood and grain, visited Gdańsk, Poznań, etc. (*Y. K. Sheptytskyi, 2016: 64, 67; Chornopyska, 2014: 67; Matkovskiy, 2019: 157-158*).

At the same time, Casimir Sheptytsky continued to cherish his vocation to the spiritual life. Thus, on July 5, 1893, a Catholic assembly was held in Krakow, in which father Jan Kanty and son Casimir Sheptytsky Counts participated (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 147*). In January 1895, Casimir conducted a recollection at the Dobromilsky monastery under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers, during which he established himself in his vocation and decided to return temporarily to family affairs. The election of Casimir as a member of the organizing committee for the construction of the Greek Catholic Church in Deviatinky village was a significant event. In September 1897, Casimir organized the Basilian Mission, headed by his brother Fr. Andrey, in Deviatinky (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 153-157, 166; Y. K. Sheptytskyi, 2016: 64*).

In the summer, on July 7-9, 1896, on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Union of Brest, the Second Catholic Assembly was held in Lviv, where Casimir Sheptytsky addressed a meeting of the economic-farming section with a paper "On Service in Arable Farming" in which he pointed out the danger of socialistic agitation under

conditions of unresolved problems of various sections of society and proposed to return to patriarchal relations at the noble court and in rural farms. To implement these ideas, in 1897, an insurance institution for farm servants and agricultural workers with a guarantee of pension payment was established in Lviv (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 159-162*).

In 1899, Casimir Sheptytsky arranged family affairs through the foundation of a separate firm ("Przedsiębiorstwo dzierżawy propinacji w Przylbicach Jan hr. Szepetycki") and helped his brother Fr. Andrey in preparation for the episcopate - translated the first pastoral letters into Polish and published them, helped to buy plot for the construction of a church for theological seminary in Stanislaviv, and, in September, he participated in the preparation of celebrations on the occasion of cheirotonia in Lviv and enthronement in Stanislaviv (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 173-178*).

In February 1900, Casimir Sheptytsky began his political career as a co-founder of the conservative "Political Catholic-People's Society" in Lviv, delegated by the szlachta of the Przemyśl district as a candidate of the 1st Curia in the by-elections to the Austrian parliament. In May 1900, Casimir arrived in Vienna and took the oath of the Ambassador of the Chamber of Ambassadors of the Council of State, but in June the ninth term of parliament ended. In January 1901, Casimir Sheptytsky was re-elected from the Yavoriv district as an ambassador of the Lower House of parliament in Vienna. Right after the election, Casimir helped to organize the reception of guests for the enthronement of Andrey Sheptytsky to the Galician metropolitan on January 17-18, 1901 in Lviv (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 182-191*).

On January 31, 1901, Casimir Count Sheptytsky took the oath as ambassador to the Lower House of ambassadors of parliament. During the formation of the governing bodies of the parliament, Casimir was elected a secretary as a representative of the "Polish circle" and a member of the socio-political commission, as well as the commission on agricultural affairs. In his parliamentary work in 1901-1904, Casimir participated in the discussion of various government bills, made proposals and supported the solution of relevant issues of economic development of Galicia, including the issue about the funding for the construction of the railway from Jarosław to Pruchnik, social security and pension insurance for employees (officialists) in private estates, compulsory fire insurance, formation of agricultural trade-union organizations, prevention of manipulation of grain and flour prices by trade exchanges, protection of local sugar manufacturers, improvement of forestry administration, adoption of the budget of agriculture, forests and natural resources, working hours for trade, discussed the introduction of export duties on grain and timber, etc. Due to his authority, in 1903 Casimir was elected a member of the parliamentary commission on customs policy, deputy head of the State Agricultural Council at the Ministry of Agriculture, a member of the Lviv branch of the Galician Forest Society (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 195-196, 199-207, 214-218, 228, 257*).

The death and funeral of Casimir's mother Sofia Sheptytska, who never saw the beginning of implementation of his spiritual vocation, in April 1904 was a difficult period in his life. He even took a leave of absence in parliament, and then resigned as secretary of the Chamber of Deputies due to the need for long-term treatment and rehabilitation (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 220-225, 228, 240-241*).

In February 1905, Casimir Sheptytsky returned to parliamentary work, which lasted until 1907. At this time, he achieved a grant realization for the construction of a railway and water canal in Krakow, discussed a compromise

in raising railway tariffs to support the local exporting manufacturer, supported the adoption of the law on pensions of private employees, submitted proposals in the bill on the hops market. In 1905, Casimir became a member of regional institutions as a delegate to the Insurance Society of Officialists (private government officials), a member of the executive committee of the Galician Economic Society, the first deputy head of the Galician Forest Society. On his initiative, the Galician Forest Society with the Regional Department in Lviv held public hearings on the development of professional education in forestry on the basis of Lviv Polytechnic (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 241-243, 250-253, 255, 261-264*).

Casimir's socio-political and religious views were gradually crystallizing. Thus, in February 1906, his political essay "What is the task of Catholicism in the public life of our land and in present day?" was published on pages of Jesuit socio-cultural monthly journal "Przegląd Powszechny". In this essay, he called "sincere Catholics" Ruthenians and Poles for national consent and placing the "organization of social progress" in opposition to the "extreme parties of class struggle", which spreaded "socialism and anarchism", for organizing Christian Democratic Party "with the standard of Catholic democracy" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 253-255*). Shortly, in discussions on Baron P. Gautsch's bill on universal equal electoral rights in the context of Ukrainian-Polish relations in Galicia, Casimir Sheptytsky agreed with a proportional increase in the mandates of "Ruthenians", but warned against the election of "people who would primarily present not Ruthenian nationality, but the theory of anarchism and social revolution" as ambassadors. It is noteworthy that, in January 1906, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, heading the Ukrainian delegation at the emperor's audience in Vienna, asked for an increase in the mandates of Ukrainian representatives in parliament as a result of electoral reform, but ambassadors of the "Polish circle" (and Casimir Sheptytsky in solidarity) protested regarding his initiative (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 255-258, 260*). Finally, at the last session of parliament, in January 1907, Casimir supported a new election law that radically changed the system from a class principle to universal and equal electoral right. Therefore, Ambassador Casimir Sheptytsky decided to end his political career in 1907, not sharing the positions of the Polish National Democrats under the leadership of S. Głąbiński and taking into account the prospect of confrontation between the "Polish and Ukrainian camps". Although until 1911 he had still served as a deputy of the Council of Boberski powiat (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 264, 310*).

In 1907-1911, Casimir Count Sheptytsky combined the conduct of family affairs in estates with public activities. In 1907, he presented a plan for organization of cattle and hornless cattle trade at a meeting of the Galician Economic Society, and, re-elected as first vice-chairman of the society, at the congress of the Galician Forest Society, he proposed an appeal to the parliament on the need to adopt a law on forests in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the same year, he was elected a jury of the VI cadence, and in 1908 he was elected the deputy head of the Presidium of the Pension Insurance Fund of Private Officials, a member of the Supervisory Board of the Polish Emigration Society and a member of the "Polish Applied Arts" Society (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 267-271, 273-274*). At the end of 1908, Casimir Sheptytsky headed the Galician Forest Society as an acting chairman, and the government appointed him a member of the Regional Bureau of the Government Pension Fund for Insurance of Private Officials in Lviv. On November 28, 1908, Casimir,

together with his father Jan Kanty and brother Leon, participated in an audience of the Austro-Hungarian Empire szlachta with Emperor Franz Joseph I in Vienna. In 1909, he joined a working group on preparation of a reform of railway tariffs organized by the Ministry of Railways, headed the subcommittee of the commission at the State Railway Council, later he was introduced into the advisory Council on railway affairs. In 1909, Casimir was elected head of the Galician Forest Society for one year (then re-elected). From 1910, he had been delegated to the commission of the Viceroyalty to develop plans for afforestation in the region. He was also elected third deputy head of the Galician Economic Society and a member of the Society of Farmers in Krakow (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 286-289, 292-296*).

At the same time, new preconditions for the implementation of Casimir's spiritual vocation were gradually emerging. Thus, in February 1908, Metropolitan Andrey "confidently" informed him in a private letter that at an audience with Pope Pius X in Rome he received a secret charter confirming subordination of 8 Greek Catholic eparchies in the Russian Empire to the Metropolitan (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 271*). In the summer of 1908, Casimir was directly involved in the implementation of the Metropolitan's plans - he paid for the Dedilovichi estate above Berezina (now in the Borisovsky District, Minsk Region), bought from Count Tyszkiewicz, to establish "parcelling houses" with Greek Catholic churches for Galician Ukrainians. However, then the authorities of the Russian Empire quickly gained an understanding of Metropolitan's plans and took countermeasures (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 285-286; Voinarovskiy, 1961: 57*). An additional motivation, as I. Matkovskiy suggests, was the "crisis in relations between Metropolitan Andrey and the Ukrainians-Ruthenians" in 1908, caused by non-acceptance of Metropolitan's actions (condemnation of M. Siczynski's "act of terror" against Governor A. Potocki, prohibition of clergy participation in society activities) by the part of Ukrainian society (under the influence of Moscovophiles and radicals), which "could be a significant reason for Casimir to form goals for his monastic activities and seek to strengthen his brother Roman, Metropolitan Andrey, in the Greek Catholic Church" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 281-284*).

After all, Casimir Sheptytsky was becoming more and more engaged into helping his brother Metropolitan Andrey. Thus, at the end of 1908, he became a member of the Kuratorium of the Art Foundation "National Museum in Lviv", and, in 1910, he donated 300 crowns to the Greek Catholic monastery of Studite monks and the church in Kamenica in Bosnia, founded by Metropolitan Andrey for Ruthenians-Ukrainians from Galicia (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 287, 296*). Therefore, on November 25, 1910, Metropolitan Andrey consecrated the St. Josaphat Church, built for the Greek Catholic community by the efforts of Casimir in Deviatinky (*Shematyzm ... na 1911: 370-371*). After this event, as I. Matkovskiy suggests, Casimir "planned to give himself up to the Lord God and end his secular career" because he saw that the Metropolitan in the Greek Catholic Church "needed him more than he was needed at meetings of societies and state commissions" and in view of the "frequent illnesses of the Metropolitan, which he overcame with humility", Casimir "matured more and more to this decision". A new wave of criticism of Metropolitan Andrey in 1910-1911 by Moscovophiles and radicals after his visit to the Greek Catholics of the USA and Canada and Polish conservative Catholics' accusations of "authorship of heresy" about unifying the Western and Eastern Churches by the Roman Catholic priest Prince Maximilian William, Duke of Saxony also influenced Ca-

simir Sheptytsky's decision to implement his own spiritual vocation (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 229, 297-301*).

Throughout 1911, his social activity decreased significantly. In May 1911, Casimir finished processing a letters collection from his mother Sofia Sheptytska in three volumes in Deviatinky. In June, he was taking care of the sick Metropolitan Andrey and returned to community service after his recovery. Casimir became a member of the Supervisory Board of the Galician Union of Cattle Trade in Lviv, took part in a meeting of the State Railway Council in Vienna, and, in October 1911, he held the annual general meeting of the Galician Forest Society in Lviv, which became the last act of his socio-political activity in the Polish environment (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 301-303*).

At the family meeting on October 1, 1911 in Prylbychi on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Jan Kanty Sheptytsky, Casimir announced his choice of monastic life and his intention to go to a Benedictine monastery. Casimir was near his father already in a dark cloak, the monk's symbolic clothes, in the family photo (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 303, 311*). On the advice of Metropolitan Andrey, who tried to exclude the motive of devotion to him in choosing the rite, Casimir agreed to get acquainted with the Latin rite of the Benedictines first, however, he received a blessing to change the rite from Józef Bilczewski, the Archbishop of Lviv, and Józef Pelczar, the Bishop of Przemyśl, before leaving (*Y. K. Sheptytsky, 2016: 100-101; Matkovskiy, 2019: 305*).

On December 1, 1911, Casimir Sheptytsky travelled from Galicia to the Benedictine monastery of Beuron Archabbey (Archiabbatia Sancti Martini Beuronensis) in Baden-Württemberg to "begin both theological studies and get to know monastic life both in practice and in theory". In February 1912, he was visited by Metropolitan Andrey in Beuron. After the death of Jan Kanty Sheptytsky (November 13, 1912), Casimir, according to Sr. Teresa Sheptytska, received the permission of the priors of the monastery and came to the funeral of his father (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 306-314, 317; Y. K. Sheptytsky, 2016: 102-103; T. Sheptytska, 2001: 45*). At the end of the novitiate in Beuron in February 1913, Casimir left scientific-theological work for the archbishop of the monastery. Probably on December 8, the day of St. Pope Klymentiy, Casimir Sheptytsky, in accordance with the decree of the Congregation of the Faith "Ad graves et diuturnas" in 1865 and the Concordat on July 19, 1863, with the consent of the Bishop of Przemyśl, changed the Roman Catholic rite to Greek Catholic rite and entered the monastery of St. Joseph of the Studite Fathers in Lviv on Piotr Skarga street, 2a (now Ozarkevich, 2) as Brother Klymentiy. In April 1913, Brother Klymentiy came from Beuron to continue the novitiate in the monastery of St. Joseph the Betrothed of the Studite Fathers in Kamenica village, near Čelinac town in Bosnia, founded by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky for "the spiritual service of several thousand Galician Greek Catholic colonists settled there" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 305, 318-323; Shematyzm ... na 1914: 431*). In the monastery in Kamenica, Brother Klymentiy was included in the archaris, i.e. the category of monks who, after novitiate, receive a robe and become disciples of edifying life. Here he met Brother-Studite Leonid Fiodorow, who appreciated the "monastic spirit" of Klymentiy in a letter to Metropolitan Andrey, considering him "with time... on the title, our first Archimandrite". In September, Klymentiy met with Metropolitan Andrey in Leuven, Belgium, again. On October 1, 1913, Brother Klymentiy began his theological studies at the Collegium Canisianum in Innsbruck under the leadership of the Jesuits, which lasted until 1917. At the end of the

academic year in Canisianum, in June 1914, he passed seven exams, then returned to the monastery in Kamenica (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 329-330; Shematyzm ... na 1914: 432; Avakumov, Haiova, 2004: 585, 593; Y. K. Sheptytskyi, 2016: 103*).

At the beginning of the war, in September 1914, Klymentiy informed Colonel Stanislav's brother about the arrest of Metropolitan Andrey from Kamenica, and in Innsbruck he established letter contacts with Metropolitan Andrey in Russia and Fr. T. Wojnarowskiy in Lviv. In October 1914, he joined the preparation of a memorandum to the papal nuncio on the release of Metropolitan Andrey from captivity in Russia and a memorandum to the Austrian government on the situation of Ukrainians in Galicia, "the most loyal Austrian citizens" who were "dispossessed of: a) their nationality; b) their faith; c) the economic basis for the existence of their culture (societies, publishing houses and other institutions)". In December 1914, Clement wrote to Fr. T. Wojnarowskiy on the release of 14 arrested Studites in Hungary, whom he asked to be sent to the monastery in Kamenica, as well as on the spiritual and material needs of the Sich Riflemen (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 333-341; Shevchenko, 2009: 430-439*).

On the Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God on August 28, 1915, Brother Klymentiy received priestly ordinations from the hands of the Bishop of the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Križevci of the Croatian Greek Catholic Church, Dionisije Njaradi, to whom the Studite monastery in Kamenica was canonically subject. After the ordination, Fr. Klymentiy went to Galicia to conduct the first services of God in Prylbychi and Deviatinky (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 346; Matkovskiy, Boiko, 2018: 109*).

While studying at the Canisianum, hieromonk Klymentiy Sheptytsky became friends with a student, Josyf Slipyi, with whom, with the permission of the college leadership, they received a separate chapel for services in the Eastern rite, organized a theological library and a homiletic club for "propaganda of the Eastern church tradition", conducted informational and educational work among Ukrainian riflemen who carried out military service in Innsbruck (*Senytsia, 1983: 791*).

In the summer of 1917, Fr. Klymentiy met with Metropolitan Andrey in Innsbruck, accompanied him on a trip to Rome, and, on September 10, returned with him to Lviv. In October 1917, Fr. Klymentiy was appointed Hegumen of the monastery of St. Joseph and the "Educational Institute of Studites" in Lviv, also known as "Studion". On the feast of Immaculate Conception, December 22, 1917, in the chapel, he adopted an angelic scheme, i.e. lifelong vows according to the Studite Rite, in front of Metropolitan Andrey (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 348, 353-355*).

From this time, the active church-religious and social work of the Hegumen Fr. Klymentiy Sheptytsky started. First, he organized the normal functioning of the monastery of St. Joseph in Lviv, where in 1918 he took over the duties of novice master. The monastery book collection "Studion", which numbered 10,000 after the merger with the collection of Fr. Aurelio Palmieri in 1926 and had "the largest collection of Russian prewar periodicals, theological, church and scientific publications outside of Russia", was given to Fr. Klymentiy for care. In 1920, a collection of images acquired by the Sheptytsky brothers from V. Pishchansky (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 355-356, 370; K. Sheptytskyi, 1926: 154*) was included in the funds of the "Studions" and the icon-painting school. Fr. Klymentiy organized a home for orphans in the monastery of St. Joseph, and appointed theologian Stanislav Bakhtalovsky as its prefect. Soon, in March 1918, Fr. Klymentiy became a co-founder of the company "Protection named

after Metropolitan Andrey Count Sheptytsky for orphans in Lviv", for which they bought an estate in Posiecz, Bohorodczański powiat (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 356, 359; Lyt-syniak, 1926: 78-84*).

In the summer of 1918, Fr. Klymentiy and Metropolitan Andrey conducted a mission in Podliski village (now Kamianka-Buzka Raion), a visit to the O.S.B.M. convent in Słowita (now Zolochiv Raion) and a monastery in Univ, then bought a house with a garden for the Studites in Zboiska near Lviv. In the autumn of 1918, they planned a trip to Kyiv, where a group of Orthodox priests wanted to join the GCC, but survived the Spanish flu. On October 28, Fr. Klymentiy with Fr. T. Wojnarowskiy went to Zarvanytsia to look for a place for a new monastery, and on the way they learned about the establishment of Ukrainian rule in eastern Galicia on November 1 (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 359-361; Dzerovych, 1926: 65-77*).

During the Ukrainian-Polish war to July 17, 1919, the Lavra of St. Anthony of the Caves in Sknilow was completely destroyed, so the Studite monks with the "orphanage" first moved to the monastery of St. Joseph of the Studite Fathers in Lviv on Piotr Skarga street (now Ozarkevich street). In August 1919, the Studite monks moved to the ancient metropolitan residence in Univ, where they owned a monastery with the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, farm buildings, arable land, forest and mill. The Univ Holy Dormition Lavra, the Hegumen of which was Fr. Klymentiy, in fact, began operating on August 29, 1919, and to support the estate of the monastery, the Sheptytsky brothers established a religious-charitable society "Studion" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 361-364; K. Sheptytskyi, 1926: 154*).

In the autumn of 1919, the Sheptytskyi brothers began to write a new "Typicon" or "Institutions (Constitutions) of the Dormition Lavra in Univ". This was due to the need of the alignment with the canon law of the Catholic Church of 1917, renewal in the "spirit of Eastern monasticism" and the proposals of the Exarch of the RGCC Fr. L. Fedorov (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 364-365; Avakumov, Yu., Haiova, 2004; Dmytrukh, 2001: 61-75; Martyniuk, 2016: 40*). They completed the manuscript work on the "Typicon" in November 1920. The charter of the Univ Lavra was adopted by the general council of the monastery and approved by the decree of Metropolitan Andrey on November 8, 1920, and submitted to the Congregation for the Oriental Churches for approval on February 6, 1921 (*Kravchuk, Haiova, 1995: 188; Typikony, 2007; Chornopyska, 2012a: 8-15; Matkovskiy, 2019: 368-369*). Later, in May 1923, Metropolitan Andrey received a letter from Cardinal Giovanni Tacci Porcelli, Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, with the decree praising the restoration of the Studite Rite and encouraging him to work on the "Typicon", marking the first stage in the formation of Studite monasticism (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 369-370*).

In 1920, the question of the episcopate of Fr. Klymentiy Sheptytsky arose for the first time. Thus, in a letter dated November 27, the Apostolic Visitor to Ukraine Fr. G. Genocchi informed the Congregation for the Oriental Churches regarding the request of Greek Catholic priests from Lviv to appoint Fr. Klymentiy as Vicar General and Auxiliary Bishop, which Metropolitan Andrey and Fr. Klymentiy denied because of possible convictions for nepotism, although Monsignor J. B. Ognio-Serra advised Fr. Clement to "become a bishop" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 37-371; Khoma, 1987: 87*).

Meanwhile, Metropolitan Andrey's archpastoral trip to Europe and America in 1920-1923 (*Babiak, 2013; Kravchuk, Haiova, 1999, t.2: 727-728*), which was assessed by the Polish authorities as a "diplomatic action" for "rec-

ognition of the Ukrainian state on the international level”, provoked repressions against Fr. Klymentiy. Thus, in November 1921, he was arrested in Univ on false accusations in the case of the so-called “Ukrainian propaganda in Eastern Lesser Poland and St. George’s Congress of Communists”. In May 1922, according to Fr. Klymentiy in a letter to his brother Stanislav, the Polish police conducted searches in the Univ Monastery again (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 374-376*). In December 1922, Fr. Klymentiy went to Vienna to meet with Metropolitan Andrey after a trip from the ocean. However, Metropolitan Andrey remained in Vienna awaiting permission to enter Poland, and Fr. Klymentiy returned to Galicia to meet the Apostolic Visitor Fr. G. Genocchi during a visit to Lviv on March 1-10, 1923. During the departure of Metropolitan Andrey into Poland at night on August 22-23, 1923, he was detained at the border and transported to the convent of the Sisters of Charity in Poznań under house arrest. Therefore, on August 28, 1923, the church holiday in Univ turned into a political demonstraton - after the service, which was conducted by Fr. Klymentiy, 50,000 Greek Catholics presented a statement of protest to the Polish authorities demanding the immediate release of the metropolitan. Fr. Klymentiy returned to Poznań to care for his sick brother (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 377-379*). After the return of Metropolitan Andrey to Lviv, the position of the Greek Catholic Church was gradually improving in accordance with the terms of the Concordat with the Apostolic See, and after taking the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth in May 1925, new prospects dawned (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 384*).

During the 1920’s, Fr. Klymentiy Sheptytsky directed his activities to the strengthening and development of the Studite monasticism, its active pastoral and social work for the people. At the same time, as I. Matkovskiy noted, “various efforts to strengthen the Greek Catholic Church, revive the monastic tradition, enlightenment, etc. made by Fr. Klymentiy and Metropolitan Andrey were their common cause” (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 385*).

The network of Studite monasteries in Galicia was gradually expanded. In 1921, on behalf of Fr. Klymentiy, several monks from the Univ Lavra bought a plot (200 morgens) in Zarvanytsia, Terebovlia Raion, to establish a daughter monastery, and from 1922, he was personally visiting the construction of the monastery (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 372-373; Mytsko, 1998: 92*). In 1924, due to poor management in Zarvanytsia, the Studites lost 200 morgens of land, but the monastery continued to develop, and several newcomers were admitted to it, including veterans of the Austrian army and USS / UHA soldiers. With the assistance of Hegumen Klymentiy, the monastery had a library and a youth choir, so the Zarvanytsia monastery became a culture and educational center (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 384, 389-391; Pyshkovych, 2005: 66*). In June 1924, Metropolitan Sheptytsky bought two houses for Studite monks in Lviv on Pavlin Street (now Nizhynska Street), in which an orphanage for 40 children was opened. Also in 1924, Fr. Klymentiy, with the blessing of the Metropolitan, founded the first convent of the Studite Rite in Jaktorów, consecrated on the feast of the Intercession of the Theotokos. The first abbess of the Holy Intercession Monastery was Sr. Eugene (Senyuk). In 1925, the first novices in Jaktorów received clothes from the hands of Fr. Klymentiy, and several sisters went to the Stryi Raion to found a new monastery (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 380-381*). The efforts of the Hegumen were noted: on November 4, 1924, Metropolitan Andrey in a letter to Fr. Klymentiy from Rome said that Pope Pius XI blessed the work on the development of the rank, the activities of

which was based on the Rite of Theodore the Studite and the traditions of the Pechersk Lavra in Kyiv “in times of St. Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves” (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 383*).

This made it possible to move to the next stage in the development of Studite monasticism - the creation of a centralized network of monasteries, some of which received the status of the Lavra. Thus, on August 28, 1925, on the Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Metropolitan Andrey issued a charter on the establishment of the Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Rite in Univ. This was followed by the canonical election and approval of Fr. Klymentiy as the Hegumen of the Lavra (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 384*). In 1927, Fr. Klymentiy, according to szematyzms, built the structure of the Studites in such a way that the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra became central (“mother”), and monasteries dependent on it (“daughter”) were: “Studion” in Lviv; monastery of St. John the Baptist in Zarvanytsia; monastery in the Korostiv village in the Skole Raion; a monastery in Landrienne, Quebec (Canada), and a monastery in Kamenica (Bosnia). In the next period, all the Studite monasteries acted as autonomous structures, but the authority of Fr. Klymentiy as their informal head was steadily preserved, although, in fact, Metropolitan Andrey was the Archimandrite of the monks of the Studite Rite (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 387, 389, 426*).

For the next decade, Fr. Klymentiy was engaged in the construction and development of monasteries, the organization of their religious and charitable activities in Galicia. In 1925, the Sheptytsky brothers bought a plot (23 hectares) in Znesinnya in Lviv, where they actually established a monastery, canonically founded by Metropolitan Andrey by a charter on May 1, 1927, as the St. John’s Lavra of the Studite Rite. An orphanage, icon-painting and handicraft schools were soon established at this Lavra (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 384, 391*). In 1930, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Metropolitan Andrey’s enthronement, Studites moved a wooden church from Krzywki village of Turkiv powiat to the Zniesienie village, the St. John’s Lavra by the efforts of Fr. Klymentiy. The solemn consecration of this church took place on July 7, 1931, and a year later, on the occasion of the church holiday of the Wisdom of God in St. John’s Lavra of the Studite Rite in Lviv, Fr. Klymentiy conducted the Liturgy (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 405-406, 415-416, 420-421*). The female branch of the Studites also developed successfully. It started active educational and charitable work. With the blessing of Fr. Klymentiy and Metropolitan Andrey, the Studite Sisters founded several zakhoronkas (homes for orphans), in particular, in Jaktorów (1926), Univ (1927), and Briukhovychi (1928). Later, in 1929, the Studite Sisters received a brick house for the monastery in Haiy near Ternopil as a gift (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 398-399*). During the treatment in Pidlyute in the summer of 1932, the Sheptytsky brothers founded a children’s home in Ostodor, and in the summer of 1935, they decided to build a church and a Studite monastery in the mountains (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 421-422, 429*). In August 1937, the construction of a new monastery was completed, near which the church in the Boyko style was moved from the Ripne village in Rozhniativ Raion, and a year later the Studite “Skete of Saint Andrew” in Łużki near Pidlyute was solemnly consecrated (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 447-449, 451*). In addition, in August 1935, with the blessing of Metropolitan Andrey and Hegumen Fr. Klymentiy and with the consent of Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn, Studite monastery was founded in the Dora village the in Huculszczyzna, where Hieromonk Andrey-John Abrahamovych and Brother So-

zontiy Telishevsky from Univ settled, and then Brother Petro Chuchman joined them (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 430*).

In the 1930s, Polissya and Podlasie became a separate area of the spread of Studite monasticism with the blessing of Fr. Klymentiy. Thus, on September 20, 1931, on his behalf, several monks from Univ travelled to Polissya, where they founded two missionary stanitsas of the Studite Rite within the Roman Catholic diocese of Pinsk (now in Belarus): one in Merlino farms near Davyd-Haradok and the other in Alpen (*Voitiuk, 2008: 504*). On October 16, 1931, Fr. Klymentiy began writing an epistle for the Studite monasteries in Polissya, completed and sent on May 26, 1934. In this epistle, he proposed a range of activities, outlined the main forms of Orthodox-Catholic dialogue in the missionary activity of the Studites in thirty paragraphs (*Boiko, 2014: 35-41*). In the autumn of 1931, Fr. Klymentiy sent two monks to Podlasie to establish the Studite missionary stanitsas: Fr. Nikon to Zablocie (now Gmina Kodeń, Lublin Voivodeship), and Fr. Kirill Ganushchak to the Szóstka village (now Gmina Drelów, Lublin Voivodeship) (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 419-420*). Later, on March 1, 1936, on the initiative of Fr. Klymentiy who was struck by Moscovites, in Lemkivshchyna, in the Florynka village, Nowo-Sonczów powiat (now Gmina Grybów, Lesser Poland Voivodeship) at the St. Nicholas Church, a new monastery of Studites was founded, the Hegumen of which was Fr. Hilarion Denyschuk (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 431; Voitiuk, 2008: 505; Shematyzm ... Lemkivshchyny, 1936: 43*).

A separate direction of activity of Fr. Klymentiy Sheptytsky was his scientific-theological work. He became one of the co-founders and members of the Theological Scientific Society (BNT), established in December 1923 in Lviv (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 380; Prystai, 2003: 405*). One of the first articles by Fr. Klymentiy, dedicated to the significance of hieromartyr Josaphat Kuntsevych in the church history of Ukrainians-Ruthenians, was read at the small council in Vyshnivchyk in the Univ deanery, and then published in the periodical "Niva" in 1924 (*Boiko, 2014: 123-132*). In 1926, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Metropolitan chair of Andrey Sheptytsky, the first Ukrainian-language article by Fr. Klymentiy on the revival of the Eastern monastic tradition by means of the Metropolitan appeared in the anniversary issue of the journal "Theology" (*K. Sheptytskyi, 1926: 150-163*). In the early 1930s, he prepared two more scientific-theological works: a scientific report on the "Triodion", presented at a meeting of the liturgical commission in Lviv in 1931 (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 420; Petrovych, 2010*), and the article "Zakon Studytów" ("Studites"), published in 1934 in the Polish periodical "Oriens" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 426; Boiko, 2014: 145-149*).

In 1924, the question of Fr. Klymentiy's episcopate arose again. Then, Metropolitan Andrey sent a proposal to appoint Fr. Theodosiy Halushchinski, O.S.B.M. the bishop-assistant rector of the seminary to Rome, and the chapter proposed Fr. Klymentiy as a candidate for Studite Hegumen, but no decision was made in Rome. From 1927, Fr. Klymentiy Sheptytsky had become a judge of the Tribunal of the first instance (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 381-382, 389*). Meanwhile, in February 1927, the Polish newspapers "Warszawianka" and "Gazeta Poranna" reported that, with the consent of the Polish government, three candidates for bishops had been submitted to Rome, including Fr. Klymentiy who was named the first. On July 1, periodical "Dilo" wrote about the defeat of the Galician clergy in this matter, noting that "the Metropolitan, because he did not institute celibacy, lost all significance in Rome" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 391-392*). However, the topic of the nomination of Fr. Klymentiy as an auxiliary

bishop was reinstated in 1928. In a letter from the chapter of Lviv Archeparchy on May 5, 1928 to the Roman Curia and the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Pope Pius XI was asked to nominate canonically Hegumen Klymentiy as an auxiliary bishop. But the Metropolitan did not approve the decision of the chapter, considering it "nepotism". In a letter to the Metropolitan, the members of the chapter persuaded them to agree on their "unanimous decision", "to appoint Hegumen Klymentiy Archdeacon of the Metropolitan Chapter and take all steps to jerm. Klymentiy's appointment a suffragan bishop with the right of succession by the Holy See" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 399*). In July 1928, Metropolitan Andrey together with Fr. Klymentiy visited Rome to decide on the appointment of auxiliary bishops in Lviv and Canada. Among the candidates, according to the periodical "Dilo", "the suffragan bishop in Lviv should be Fr. Hegumen Klymentiy Sheptytsky, and the candidates for the second bishop in Canada should be Basilians Fr. Dr. Hałuszczynski and Fr. Lucinschi and catechist in Lviv and vice-rector of theological seminary of Fr. Dr. Wasyl Łaba, possibly the rector of the theological seminary in Lviv Fr. Dr. Slipyi". Finally, on October 14, 1928, in a letter to Pope Pius XI, Metropolitan Andrew asked him to "personally recommend the candidacy for a suffragan bishop" as the advisers "look from one side and give unilateral advice". In a letter to the Metropolitan on November 2, 1928, Fr. J. Slipyi presented arguments in support of the candidacy of Fr. Klymentiy as a "lonely irreplaceable candidate for bishop", among which he emphasized "deep piety", "high general erudition", "financial abilities", "real views on the course of church affairs" and "counterbalance against the Stanisławów and Przemyśl direction" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 400-405*). But even then, the question of the episcopate had not been resolved.

Despite these circumstances, in the 1930s, Fr. Klymentiy continued to maintain a high authority among the clergy and was an indispensable assistant for the Metropolitan (from September 1935, he nursed his sick brother every day (*Королевський, 2014: 408-409*)). Thus, during the visit of the Primate of the Commonwealth, cardinal August Hlond, on July 10-11, 1930, Fr. Klymentiy, on behalf of the Metropolitan, constantly accompanied him around Lviv, visited the convent of the Basilian Order, theological seminary, the National Museum with him (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 408-409*). Earlier, on June 26-29, 1930, he participated in the Eucharistic Congress, in December 1931, he became a member of the organization "Ukrainian Committee for Assistance to the Unemployed and the Poor", and, in 1935, he was elected deputy head of the "National Museum in Lviv" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 420, 428-429*). In December 1938, Fr. Klymentiy was present at the meeting of Metropolitan Andrey with the Apostolic Nuncio to Poland, Archbishop Filippo Cortesi (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 455-456*). In the autumn of 1930, Fr. Klymentiy supported the idea of Metropolitan Andrey close to his views (since 1906) to create a socio-political organization, aimed at uniting Ukrainian politicians in one supra-party group, and then became a member of the General Council of the "Ukrainian Catholic Union", founded January 1, 1931 at the Constituent Assembly in Lviv (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 411, 414-415*).

Hegumen Fr. Klymentiy supported and developed the ideas of Metropolitan Andrey on spread of the union to the East and restoration of the unity of the Church. In 1927, the Sheptytsky brothers attended the Velehrad Congress, where issues of history, dogmatics and liturgy were discussed. At the same time, Metropolitan Andrey called on participants: "Let the ideas of St. Cyril and Methodius and the example of St. Josaphat be the flag of the

union" (*Babiak, 2009: 738*). Later, Fr. Klymentiy himself, on behalf of the Metropolitan, participated in the III and IV Union Conferences in Pinsk (now in Belarus), organized (respectively, on August 30 - September 1, 1932 and September 7-9, 1933) by Roman Catholic Bishopric of Poland (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 422, 425*). Therefore, on December 22-25, 1936, at the Union Congress in Lviv, Fr. Klymentiy encouraged its participants to promote the slogan: "Every Ukrainian Catholic must become an apostle of the Union!" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 443; Khoma, Fedoriv, 1971: 145*).

In the second half of the 1930s, Fr. Klymentiy focused on the preparation of theoretical material for the monk brothers and the preparation of the "Great Typikon" of the Studites. Studites started to publish two monthly periodicals on the initiative of Hegumen Fr. Klymentiy and the blessing of Metropolitan Andrey in the printing house in Univ in 1935: "Yasna Put" (1935-1939), intended for "internal use" of the monastic community of the Studite Rite, and "Ray of the Sun of Love" (1935- 1939) "for the people" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 436-437; Chornopyska, 2014: 149; Tereshchuk, 2019: 67*). Since 1936, Fr. Klymentiy had created a number of epistles-documents ("Under the New Year", "God's will is our holiness", "Last days", etc.), which became guidelines for the monastic community of Studites (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 437, 439, 440-441; Boiko, 2014: 42-43, 52-55*).

During the summer of 1936, Fr. Klymentiy worked on the "General Typikon" for the monasteries of the Studite Rite, which was adopted unanimously on May 2-3, 1937 by the General Council of Monks of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra (*Y. K. Sheptytskyi, 2001: 23; Matkovskiy, 2019: 441-442; Chornopyska, 2014: 124*). The "Typikon" consisted of five parts, divided into separate chapters and containing a total of 957 articles and 324 items of notes and comments. The works of St. Fathers, monastic typikons from ancient to modern, monastic rules, statutes, service books, paterikons, scientific theological and historical works of Byzantine, Melkite, Greek, Latin, German, French, Russian and Ukrainian historiography on Eastern monasticism were the source base of the "Typikon" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 442-443; Typikony, 2007*). At the beginning of 1937, Fr. Klymentiy worked on the translation of the "Typikon" into French. In May, Fr. Klymentiy with Fr. J. Slipyi came to Rome and was at the audience with Pope Pius XI, to whom he told about the work on the development of the Studite community. Then, he gave the "Typikon" of the Studites to the Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Cardinal E. Tisserant, for examination at a theological commission, and assigned the case to the Procurator of the Studites in Rome, Fr. K. Korolevsky, who had improved the translation of the "Typikon" until 1939 (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 444-446; Boiko, 2014: 71; Korolevskiy, 2014: 425*).

From the time of the submission for approval of the "Typikon", a new stage in the development of Studite monasticism had begun in Rome, about which Fr. Klymentiy wrote in a letter from Prylbychi on August 2, 1937: "In the near future, therefore, we will have a kind of reconstruction: we will compete to have a smaller number of our communities, but for them to be full and strong, that is, to be able to have a full monastic life" (*Boiko, 2014: 56-58*). In the autumn of 1937, he visited the missionary stanitsas of the Studites in Podlachia. Shortly afterwards, on December 4, 1937, Fr. Klymentiy wrote another epistle "To all the fathers and brothers-novices living in our monasteries according to the Studite Rite", and on the day of the hieromartyr Leontius, July 1, 1938, he wrote epistle "All hieromonks and monks... according to the Studite Rite..."

(*Boiko, 2014: 76-88*). On Sunday, October 2, 1938, Fr. Klymentiy participated in the celebrations of the 950th anniversary of the baptism of Rus'-Ukraine in the Church of the Transfiguration in Lviv, and, on November 15, 1938, he participated in the Liturgy on the occasion of the installation of the canons of the Metropolitan Chapter in Lviv, Fr. L. Kunicki, Fr. V. Tomovich, Fr. O. Kowalski, Fr. R. Lobodich (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 450-455*).

In April 1939, on behalf of Metropolitan Andrey, Fr. Klymentiy with Fr. J. Slipyi went to Rome to pay respect to new Pope Pius XII from the whole Church, and, on May 9, 1939, the Pope invited them to a private audience. After that, Fr. Klymentiy discussed the question of the approval of the "Typikon" and the episcopal ordination of Fr. J. Slipyi with the rights of a coadjutor bishop (successor) with Cardinal E. Tisserant. On May 21, Fr. Klymentiy and Fr. J. Slipyi co-celebrated the Liturgy in the Saint Peter's Basilica with the Archbishop of the Russian GCC Alexander Evreinov on the occasion of the 950th anniversary of the baptism of Rus'. Fr. Klymentiy brought a letter from Pope Pius XII on the appointment of Metropolitan Andrey as Assistant to the See of Rome in Lviv (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 456, 459*).

On June 19, 1939, the Constituent Assembly of the "Ukrainian Catholic Institute of the Church Union named after Metropolitan Rutsky in Lviv", founded by the decree of Metropolitan Andrey on February 17, was held, and Fr. Klymentiy Sheptytsky was elected its president. His task at the head of this institution was to prepare the theoretical foundations for the rapprochement of Ukrainian Christians and the spread of the GCC to the East. This role of Fr. Klymentiy later, on April 10, 1940, was noted peculiarly by the NKVD official of the USSR in a note to the NKVD of the USSR, emphasizing that "in early 1939 in the Lviv eparchy, there was a group of priests led by Hegumen Klymentiy, who raised the question of Ukrainization of the Uniate Church. separation from the union and the creation of the "Ukrainian People's Church" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 460-464; Serhiichuk, 2006, T. 1: 74*).

On the day of the German and Soviet attack on Poland and on September 1, 1939, it was clear that eastern Galicia would be annexed to the Ukrainian SSR, which meant the disappearance of obstacles to missionary activity for the Sheptytsky brothers. Therefore, on September 17, 1939, Metropolitan Andrey secretly named Fr. Klymentiy Apostolic Exarch on the rights Apostolic Administrator of the Faithful of the Eastern Rite of Greater Russia and Siberia, completed the division of the USSR into exarchates and the appointment of other exarchs by October 9, and, on October 10, reported it in a letter to Rome. However, the decision to approve the exarchs of the Catholic Church was made by Pope Pius XII only on November 22, 1941, as Cardinal E. Tisserant informed Metropolitan Andrey in a letter dated December 22, 1941 (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 469-471; Korolevskiy, 2014: 423; Kravchuk, Haiova, 1995: 331-332*). Meanwhile, on December 22, 1939, with the consent of Pope Pius XII, Fr. Josyf Slipyi was secretly ordained to the coadjutor bishop (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 471-472*). On December 31, 1939, the head of the 5th branch of the II department of the UDB of the UNKVD in the Lviv region K. Cherpakov started a complex service case called "The Walking", the main persons of interest of which were Metropolitan Andrey and Fr. Klymentiy (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 480; Serhiichuk, 2005: 8*).

During the first Soviet occupation of Galicia (1939-1941), Fr. Klymentiy remained the most trusted person of Metropolitan Andrey, on whose behalf he often held weekly Archeparchial meetings of the clergy. On September 28, 1939, he met with the Studites, giving instructions

on how to behave during possible persecution of the Church, and, in June 1940, after the arrest of Hegumena Josepha (Olana) Viter by NKVD in Jaktorow, he wrote the "Last Word" to the Studites, in which he gave instruction about preserving the monastic community in the new conditions (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 479-482; Boiko: 89-98*). In November 1940, on behalf of Metropolitan Andrey, Fr. Klymentiy conducted negotiations with the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Lviv, Bolesław Twardowski, on finding a means of conciliation of Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 483-484; Serhiichuk, 2005: 225*).

For the development of the union action of the GCC in the USSR, on September 18-19, 1940, the First Council of Exarchs was held, in which Fr. Klymentiy actively participated as Exarch of Russia and Siberia. At the Second Council of Exarchs on June 13-16, 1941, in Lviv, in the records, as well as in the letter of Exarch Bishop M. Charnetsky to Metropolitan Andrey dated June 5, 1942, he was mentioned as a bishop ("Right Reverend Cyrus Klymentiy Sheptytsky"). Probably, as suggested by I. Matkovskiy, Fr. Klymentiy received episcopal ordination from Metropolitan Andrey, who used a special privilege from Pope Pius X during the war before its abolition by Pope Pius XII (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 485-487; Korolevskiy, 2014: 174; Boiko, 2019*). In one of the resolutions of the Council of Exarchs to the Great Russian Exarchate, headed by Fr. Klymentiy, the territories of Great Russia, Finland and Siberia were included (*Kravchuk, Haiova, 1995: 365-371*). Exarch Fr. Klymentiy began to develop a model of a special catechism for the Russified inhabitants of the USSR, in which he tried to solve conceptual theological problems in discussions with non-Catholics, provide a basis for union activity of missionaries and facilitate the transition of Orthodox to the GCC (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 487*).

After the establishment of the German occupation regime in Galicia on July 1, 1941, Fr. Klymentiy Sheptytsky audited the condition of the Studite monastic congregations, adjusted their activities, assisted his brother, Metropolitan Andrey's in fulfilling his responsibilities. In February 1942, he made a donation (120 zloty) to the Ukrainian Regional Committee for the needs of Ukrainian prisoners and victims of Bolsheviks terror (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 489*). On May 7, 1942, Fr. Klymentiy headed the Metropolitan Church Court of First Instance, elected unanimously at the session of the Lviv Archeparchial Council; his competence included the judicial organization, voting in all judicial cases and approving acts of the Metropolitan Court (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 491*). During the Third Council of Exarchs on June 9-15, 1942, Exarch of Russia and Siberia Fr. Klymentiy reported that he "tried hard to prepare a catechism and popular literature" and with Bishop N. Charnetsky organized "pastoral care of prisoners" (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 493; Kravchuk, Haiova, 1995: 385*). A special page of his activity at that time was the act of saving Jews in the Holocaust with Metropolitan Andrey, during which an extensive network of monasteries of the Studite Rite was used (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 507-562; Skira, 2017: 64-179*).

With the entry of the Red Army into Lviv in late July 1944, a new stage in the history of Galicia began. Even then, Metropolitan Andrey with Fr. Klymentiy tried to prepare the Church for new realities, carefully looking for possible points of compromise with the Soviet authorities. Then, the Sheptytsky brothers prepared a letter to J. Stalin, a "memorandum on the needs of the Church", and planned a visit of the GCC delegation to Moscow (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 572-573, 580; Serhiichuk, 2005: 417-418*). The tragic death of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky

on November 1, 1944, which was experienced hardly by Fr. Klymentiy, changed the attitude of the Soviet government to the GCC. Even then, KGB agents spread rumors about the poisoning of Metropolitan Andrey by Fr. J. Slipyi, which was documentarily disproved by Fr. Klymentiy immediately (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 568-569; Slipyi, 2017: 161*). After the funeral, on November 6, 1944, Fr. Klymentiy was visited for a conversation by the KGB Colonel S. Danylenko, to whom the Hegumen told about the planned visit of the GCC delegation to Moscow (*Serhiichuk, 2005: 417*).

On the day of the enthronement of Metropolitan Josyf, November 12, 1944, after the Liturgy, the decree on the appointment of Fr. Klymentiy Archimandrite of monks of the Studite Rite, and appointment of all the abbots of the Studite houses Hegumens, was declared. Later, in November 1944, Fr. Klymentiy prepared the work "Instruction of Abba-Archimandrite to the newly appointed Hegumen", which was sent to all monasteries of the Studites (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 573, 574-575; Boiko: 119-120*).

On November 17, 1944, Fr. Klymentiy Sheptytsky, on behalf of Metropolitan Josyf, headed the GCC delegation to Moscow for negotiations with representatives of the USSR government and the secret transfer of documents to the Vatican through Fr. L. Brown (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 574-575; Slipyi, 2017: 154*). Due to Fr. Klymentiy's state of health, on December 17, 1944, the GCC delegation, under the close supervision of KGB agents, went from Lviv to Kyiv and then to Moscow, where, on December 22-27, it attended a reception at the head of the Council for Religious Cults at the USSR Council of People's Commissars, I. Polanski, Moscow Patriarchal Throne locum tenens and NKGB / NKVD Generals. The head of the GCC delegation, Fr. Klymentiy handed I. Polanski letters from Metropolitan Andrey and Josyf, a gift of 100,000 karbovantsi to the Red Cross Fund, and a memorandum on securing the rights of the GCC on the basis of the 1925 Concordat. Then he managed to meet secretly with Fr. L. Brown, to give him a copy of the GCC memorandum, to discuss the prospects of the Church's mission in the face of persecution. At a meeting with NKGB agents, who suggested to end the resistance of the UPA using the authority of the GCC, Fr. Klymentiy answered diplomatically. I. Polanski's answer about the possibility of securing the rights of the GCC "within the framework of the current legislation on cults" actually meant the rejection of the memorandum (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 575-583; Serhiichuk, 2006, T.1: 273-275, 277-285, 285-296; Serhiichuk, 2006, T.2: 482-483; Haikovskiy, 2006: 136-141; Botsiurkiv, 2005: 79-82; Hurkina, 2010: 206; Chornopyska, 2017: 34-35*).

However, Fr. Klymentiy did not realize the refusal of the USSR government, on the contrary, he was convinced that "they have a complete agreement on the exemption of members of the clergy of the Greek Catholic Church from conscription into the Red Army, attached the premises occupied by the Theological Academy to the Church". In January 1945, at the Fourth Council of Exarchs, Archimandrite Klymentiy reported to the Council "on the delegation's visit to Moscow and the agreements reached there". During March 1945, the NKVD tried to use Fr. Klymentiy to persuade the UPA leadership to lay down their arms (*Matkovskiy, 2019: 584-585; Serhiichuk, 2012-2: 62-63, 117-126*).

Anticipating the "Bolshevik avalanche", in March 1945, Fr. Klymentiy wrote his Word "Warning to all the brothers-novices of the Studite Riter" to the monastic community, and, on April 2, 1945 he wrote the epistle "Faith. Hope. Love", the purpose of which was to prepare not only the

priesthood and monasticism, but also ordinary lay people for difficult times (Boiko, 2014: 99-118). On April 9, 1945, Metropolitan Josyf appointed Bishops E. Budka and M. Charnetsky, Protohegumen of the Redemptorists, Fr. de Vochta and Archimandrite Fr. Klymentiy as administrators of the Lviv Archeparchy in case of imprisoning. On April 11, 1945, the KGB operative group arrested Metropolitan J. Slipyi, Bishops E. Budka and M. Charnetsky, and several priests. During the arrest, according to the KGB plan, there was an order not to conduct a search of Fr. Klymentiy and Fr. I. Kotiv (Matkovskiy, 2019: 586-587; Serhiichuk, 2006, T.2: 465). Therefore, from the moment of the arrest of the GCC hierarchy, Archimandrite Fr. Klymentiy remained the administrator of the Lviv Archeparchy, the actual head of the Greek Catholic Church.

Responding to the creation of the "Initiative Group for the Reunification of the GCC with the ROC" and its appeal to the clergy, in June 1945, Fr. Klymentiy stated that "by these actions, Kostelnyk placed himself outside the clergy of the Catholic Church. According to the rules existing in the church, he is mechanically separated from the church and from now none of priests can cooperate with him" (Serhiichuk, 2006, T. 1: 834-836). At the same time, Fr. Klymentiy prepared a joint letter to V. Molotov, signed by 61 priests of the GCC, in which they protested against the destruction of the Church and demanded the release of the hierarchs (Botsiurkiv, 2005: 114-115). In July 1945, Fr. Klymentiy expressed the hope that the Soviet authorities would not openly destroy the GCC and that the priests would not support "Kostelnyk's actions". In response, the NKGB opened a new criminal case "The Vatican", which involved Fr. Klymentiy and 10 priests who tried to "disrupt the reunification of the Uniate Church with the Orthodox Church". In November 1945, Fr. Klymentiy, under the supervision of the NKVD, was relocated to the Univ Lavra, where he continued the struggle to preserve the unity of the GCC, remaining the main opponent of the transition of the clergy to the ROC. Therefore, the invitation to the Lviv pseudo-council on March 8-10, 1946, was sent to Fr. Klymentiy, as noted in the report, "so that the opponents of reunification would receive them at the end of the council" (Matkovskiy, 2019: 591-594; Serhiichuk, 2006, T.2: 59, 71, 262-263, 311, 329-330). During 1946-1947, remaining under the supervision of the RSRC commissioner in the Lviv Region (Botsiurkiv, 2005: 166), Fr. Klymentiy wrote five letters (two to Fr. K. Korolevsky and one to Cardinal E. Tisserant, brother Stanislav and niece Sr. Josaphat), which together with the report of Hegumen R. Bakhtalovsky CSsR were sent from Stanislav through Fr. J. Kladochny, who was arrested by the NKGB on May 17, 1947 (Matkovskiy, 2019: 594-600).

Archimandrite Klymentiy was arrested on June 5, 1947 in a cell during prayer. His first two interrogations took place in the UMGB internal prison "on Łacki". He was accused of anti-Soviet activities and cooperation with the UPA and the Vatican, so, on June 27, he was sent to the internal prison of the MGB of the USSR in Kyiv (Matkovskiy, 2019, c. 600-605), where the investigation was continued by NKGB officer O. Zashchitin (Slipyi, 2017: 155). The records of 45 interrogations of the Archimandrite were preserved in the criminal case (Matkovskiy, 2019: 605-606). In Kyiv period, prisoner Roman Novosad, who left his memories, was in the cell with Fr. Klymentiy for some time (2001: 76-79). After the investigation was completed on January 21, 1948, Fr. Klymentiy was convicted under Articles 54-1A and 54-11 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Ukrainian SSR ("treason of the Motherland"). By a resolution of a special meeting at the Ministry for State Security of the USSR on

February 28, 1948, he was sentenced to 8 years in a corrective-labor camp with confiscation of property. On March 15, 1948, a resolution was issued to send K. Sheptytsky to prison in Vladimir-on-Klyazma in the RSFSR. There is unconfirmed information that he was also in Ukhta, where he met with Studite Brother Vitaliy (Volodymyr) Matkovsky. From May 10, 1948, K. Sheptytsky was hospitalized with a diagnosis of "general arteriosclerosis, hypertension, decompensated heart disease, senile infirmity". On May 1, 1951 at 9:30 p.m. doctors of the medical corps of the Vladimir-on-Klyazma declared his death (Matkovskiy, 2019: 606, 608). So that was the end of the earthly journey of Fr. Klymentiy (Casimir) Count Sheptytsky.

#### Perspective directions of the study

Today, the current state of research of Klymentiy Sheptytsky's activity by domestic historians has allowed to form a holistic view of the main milestones of his biography. At the same time, certain aspects of his biography need additional studies. Thus, to understand the peculiarities of the formation of Casimir's worldview, it is important to study in more detail the question of the influence of Roman Catholic priests Fr. Stefan Zachariasz Pawlicki and Fr. Henryk Jackowski SJ on the formation of his spiritual vocation, to verify information about his studies at the University of Vienna in 1889/1890, to clarify the topic of dissertation research for the degree of Doctor of Both Laws at the Jagiellonian University, to clarify the motives, procedure and time of change of rite and entry to the Studite monastery. His socio-political views of the Catholic conservative, political and public activity of 1904-1911, peculiarities of the transformation of national identity from Pole to Ruthenian / Ukrainian (in particular, in comparison with his brother Metropolitan Andrey), his concept of Ukrainian-Polish understanding deserve a separate study. For an objective reconstruction of the peculiarities of the historical development of the UGCC in the first half of the twentieth century, it is necessary to examine the participation of Klymentiy Sheptytsky in restoring the Eastern tradition represented by the Studites, their opposition to the so-called "occidental" branch, to clarify the circumstances and time of the secret appointment of Fr. Klymentiy to the Exarch of Great Russia and Siberia, to resolve the question of the time and features of his episcopal ordination on the basis of additional sources, to clarify the role in the rescue of Jews, to detail the role of individuals, including the inner circle, in participation in the "development" of Fr. Klymentiy by the KGB, finally, to find the tomb of the Blessed in the last resting place.

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### Руслан Делятинський,

Івано-Франківська академія Івана Золотоустого (м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна)

e-mail: [r.deliatynskiy@ukr.net](mailto:r.deliatynskiy@ukr.net), ORCID 0000-0002-6020-7666

### Василь Гоголь,

Івано-Франківська академія Івана Золотоустого (м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна)

e-mail: [otets.vasyl.gogol@ukr.net](mailto:otets.vasyl.gogol@ukr.net), ORCID 0000-0001-5236-885X

### Аліна Задорожня,

Національний історико-етнографічний заповідник «Переяслав» (м. Переяслав, Україна)

e-mail: [alina0906@ukr.net](mailto:alina0906@ukr.net), ORCID 0000-0002-9537-9054

### Алла Бортнікова,

Східноєвропейський національний університет імені Лесі Українки (м. Луцьк, Україна)

e-mail: [allabortnikova@icloud.com](mailto:allabortnikova@icloud.com), ORCID 0000-0002-8132-1935

### Надія Рижева,

Миколаївський національний університет імені В. О. Сухомлинського (м. Миколаїв, Україна)

e-mail: [ryzheva.nadiya@gmail.com](mailto:ryzheva.nadiya@gmail.com), ORCID 0000-0001-8379-4325

## ОСНОВНІ ВІХИ ЖИТТЯ БЛАЖЕННОГО КЛИМЕНТІЯ ШЕПТИЦЬКОГО (1869-1951 рр.) КРІЗЬ ПРИЗМУ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ

У статті на основі здобутків діаспорної та сучасної вітчизняної історіографії здійснено реконструкцію біографії блаженного отця Климентія (Казимира) графа Шептицького (1869-1951) в «довідково-енциклопедичному» варіанті. Враховуючи диспропорції історіографії у висвітленні його біографії, що проявилися в незначній увазі дослідників до раннього періоду життя та створенні нових «міфів», проведено періодизацію основних етапів (віх) життя та послідовно реконструйовано життєпис Казимира / Климентія Шептицького. Описано його родинне середовище, здобуття освіти, формування та еволюцію світогляду, показано особливості його громадської та політичної діяльності в крайових товариствах та австрійському парламенті, з'ясовано мотиви та обставини вибору чернечного життя. Проаналізовано активну діяльність Климентія Шептицького щодо відродження та розвитку Студійського чернецтва в Галичині, підтримки ініціатив його старшого брата та наставника Андрея Шептицького щодо розвитку Греко-Католицької Церкви в умовах різних державно-політичних режимів (Австро-Угорщини, ЗУНР, Другої Речі Посполитої, першої радянської окупації, німецької окупації та становлення УРСР) та поширення її впливу поза Галичиною, на сході. Висвітлено трагічну сторінку останніх років життя Климентія Шептицького від арешту та заслання до смерті. Виокремлено низку «нероз'язаних» проблем у його життєписі, що потребують пошуку нових джерел та детальніших наукових студій, зокрема, щодо хіротонії на єпископа.

**Ключові слова:** Греко-Католицька Церква; Казимир граф Шептицький; доктор права; посол австрійського парламенту; Климентій Шептицький; Студійський устав; іеумен; архимандрит; екзарх; блаженний новомученик УГКЦ.

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Надійшла до редакції: 01.07.2020

Прийнята до друку: 20.07.2020