

UNKNOWN MANUSCRIPT OF BLESSED BISHOP HRYHORIY KHOMYSHYN “TWO KINGDOMS”: DOCUMENT, HISTORY, MESSAGE*

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Abstract. The appearance in print in 2016 of an unknown manuscript of the notes of Blessed Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn, a Greek Catholic ordinary of Stanyslaviv, aroused enormous interest in various academic and church circles. The materials contained in the document provide a lot of new information about the Greek Catholic Church in the Second Polish Republic, the situation of the Ukrainian population, and the relationship between the Stanyslaviv bishop and the metropolitan of Lviv, Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky. The article presents the history of the discovery of the manuscript, its fate after World War II, as well as the main themes discussed by the author in the document.

Keywords: Hryhoriy Khomyshyn, Greek Catholic Church, Two Kingdoms, Stanyslaviv, Lviv

1. DISCOVERY OF THE UNKNOWN NOTES OF BLESSED BISHOP HRYHORIY KHOMYSHYN

The publication of an unknown manuscript of Blessed Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn¹, a Greek Catholic ordinary of Stanyslaviv, entitled “Two Kingdoms” [Pelechatyj and Osadczy 2016, 400] caused considerable agitation in the public discourse space. The book appeared in the publishing series the Ucrainicum Library of the Centre for East European Research of the Ucrainicum Centre of the Catholic University of Lublin.²

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¹ Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn (1867–1945), ordinary of the Greek Catholic diocese of Stanyslaviv, blessed of the Catholic Church, martyr for the faith. More biographical information on the bishop’s life and activities can be found later in this article. See also: Kubasik 2020.

² Publications from the series the Ucrainicum Library appear at the Centre for East European

The very presentation of the publication, which took place on 12 September 2016 in the Lviv Metropolitan Curia, caused great emotions and agitation.³ The fact that one of the co-editors of the publication suffered the consequences related to his involvement in the work on the preparation and printing of the book is an eloquent testimony to the presence of extra-substantive reactions in the situation that arose around the edition of the valuable source for the history of the Church.⁴

The agitation and emotions associated with the printing of the unknown document can be partially understood due to the circumstances of the publication of the text and its content. It should be noted that the document was written by the hierarch of the Church revered as the blessed of the Catholic Church, in the case of whom all formal procedures had been carried out, that is the entire epistolary output of the candidate for canonisation had been analysed. The manuscript of the “Two Kingdoms” appeared 15 years after the bishop’s beatification and had been unknown to the researchers of the bishop’s legacy. The content of the document also made a great impression, especially the part of it where the author analyses the activities of Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky, the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv⁵ as well as the bishop’s attitude to the phenomenon of Ukrainian nationalism.

Research of the Ucrainicum Centre of the Faculty of Theology of the Catholic University of Lublin. See Osadczy 2018b, 149.

³ Information on this subject appeared in the Polish media, and had wide repercussions in social life in Poland. More on this topic: Lviv: a row over the promotion of Bishop Khomyshyn’s diaries. Insults hurled at a Polish bishop, <https://kresy.pl/wydarzenia/lwow-awantura-na-promocji-pamietnikow-bpa-chomyszyna-polski-biskup-obrzucony-obelgami/> [accessed: 27.02.2021].

⁴ After the book “Two Kingdoms” appeared in print, Father Ihor Pelechatyj was dismissed from the post of editor-in-chief of the diocesan journal of the Ivano-Frankivsk metropolis “Nowa Zorja” and dismissed from the function of director of the publishing house of the same name. He was even threatened with a church court, about which he himself wrote in a letter to the Catholic archbishops in Ukraine and the apostolic nuncio in that country, mentioning the “planned court case” against him and the “restoration in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of the medieval methods of fighting the dissimilarity of views when the innocent were judged on the basis of hatred and blind revenge, and books were burned at the stake.” See: *List otwarty ojca Ihora Pelechatego – Redaktora i wydawcy wspomnień bł. Grzegorza Chomyszyna*, <https://kresy.pl/wydarzenia/list-otwarty-ojca-ihora-pelehatyjego-redaktora-i-wydawcy-wspomnien-bł-grzegorza-chomyszyna/> [accessed: 27.02. 2021]. See Osadczy 2017, 429–30.

⁵ Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky, Order of Saint Basil the Great (1865–1944), the Greek Catholic metropolitan in Lviv, Servant of God. Born in an aristocratic family, grandson of A. Fredro, a clergyman, he devoted himself to work for the Greek Catholic Church. In 1888 he started his novitiate at Fathers Basilians in Dobromil. As a Basilian monk, he was educated in theology, philosophy, and law, he was promoted to an archimandrite, and in 1892 he was ordained a priest. In 1899 he was appointed the bishop of Stanyslaviv, and in 1900 he became the archbishop and metropolitan of Lviv. Combining the clerical function with political responsibility for the social life of the Ruthenian population, he contributed to raising the status of the Lviv Archdiocese and the entire Greek Catholic Church. In 1908 he was granted the authority of former Kiev

The fate of the manuscript was related by Father Ihor Pelechatyj,⁶ a priest of the diocese of Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv),⁷ who edited the Ukrainian

metropolitans by St. Pope Pius X, which largely influenced his further pastoral activity. Striving to convert Russia by spreading the ecclesiastical union on its territory, he constantly followed the way of unifying the religious life of Galician Uniates in the spirit of regaining the original ritual purity, following the tradition of the Orthodox Church. He contributed to the development of monastic life in the Greek Catholic Church and the expansion of educational structures. During the intensification of the Polish-Ruthenian confrontation in Galicia, he acted as the political leader of the Ruthenians. During First World War, in 1914, he was interned by the Russian occupation authorities for his political activities aimed at disintegrating Russia. At the same time, he wrote a submissive letter to the Tsar, hoping for the possibility of carrying out missionary work in Russia. After the revolution of 1917, he was released from exile, and while in Russia, he led to the formation of the structures of the Greek Catholic Church there. He was hostile towards the sovereignty of the Polish state over the territories of former Eastern Galicia. During his stay in the Holy See, European countries and in America, he acted as an advocate of the independence of Ukraine. He could return to Poland after submitting a declaration of loyalty. As a shepherd of the Greek Catholic Church in Eastern Lesser Poland, he contributed significantly to the expansion of its assets, development of Catholic organisations and the press. Along with this, he downplayed the phenomenon of nationalism spreading among the Ukrainian population, during his pontificate a significant number of priests collaborated with nationalist militias. Several acts of public condemnation of acts of political terror did not translate into consistent activities directed against radicalism and extreme nationalism. During the German aggression against the USSR in 1941, he expressed his support for the occupiers, counting on the possibility of carrying out missions in the conquered Soviet territories. He wrote a congratulatory letter to A. Hitler after the Germans seized Kiev in July 1941. He supported the so-called Ukrainian government proclaimed by Bandera's faction of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. He expressed his support for the formation of the 14th SS Galizien division from Ukrainians. He did not condemn the genocide of Poles committed by nationalist militias, as requested by Archbishop Bolesław Twardowski, the Roman Catholic metropolitan of Lviv. Together with this, he contributed to the rescue of about 150 Jews, placing them in Uniate monasteries. By himself he maned hierarchs in the occupied territories of the USSR, which caused reservations on the part of the Vatican. He welcomed the entry of the Red Army into Eastern Lesser Poland and on this occasion, he sent a congratulatory letter to J. Stalin. He hoped that the annexation of Lesser Poland would favour the Uniate mission in the rest of the Soviet state. He died on 1 November 1944 in Lviv. The funeral was attended by Soviet soldiers. He rested in the crypt of the Cathedral of St. Jura. The beatification process of Archbishop Sheptytsky has aroused considerable controversy. The primate of Poland, Stefan Wyszyński, twice vetoed the beatification proceedings. Despite his involvement in saving Jews, he was not included among the Righteous Among the Nations due to his collaboration with the Nazis. In 2015, Pope Francis recognised the heroic virtues of the Servant of God A. Sheptytsky [Krasowski 1996, 279–89; Osadczy 2019a, 763–79; Kubasik 1999; Osadczy 2019b, 126–57].

⁶ Father Ihor Pelechatyj, a Greek Catholic priest of the Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv) diocese, editor of the "Nowa Zoria" journal and director of the diocesan publishing house, dismissed in 2016 after the publication of the book "Two Kingdoms." Postulator of the beatification process of Blessed Bishop Hryhorij Khomyshyn. Populariser and publisher of Bishop Khomyshyn's works [Osadczy 2017, 427–32].

⁷ The Stanyslaviv diocese of the Greek Catholic Church was established in 1885 by the bull of Pope Leo XIII *De universo Dominico*. The first bishop was Bishop Julian Pelesz. The new diocese was separated from the territory of the Greek Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv [Osadczy 1999, 40].

text and assisted in rewriting and preparing the document for printing. The depositary of the document who led to its printing was Father Doroteusz Szymczij, Order of Saint Basil the Great,⁸ one of the oldest clergymen in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. When he was over 100 years old, he began to solicit the publication of the manuscript of the blessed martyr bishop, asking Father Pełechatyj for help in this matter. He revealed to him the fate of the document, the secrets of its miraculous salvation and survival.

After a stormy reaction to the publication of Bishop Khomyshyn's book in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the repression against the priest who led to the publication of the manuscript in print, as well as allegations of the possibility of falsification of the document, Father Szymczij prepared an explanation about the fate of the document. A photocopy of this confirmation was included in the Polish edition of the book "Two Kingdoms." The Basilian stated that he kept the manuscript at the request of his religious confrere, Bishop Sofronius Dmyterka, Order of Saint Basil the Great,⁹ the ordi-

⁸ Father Doroteusz Szymczij, Order of Saint Basil the Great (1915–2016), as a boy, from 1928 he studied at the Basilian monastery in Buczacz at the Mission Institute. In 1932, he joined the Order of Basilian Fathers in Krechów, and in 1937 he took perpetual vows in the monastery in Dobromil. He began his theological studies on 1 September 1939 in the monastery in Lávrov, continued in Olomouc and at the Charles University in Prague. In 1942 he was ordained a priest. Until 1946, he worked as a catechist in a junior high school in Krystynopol and was the administrator of the parish in Wielkie Mosty. After the liquidation of the Uniate Church in 1946, he left for Slovakia, and then moved to Brazil, where he worked with the Uniate population until 1961. Transferred to Argentina, he worked there until 1985, serving in 1970–1979 as a provincial of the vice-province of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Later, he was transferred to Rome in 1985 and looked after the students of St. Jehoshaphat College. In connection with the legalisation of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, from 1992, he continued his work on the spiritual formation of alumni at the seminary in Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv) and Buczacz. Until his death, he stayed in the monastery in Buczacz, where he had begun his spiritual formation in his childhood. He was the author of over 20 books [Grim 2015, 32–34].

⁹ Bishop Sofroniusz Dmyterko, Order of Saint Basil the Great (1917–2008), ordinary of Stanyslaviv (Ivano-Frankivsk). He came from a family of a Greek Catholic clergyman. In 1932 he started the novitiate at Fathers Basilians in Krechów near Żółkiew. During the war he was in the territory of Bohemia, and there he was ordained a priest in Prague in 1942. Persecuted by the Nazi authorities, he was sent to Moravia to a coal mine. After 1943, he worked in the Basilian monasteries in Pogoń, Hoszów and Buczacz. In the years 1944–1954 he was serving a sentence for the so-called "Anti-Soviet activity." Then he worked as an illegal priest in the Podkarpacie region of the USSR. In 1968 he was consecrated bishop when acting underground. For his religious activities, he was again sentenced to 2 years in prison in 1974. Being employed as a worker, e.g. as a stoker, Bishop Dmyterko was active in the underground pastoral ministry, he catechised young people. He ordained 65 priests in secret. On 16 January 1991, he received confirmation of the bishop's dignity as a legal hierarch from Pope John Paul II and was officially nominated the bishop of Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv). Due to his illness, he resigned from his office in 1997. In his pastoral work he closely cooperated with the Latin Church and was an ardent supporter of Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation [Osadczy 2009, 103].

nary of Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv). According to the bishop's account, for many years the custodian of the manuscript was Sister Bonifacja Horbiańska, a sister servant who in the 1940s worked in Stanyslaviv in the residence of Bishop Khomyshyn and witnessed his arrest by MGB officers.¹⁰ According to her words, some of the bishop's documents were burned in the courtyard of the residence. She managed to extract the manuscript from the burning fire and kept it until the legalisation of the Greek Catholic Church. She handed the document to the bishop ordinary, who at the end of his life gave the valuable manuscript to Father Szymczij. The monk further explained: "[...] in the month of September 2013, feeling my impotence, I familiarised my clerical pupil, professional Catholic editor, Father Ihor Pełachatyj from Ivano-Frankivsk, with the content of this manuscript, so that he examined and organised it. He made exact copies of all the pages and photographed them all. Then Father Ihor typed the text on the computer and asked me to review it, which I slowly did. I thank the Sacred Heart of Jesus that the testament of Blessed Hryhoriy was executed and that this very valuable script is finally printed, and Greek Catholics and all people interested can finally read it" [Pełachatyj and Osadczy 2017, 424–25].

Currently, the document is stored in the Archives of the "Nasza Przeszłość" journal, about which Father Pełachatyj wrote in an open letter to the hierarchs: "During the presentation [of the book "Two Kingdoms" – W.O.], bishop Marian Buczek said that the manuscript of the book "Two Kingdoms" by Bishop Khomyshyn was deposited in the archives of the important historical journal "Nasza Przeszłość" in Krakow at the end of June this year [2016 – W.O.], its authenticity has been confirmed by experts and any interested researcher can read it in the presence of the depositary."¹¹

2. DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

The document, which caused such a stir and emotions, impresses with its appearance, which is a kind of metaphor for the majesty and suffering of the author of the notes, martyr for faith, Blessed Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn. A fairly bulky tome consists of loose sheets covered with two hard dark brown covers and tied with two black linen ropes passing through the covers. The edges of the cover and the margins of the pages are burned, but the text itself has not experienced any damage. On the inside of the cover in the lower left-hand corner there is an embossed oval stamp of purple colour, 2x3 cm with the

¹⁰ Russian: Министерство Государственной Безопасности, the Ministry of State Security (1946–1953, continuation of the NKVD) [Dzwonkowski 1998, 18].

¹¹ See *List otwarty dotyczący książki „Dwa królestwa” Hryhorija Chomyszyna*, <http://www.mysl-polska.pl/1075> [accessed: 27.02.2021].

inscription “M. Łozowski bookbinder from Stanyslaviv” [Pelechatyj 2017, 31–32].

The text is written in blue ink on rigid, slightly yellowed sheets, 340x210 mm in size and takes up 2/3 of the paper’s surface. The margin on the left side is free from entries and is intended for author’s notes and details. The pages are numbered in the upper left corner of the sheet [ibid., 32]. The manuscript begins on page 55 and ends on page 508. However, the first 54 pages are missing. Most likely, they burned down while the bishop’s documents were being burned.

The name “Two Kingdoms” comes from the author. The text shows that this text is a continuation of the work “Two Kingdoms,” which was prepared before the Second World War. Bishop Khomyshyn mentions that this is the fifth part of this work, so the previous four must have appeared earlier, but their fate is unknown [Pelechatyj and Osadczy 2017, 416]. On the basis of the text of the manuscript, we can approximately recreate the concept of the previous parts of the work. Most likely, the inspiration for choosing the title of the work was St. Augustine’s work “The City of God.”¹² This hypothesis is also confirmed by the confrontation of the service to the world and the Lord, which appears on the basis of the assessment of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky’s activities – and the service to the Lord [ibid., 416]. In the text of the notes there is a mention of the second part of “Two Kingdoms,” which referred to renunciation, asceticism, as one of the features of the Kingdom of God [ibid., 402, 372]. In the fourth part of the book, as mentioned in the text of the manuscript, there would be reflections on attacks on priests, insults experienced by the bishop himself [ibid., 395]. This part also included the author’s comments on the celibacy of priests in the Greek Catholic Church [ibid., 374–75]. There is no information on the content of other parts of the lost work. However, it can be concluded that they contained Bishop Khomyshyn’s considerations on spirituality and ecclesiology, and focused strictly on the matters of the clergy. This thesis is also supported by the author’s explanation at the end of the fifth part of “Two Kingdoms” that he is continuing the work written before the Second World War, which he intended to close in four parts, due to the “ritual reform imposed” by Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky.¹³ In addition to matters

¹² The work of St. Augustine (354–430), Bishop of Hippo, the Father of the Church “*De civitate Dei*” explains the historiosophy of the history of the world through the prism of the struggle between the “City of God” and the “Earthly City.” In the Earthly City selfishness and love of the temporality reign, in the City of God the love of God and eternity [Stöckl and Weingartner 1930, 139–40, 151–51].

¹³ It concerns Archbishop Sheptytsky’s attempts to carry out a broad liturgical reform in the Greek Catholic Church, aimed at unifying the rite in the spirit of adopting the only binding models reflecting the spirit of the Christian East. The Congregation of Eastern Churches dealt with the resulting polemic about the actions of the metropolitan, reserving arbitrary decisions on ritual matters for itself. During the occupation, Archbishop Sheptytsky, lured by the vision of

directly related to church life, this work also includes a large part of social, historiosophical, ideological and political considerations, etc.

The author divided the text into individual parts. Due to the lack of the beginning of the document to page 239 (more than half of the content), the name of the first chapters of the work is unknown. The chapter entitled: “4. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky – a Byzantineist on the background of Russophilism” starts on page 240. It can therefore be concluded that before p. 55 – the first extant page of the manuscript – there were two previous chapters and the beginning of the third containing their titles. Chapter “5. Phantasmagoria” begins on p. 375, then, on p. 401 a rather short chapter: “6. The act of God”. The next chapter is “7. Restitution” beginning on p. 419. As the ending there is a part of the text entitled “8. My justification”.

The manuscript is a handwritten text written by Bishop Khomyshyn himself. The document is written in the correct literary Ukrainian language with minimal influences of Galician regionalisms. The text of the notes includes a fragment printed in Polish containing the statements of the Stanyslaviv ordinary for the Polish Catholic Agency on pp. 315–316 [Pełechatyj and Osadczy 2016, 271–74]. These are the author’s deliberations on religious, cultural and social topics related to the person and activity of the Archbishop Sheptytsky. The text includes the bishops’ correspondence containing the position on national and social matters, the bishops’ messages on matters important to the author, and large passages from press articles. The entire pastoral letter of Bishop Khomyshyn “On Byzantineism” of 23 March 1931 was incorporated into the manuscript, which at that time caused great confusion in the Roman Curia and Pope Pius XI’s personal discontent. At the request of Rome, the letter was withdrawn as it was not timely [Kubasik 2020, 161–62].

All the mentioned additions are integrated with the bishop’s uniform and logical deliberations, they justify the theses and present a broad background of the discussed issue.

3. BLESSED BISHOP HRYHORIY KHOMYSHYN – THE AUTHOR OF THE DOCUMENT

The interest that the manuscript “Two Kingdoms” aroused is primarily related to the person of its author, Blessed Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn, a martyr for the faith, as well as the shepherd who at the times of performing his

missionary activity in the areas inhabited by the Orthodox population, intensified his activity towards ritual unification bringing the Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches closer together. On 19 May 1941, under the Soviet occupation, his pastoral letter “On rites” appeared, which was publicly read only in territories under the German occupation on 21 May 1942 [Korolewskyj 2014, 404–406]. See *Andrej Szeptyčkyj, Lyst-Poslannia 1939–1944*, Lviv 1991, p. 149–61.

service become famous for bold and uncompromising views and was seen already by his contemporaries as a great bishop, “[...] who shares the fate of great men: while alive – the envy and jealousy of little people – but history has already written the name of Bishop Khomyshyn in golden letters. A real bishop – because he is aware of the goal.”¹⁴

Hryhoriy Khomyshyn was born on 25 March 1867 in the village Hadynkivtsi near Husiatyna in Podolia in a peasant family. He attended a junior high school in Tarnopol, after which he entered the Lviv Theological Seminary in 1888 and studied theology at the University of Lviv. After ordination on 19 May 1893, he became a vicar at the Greek Catholic cathedral in Stanyslaviv. As a Uniate priest, he continued his spiritual formation in Vienna at “Augustineum.” In the capital of the Danube monarchy, he looked after the Greek Catholic subjects of Emperor Franz Joseph who belonged to the former Vienna parish of St. Barbara [Osadczy 2018a, 145].

After returning to Galicia, the young priest with a doctoral degree was noticed by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and took the position of the rector of the Lviv Greek Catholic seminary. However, he did not stay in Lviv for too long, because after two years he was recognised as a good candidate for the shepherd of the Stanyslaviv Diocese. It should be noted that it was the youngest Uniate bishopric in Galicia, established only in 1885, and Khomyshyn became its fourth ordinary since its founding. On 19 June 1904, the new Stanyslaviv ordinary was consecrated by Archbishop Sheptytsky, assisted by the Latin Archbishop of Lviv Józef Bilczewski, the Armenian Catholic hierarch Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz and the Greek Catholic ordinary of Przemyśl, bishop Konstanty Czechowicz. A large field for pastoral cultivation was opening up before the young 38-year-old shepherd [ibid., 146]. The territories of the diocese, a large part of which included mountainous areas inhabited by the Hutsul population, were distinguished in terms of religiousness by neglect, and the Christianity of the faithful was often only nominal. When A. Sheptytsky was the bishop of Stanyslaviv, he emphasised this in his 1900 pastoral letter “To my beloved Hutsuls.”¹⁵ The new shepherd decided to break with the traditional system of religious life, which consisted in integrating priestly families into the social fabric of the Ruthenian and Greek Catholic population as a kind of enlightened elite class, burdened with family and communal obligations. The clergy who inherited priesthood from generation to generation, like crafts passed from father to son, grew into the routine of communal life. Some priestly families had been “residing” in mountainous areas for several hundred years. On the other hand, the bishop needed – as he himself recalled

¹⁴ See *Książęta Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce*, Lviv 1926, card: “Ks. dr. Grzegorz Chomyszyn grecko-katolicki biskup stanisławowski.”

¹⁵ See *Twory Mytropolyta Andreja Szeptyckiego. Pasterski posłannia do duchowenstwa i wirnych stanisławiwskiej eparchii (1899–1904)*, Lviv 1935, p. 114–55.

– an “army of missionaries” who, on the shepherd’s orders needed to undertake work in every corner of the diocese, without having the duties of breadwinners, to devote themselves entirely to pastoral work. That is why his move towards celibacy of priests in the diocese was so revolutionary and shocking. This was perceived by the national circles as a blow to national life, the destruction of the patriarchal order sanctified by many centuries of tradition, on which the order in Ruthenian society was based [Osadczy 2018a, 147].

In order to educate priests for the needs of the diocese in Stanyslaviv, a theological seminary was established by the Bishop. Under his ordinance, Uniate priests had to go on a mandatory yearlong retreat. Bishop Khomyshyn attached great importance to the development of the activities of religious orders and congregations, not very present at that time in the Greek Catholic pastoral ministry. Thanks to his efforts, as well as material support, Basilians and Basilian sisters, Redemptorists, Studite monks and nuns, sister servants, Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul, Sisters of Saint Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Myrrh-bearing Sisters joined evangelisation work of in the land of Stanyslaviv. Thanks to the bishop’s efforts, more than 50 orphanages and nurseries, a small seminary, and a teachers’ seminary were established in the diocese [ibid.].

Bishop Hryhoriy himself, like a good shepherd, continued to visit his flock, preaching parish missions even in the most distant corners of the diocese. He went on 100 two-week missions personally, and in his old age, on 25 more accompanied by priest-assistants. In order to deepen the piety of the faithful, as well as to shape a Christian civic and social attitude, he founded popular magazines “Nowa Zorya” and “Pravda”, he organised over 300 parish reading rooms “Skala” (Opoka) [ibid.].

Bishop Khomyshyn was arrested in 1945 by the NKVD as part of the destruction of the Greek Catholic Church. At the age of 78, he was tried in the Lukyanov prison in Kiev. Subjected to torture, he died a martyr’s death in a prison hospital on 28 December 1945. Until the end of his days, he kept his peace of mind and prayed almost constantly. His resting place has remained unknown to this day [Kubasik 2020, 111].

The hierarch, who died in the aura of sanctity, was venerated among the faithful as a martyr shepherd. On 14 September 1995, on the personal initiative of Pope John Paul II, Bishop Sofroniusz Dmytreko, the ordinary of Stanyslaviv (Ivano-Frankivsk) began pre-beatification proceedings to collect materials testifying to the sanctity of late Bishop Khomyshyn. On 16 February and 18 March 1996, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints agreed to start the beatification process. The case of the Servant of God, G. Khomyshyn, was prepared for the beatification ceremony on 27 June 2001 in Lviv, chaired by Pope John Paul II, during which a group of 28 martyrs and followers of the Greek Catholic Church were canonised. The special representative of the

Congregation for the Causes of Saints, Mons. Roberto Sarno, who came to Lviv in order to coordinate the beatification preparation, stated that the documentation of beatification of the Servant of God G. Khomyshyn had been impeccably prepared, its completeness was outstanding and it did not arouse any objections [Pełechatyj 2019, 15–16].

4. THE MAIN THEMES OF THE DOCUMENT

The document, which evoked so much emotion and intrigue, concisely and clearly presented the basic cross-section of the author's worldview profile, the directions of his pastoral activity during his tenure as the Stanyslaviv bishop. It should be remembered here that Bishop Khomyshyn differed from the contemporary Greek Catholic episcopate in his very diverse approach to church, cultural and national matters. From the mid-nineteenth century, the Greek Catholic Church's tendency to distance itself from the Latin Church was growing, and the clergy merged with political national circles, which also resulted in the politicisation of the clergy, largely on the basis of the confrontation with Poles.

Contrary to the general mood, Bishop Khomyshyn advocated a more decisive integration of Greek Catholics with universal Catholicism, which at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries took up an active ideological struggle against the progressive global secularisation of political life. According to the Bishop of Stanyslaviv, pious practices that proved successful in the Latin Church and that could bring salutary effects to the sluggish, conservative life of Galician Ruthenians should enter the religious life of the Uniates. During First World War, he introduced the Gregorian calendar in his diocese and celibacy among the diocesan clergy. In addition, however, he favoured the promotion of Eucharistic, Marian, the Sacred Heart of Jesus, rosary, etc. services [ibid., 11].

The bishop also had a very clear position on social, national and political matters. Throughout the nineteenth century, the community of Galician Ruthenians was split in its identity, looking for a definition of its nationality. The currents defining Halyts Ruthenia and Hungarian Ruthenia as part of a larger East Slavic cultural and civilisation community, which they themselves called the "Ruthenian world,"¹⁶ and the political personification of which was

¹⁶ The term "Ruthenian world," having a political overtone in pan-Slavic Russian rhetoric, was something obvious and natural among Galician Ruthenians looking for their cultural and civilisational base in Russia, opposing the increased Polish influence in the country. One of the arouseurs of the Ruthenian national movement in Galicia, writer, politician and religious activist, Father Jan Naumowicz presented the national credo in such a way that he announced that "[...] Halytskyi, Hungarian, Kievan, Moscow, Tobolsk Ruthenias and others, in terms of ethnography, history, lexicography, literature and rituals, are the same Ruthenia [...] We cannot cut

Russia clashed with the national current which declared itself completely different from Russia. Bp. Khomyshyn described himself as a strong supporter of the national option, he firmly rejected any ties with Russia, emphasising first of all civilisation and religious differences. Such radicalism reflected the attitude of some representatives of the Galician elite, forced to exaggerate their anti-Russian moods – in the cultural and national sense – due to the rather strong Russophile sentiment in society. In the milieu of the Greek Catholic clergy, this issue caused particular stubbornness, and at times even turned into hostility. During First World War, the Russophile option in the Greek Catholic Church was eliminated from social life, including physically.¹⁷

Standing on Ukrainian national and cultural positions, Bishop Khomyshyn, at the same time, rejected all political radicalisms, especially the sentiments of extreme nationalism on an anti-Christian basis, which spread in the 1920s. When the Greek Catholic clergy turned a blind eye to these disturbing phenomena, or even actively sympathised with the nationalist option¹⁸ the ordinary of Stanyslaviv strongly condemned “perverted nationalism,” which he also announced in his pastoral letter to the faithful, which was published as a separate brochure.¹⁹

The reality of social life of the Ukrainian population in Eastern Lesser Poland, which surrounded the Bishop, was characterised by ethical-moral relativism, neo-pagan radicalism, as well as superficial, ritual religiousness. Although the contents of “Two Kingdoms” refers to religious issues, it is largely devoted to the Christian principles of social life, sources of inspiration for Ukrainian culture and the threat posed by nationalist ideology. A special place in the records was occupied by the figure of Metropolitan Archbishop Sheptytsky, and his activities both on the religious and national-social planes.

The text of the surviving part of the document begins with several sentences ending the unpreserved chapter describing the wartime destruction of the Sheptytsky family property. Another particle of the notes contains reflections on the political situation of Ukrainians during the struggle for independence, with remarks on the distortions and neglect of this period. The author introduces the metaphor of the Old Testament strong hunter Nimrod, who exercised despotic, usurper rule, contrary to God’s will. Using the term “nimrodism” he describes the trends in the development of Ukrainian political

ourselves off our brothers and linguistic, literature and national ties with the entire Ruthenian world with the Chinese wall.” Cited in: Osadczy 2007, 88.

¹⁷ A large number of Russophile priests were sent by the Austrian authorities to the Thalerhof and Teresin camps, where many of them died tragically. It is estimated that over 350 clergymen were arrested on charges of pro-Russian sympathies. See Tarnawski 1920, 10.

¹⁸ More on this topic see Kulińska 2009, 13–68.

¹⁹ A translation into Polish appeared in the monthly “*Nasza Przyszłość*” 1933, vol. 29 and 30. The reissue of the Polish version of the pastoral letter was published in: Chomyszyn 2008, 13–39.

history, especially pointing to the period of the struggle for independence during the world war and to nationalist tendencies in the interwar period. Bishop Khomyshyn is critical of the passive attitude of Archbishop Sheptytsky towards the progressing dangerous trends in social and political life. In this part of the notes, there are many threads concerning individual phenomena of religious life in Eastern Lesser Poland, the development of the religious press, the role of religious orders, and internal disputes between various options in the environment of the Greek Catholic Church. Critical remarks on the secular roots of Ukrainian culture, the anti-religious attitude of its leading representatives, as well as the silence or silent consent of the Church influential centres, including the metropolitan, to the cult of secular cultural and political activists resounds quite strongly. Much space in the notes is occupied by the characteristics of Father Hryhoriy Kostelnyk,²⁰ one of the leaders of the so-called “Eastern” option among Greek Catholic intellectuals, an advocate of getting close to the liturgical tradition and spirituality of the Orthodox Church.

The smaller chapters cover narrower issues relating to the general topic of the notes. “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky – a Byzantineist on the background of Russophilism” concerns the personality-psychological and cultural-worldview characteristics of Archbishop Sheptytsky. It also contains a broader polemic with so-called Byzantineism, as well as the pastoral letter of Bishop Khomyshyn “On Byzantineism,” which caused such a stir in the Holy See. The author also undertakes a critical assessment of the Roman eastern policy implemented in that period.

The chapter “Phantasmagoria” is a continuation of the polemic with the activity of Archbishop Sheptytsky, accusing him of relativism in national matters and total subordination to the ideas of the conversion of Russia. The title “phantasmagoria” refers to the views and intentions of the head of the Uniate Church in Eastern Lesser Poland.

The chapter “The act of God” points to deep crisis phenomena in the Uniate Church and the responsibility of the Lviv Metropolitan for them. The next chapter, “Restitution” presents remedial measures that would be able to remedy the situation among Greek Catholics living in the Polish state. The Blessed Bishop draws attention to the salutary importance of internal

²⁰ Hryhoriy Kostelnyk (1886–1948), a Greek Catholic clergyman born in Rusky Krstura in Vojvodina, educated in Zagreb, Lviv and Swiss Friborg, where he obtained a doctorate in theology. He was ordained a priest in 1913 and as a clergyman he worked as a catechist in Ukrainian secondary schools in Lviv, and also as a lecturer at a Greek Catholic seminary. He was at the head of the intellectual community in the Greek Catholic Church striving to bring its rituals closer to the Orthodox Church. He enjoyed special support from the metropolitan Szeptycki. After the Soviet occupation of Eastern Lesser Poland in 1944, he became involved in the work on the liquidation of the ecclesiastical union and headed the Initiative Group for the unification of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. He was treacherously murdered by nationalist terrorists in Lviv [Osadczy 2002, 967–68].

conversion, “spiritual renewal,” catechesis, and proper formation of priests. It also refers to the issue of the Polish-Ukrainian agreement, showing a lot of prejudice against Poles. As remedial measures, he proposes radical means in the liturgical and political life of the Uniate Church, including getting closer to the practices of the Latin Church, the introduction of priestly celibacy and the Julian calendar among Greek Catholics from Lesser Poland.

The last several-page chapter “My justification” serves as a summary and conclusion of the whole work. The author summarises the activities of Archbishop Sheptytsky in the ritual and ecclesiastical field and assesses them as harmful to the Church. At the same time, he points out that he is not guided by any personal motives, animosities or prejudices. Bishop Khomyshyn was convinced that his deliberations could have a good effect on the global improvement of the condition of the Church.

5. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DOCUMENT AND ITS MESSAGE

The miraculously found document is a historic testimony of its time. It illustrates the option of the supporters of so-called “Latinisation” trend in the dispute with “Orientalists,” which has continued in one form or another to this day. These views of Bishop Khomyshyn are not arbitrary, and do not resolve the discussion at the root of which lies a deeper civilisational discrepancy that for many centuries has shaped the religious identity of the faithful Uniates, deriving their tradition from the Brest Union.

On the other hand, the teachings of the hierarch condemning radicalism, moral distortions, pagan ethics in national life and social activity have a universal overtone. Relying on Christian messages and ethics derived from the teachings of the Church, the hierarch is opposed to the nationalist trends prevailing in Ukrainian society. He does not hesitate to proclaim the truth that did not fit the necessity of the present moment, the prosperity and the purposefulness of the political calculations of the radicalised society very superficially influenced by Christianity. During his lifetime, he lived to see insults and offensive libels from various shades of Ukrainian political currents: from communists to nationalists, as well as liberals, socialists and clericals of the dominant option in the Greek Catholic Church. Nationalist militants sentenced the bishop to death for this attitude several times, which he himself mentioned in his notes.²¹

Finding the document at the present time, a time of widespread increase in the ideology of nationalism in Ukrainian society and unprecedented tensions in Polish-Ukrainian relations in the area of the policy of remembrance

²¹ Bishop Khomyshyn wrote that on 26 April 1932, one of the bishops informed him that his assassination was being planned by nationalist terrorists [Pelechatyj and Osadczy 2017, 91].

and the interpretation of historical legacy, has the features of a providential event, a kind of sign. Immediately after the publication of Bishop Khomyshyn's manuscript "Two Kingdoms" this social dimension could be seen in the form of a sharp reaction from circles professing nationalist ideology in Ukraine. Soon after that, the voice of Catholic shepherds appeared, who recognised in the work of the blessed author an extraordinary sign in the lives of Christians in Ukraine and Poland. A letter of thanks to the Rector of the Catholic University of Lublin and the author of these words came from the Conference of (Roman Catholic) Bishops of Ukraine, signed by Father Archbishop Mieczysław Mokrzycki, Metropolitan of Lviv, Chairman of the Conference. "The publication of this book has become an important event in religious life in Ukraine. Catholics of both Christian traditions got acquainted with the remarkable text of the blessed martyr who, being an ardent patriot of Ukraine, acted as a spokesman for Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation. He warned his faithful against radicalism and «heresy of nationalism». It sounds very valid this year [2016 – W.O.], when our nations have come closer to getting to know their difficult history. The warning literally repeats the words of the Primate of Poland from a few days ago, who exhorted the faithful to love and avoid nationalist ideology. The voice of the Ukrainian bishop from the pages of the published book is in line with the symphony of Christian science, the resonance of which is special in this Extraordinary Year of the Jubilee of Mercy"²² – the bishops of Ukraine wrote.

On the occasion of the publication of the Polish translation of the book "Two Kingdoms", the introductory letter was written by Cardinal Marian Jaworski, retired archbishop of Lviv, a long-time friend of St. John Paul II. He wrote, inter alia: "I am glad that the book – the testament of this Blessed Bishop – will also reach the Polish reader. It is an extraordinary document of fidelity to God, the Catholic Church, and humanism in international relations. The words of the Blessed are very timely now, when Ukraine is looking for the right way out of a difficult historical situation. Her Prophet, Blessed Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn encourages us to follow the hard path of faith uninterrupted by the influences of godless ideologies taking various forms."²³

The voice of the shepherds from Poland and Ukraine on the importance of the teaching of the Ukrainian martyr for the faith has sensitised wide social circles in both countries. The printing of the "Two Kingdoms" manuscript aroused renewed interest in the person of its author. It is evidenced by the fact that the Polish Parliament on 23 March 2017, on the eve of the jubilee

²² A letter to habilitated doctor Włodzimierz Osadczy from Archbishop Mieczysław Mokrzycki, Chairman of the Ukrainian Bishops' Conference of 25 November 2016. The author's archive. The letter printed in: Pelechatyj and Osadczy 2016, 12.

²³ A Letter from Cardinal Marian Jaworski, retired Metropolitan of Lviv, Cracow, on 13 March 2017, in: Pelechatyj and Osadczy 2016, 11.

of the blessed martyr of the twentieth century, adopted a resolution, which said: “The Polish Parliament on the 150th anniversary of the birth of Blessed Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn – Greek Catholic Ordinary of Stanyslaviv, citizen of the second Polish Republic, martyr of the communist regime, constant advocate of Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation is paying tribute to the Prophet of Ukraine, who was a tireless preacher of European values rooted in the traditions of Christianity and Latin civilisation. He warned his nation against criminal ideologies calling for hatred and destroying the centuries-old heritage of tolerance established in the lands of the First Republic. The figure of the blessed bishop should become a symbol of Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation based on the historical and spiritual heritage of the community of both nations founded on the undeniable foundations of morality and truth.”²⁴

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²⁴ See *uchwała Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 23 marca 2017 r. w sprawie uczczenia pamięci błogosławionego biskupa Grzegorza Chomyszyna w 150. rocznicę jego urodzin*, “Monitor Polski. Dziennik Urzędowy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej” of 4 April 2017, item 319.

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