**Introduction to the English Edition**

September 1, 1939 not only marked the onset of unprecedented suffering for the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Europe. It also ushered in the beginning of the end for the old world of Eastern Galicia. For centuries, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Armenians, Germans, and other peoples had succeeded in coexisting in this multi-ethnic region. In 1939, Lviv, the largest city in Eastern Galicia, was home to around 318,000 people. The population was composed of 51% Roman Catholics (most of them Poles), 30% Jews, and 16% Greek Catholics (the majority of whom were Ukrainians). After 1945, only about 7% of this large pre-war population remained in the city. This staggering decline inevitably prompts consideration of the cruelty of the two totalitarian regimes that successively controlled this land. Their destruction of all that had been created and developed here over centuries – not just the people, but also their cultural heritage, and the institutions that united them – was truly merciless.

One of the ancient institutions that survived the war but not post-war Sovietization was the Greek Catholic Church. As of 1939, it was the largest of the autonomous (Ecclesia sui juris) Eastern Catholic Churches and was in full communion with the Apostolic See while preserving the Byzantine liturgical tradition. This Church was one For centuries, the Greek Catholic Church served as the institution through which Galician Ukrainians preserved their culture and national identity. Until 1596, this church, known as the Kyiv Orthodox Metropolis, was under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. In 1594, the bishops of this Metropolis, led by Metropolitan Mykhailo Rohoza (c. 1540–1599), expressed their desire to restore unity with the Catholic Church. The Apostolic See accommodated them in this matter. On December 23, 1595, Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) officially proclaimed the acceptance of the Kyiv Metropolis into communion with the Catholic Church. The following year, in October 1596, a synod of bishops was held in Brest. At this synod, the bishops, led by Metropolitan Mykhailo Rohoza, proclaimed the Union.[[1]](#footnote-4) Thus, from that time on, the Church was referred to as the Kyiv Uniate Metropolis.[[2]](#footnote-5)

During the 17th century, the Kyiv Uniate Metropolis experienced challenges as a result of political instability in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[[3]](#footnote-6) However, the 18th century saw significant growth, with the Church’s membership reaching approximately 4.5 million faithful.[[4]](#footnote-7) Following the several partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth towards the end of the century, the Church began to decline within its old borders.[[5]](#footnote-8) In the territories absorbed by the Russian Empire, the Church persisted until 1839, when Emperor Nicholas I (1796–1855) ordered its dissolution. In 1875, the Russian authorities dissolved the last remaining Uniate diocese in the Russian Empire, located in Kholm.[[6]](#footnote-9)

The fate of the portion of the Kyiv Uniate Metropolis that fell under Habsburg rule following the First Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772 took a notably different course.[[7]](#footnote-10) Unlike the Romanovs, the Habsburgs provided support for the Uniate bishops within their empire. But first, there was a change of name. In 1774, Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780) issued a decree prohibiting the use of the term “Uniate,” which she deemed offensive. Instead, she introduced the term “Greek Catholic.”[[8]](#footnote-11) From then on, the term “Greek Catholic Church” was used. Another significant development in Eastern Galicia during this period was the issuance of the Edict of Toleration of 1781 by Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790). This edict granted equal rights to people of different faiths, particularly Greek and Roman Catholics. Habsburg support for the Greek Catholic Church reached its pinnacle in 1808, with the restoration of the Galician Metropolis,[[9]](#footnote-12) which had previously operated intermittently between 1302 and 1401. Following this restoration, Lviv became the seat of the Galician metropolitans, who resided on St. George’s Hill next to St. George’s Church (now St. George’s Cathedral).[[10]](#footnote-13)

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Greek-Catholic Church played a central role in the Ukrainian national revival in Eastern Galicia. Key Galician “Awakeners” emerged from its ranks, including Fr. Markiian Shashkevych (1811-1843), Yakiv Holovatskyi (1814-1888), and Ivan Vahylevych (1811-1866), who were instrumental in launching the Ukrainian orientation in the national revival of the Ukrainians of Galicia.[[11]](#footnote-14) During the Springtime of Nations in 1848, the Supreme Ruthenian Council – the first Ukrainian political organization – was initially led by Hryhoriy Yakhymovych (792-1863), the Bishop of Przemyśl, and later by Bishop Mykhailo Kuzemskyi (1809-1979). The Greek Catholic clergy remained at the forefront of Ukrainian political leadership in Galicia until the 1890s.[[12]](#footnote-15)

During the transformations in Ukrainian Galician social and political life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Greek Catholic Church was led by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi (1865-1944). Sheptytskyi was enthroned as Metropolitan at St. George’s Cathedral on January 12, 1901, and remained head of the Church until his passing on November 1, 1944. Born Count Roman Maria Aleksander Maria Szeptycki, the Metropolitan was descended on his father’s side from an old Ukrainian noble family that had gradually become Polonized.[[13]](#footnote-16) His mother, the Countess Zofia Ludwika Cecylia Konstancja Szeptycka (1837-1904), was the daughter of Count Aleksander Fredro, a famous Polish playwright and poet. After completing his military service and pursuing higher education, including earning a doctorate in law, Sheptytskyi made a radical decision for a Polish aristocrat of his time: he converted from the Latin to the Eastern rite, embraced a Ukrainian identity, and became a monk in the Order of St. Basil the Great.[[14]](#footnote-17) In 1888, he took his first monastic vows, adopting the name Andrei, under which he would be remembered in history. On August 28, 1892, Brother Andrei Sheptytskyi, OSBM, was ordained as a priest by Bishop Yulian Pelesh (1843-1896­) of Przemyśl. Soon after, in 1899, Sheptytskyi was appointed Bishop of Stanyslaviv, and following the death of Metropolitan Yulian Sas-Kuilovskyi (1826-1900), Sheptytskyi became head of the Greek Catholic Church.

Upon becoming the Galician Metropolitan, Sheptytskyi embarked on extensive efforts to support Ukrainian life across various spheres. His work included political advocacy for electoral reform and increased Ukrainian representation,[[15]](#footnote-18) addressing complex social challenges of the era,[[16]](#footnote-19) and supporting the campaign to establish a Ukrainian university in Lviv.[[17]](#footnote-20) He promoted cultural development, notably founding the National Museum in Lviv in 1913, and reformed theological education. The Metropolitan also sought to address broader ecclesiastical issues such promoting Church unity,[[18]](#footnote-21) and established new monastic orders and congregations while supporting existing ones,[[19]](#footnote-22) while facilitating the ongoing development of the Lviv Archdiocese.

The outbreak of the First World War was a catastrophe not only for the people of Galicia but also for Metropolitan Sheptytskyi on a personal level. Between 1914 and 1917, he was imprisoned by the government of the Russian Empire, gaining his freedom only after the February Revolution. Upon his return, he dedicated himself to providing significant aid to those affected by the war. As the Ukrainian struggle for national liberation began, Sheptytskyi supported the notion of Ukrainian statehood and worked tirelessly to advocate for it, including efforts on the international stage. During the interwar period, Metropolitan Sheptytskyi continued advancing the major initiatives he had begun before 1914. His most significant achievements during this time include his broad support for Ukrainian educational, artistic, charitable, and entrepreneurial efforts.[[20]](#footnote-23) Notably, he founded the Lviv Theological Academy in 1928, and the People’s Hospital (now known as the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi Hospital), in Lviv in 1938. Undoubtedly, Sheptytskyi was the foremost Ukrainian patron in Eastern Galicia, and also remained open and supportive towards people from diverse national and religious backgrounds.

Amid the growing political tensions of the interwar period, Metropolitan Sheptytskyi sought to provide personal insights on various challenges, providing his flock with clear moral guidance and direction.[[21]](#footnote-24) During these years, he considered Communism as the primary threat,[[22]](#footnote-25) but was also critical of Italian fascism[[23]](#footnote-26) and opposed the spread of radical nationalist ideologies[[24]](#footnote-27) within his archdiocese. This stance ultimately led to an uncompromising conflict between Sheptytskyi and the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) during the 1930s.[[25]](#footnote-28)

The outbreak of the Second World War and the years that followed marked the final chapter in the life of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi. From 1939 to1941, he endured life under the totalitarian Communist regime, which had been his greatest fear.[[26]](#footnote-29) In the summer of 1941, Galicia was occupied by Nazi Germany. Despite his isolation in the Metropolitan’s chambers in St. George’s Cathedral, Sheptytskyi quickly recognized the true nature of the new regime, particularly its policies toward the region’s Jewish population.[[27]](#footnote-30) To the best of his ability, through his pastoral letters, Sheptytskyi urged the faithful of his Church’s to refrain from participating in crimes against their neighbors, by which he primarily referred to the Jews. His efforts culminated in his pastoral letter, “Thou Shalt Not Kill,” of 1942.[[28]](#footnote-31) After witnessing the full extent of the Germans’ genocidal actions, the Metropolitan decided to save any Jews who sought his help. These rescue efforts began in August 1942 when several Jews from the Lviv ghetto approached him with a request to hide them. The Metropolitan agreed to this. Thus began the rescue operation.

The coordinators of this rescue operation were members of Sheptytskyi’s inner circle. Chief among them were the monks of the Ukrainian Studite Order, with a key figure being the Metropolitan’s brother, Archimandrite Klymentii (Kazymyr Sheptytskyi, 1869-1951). A second group included Sheptytskyi’s personal secretaries, notably Fr. Ivan Kotiv (1910-1972)[[29]](#footnote-32) and Volodymyr Hrytsai (1885-1976). Among the women, it is important to highlight Mother Iosyfa (Olena Viter, 1904-1988), and Mother Monika Polianska (1885-1951), OSBM, abbess of the Holy Trinity Monastery of the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great in Pidmykhailivsti, a village some 76 kilometers from Lviv.

From the outset, a network of hiding places was established in various Studite monasteries and convents, to which Jews were directed based on their gender. While most Jewish children found refuge in monastery orphanages, this was not always the case. Sometimes, they were hidden temporarily in monasteries or at parishes served by Studites. The choice of hiding place was determined by the level of danger present. Key hiding places included the Metropolitan’s chambers on St. George’s Hill in Lviv, which often served as a starting point for sheltering Jews. Other locations included the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order, St. John’s Lavra of the Studite Order, the Monastery of St. Josaphat in Lviv, the Holy Intercession Monastery of the Basilian Sisters in Yakoriv, the orphanages of the Studite sisters in Lviv and Bryukhovychi, and the Studite convent at 4, Ubocha Street in Lviv.

An unconventional hiding place was the Solid shoe factory, located at 16 Trybunalska Street[[30]](#footnote-33) in Lviv. The factory was effectively owned by the Church and managed by Hieromonk Ioan (Jozef Peters, 1905-1995), a German who had converted to the Eastern rite in the 1930s. Peters first became a monk of the Studite Order and was later ordained as a priest by Metropolitan Sheptytskyi. Using his German citizenship, he established and expanded the Solid shoe factory between 1941 and 1942. Its workers were both laymen and monks of the Studite Order. In the summer of 1942, with Peters’ consent, the factory began hiding Jewish workers and their families. Later, in 1943 and 1944, the Fink family found refuge at the factory.

Harboring Jews was a challenging and arduous process that was fraught with risk for the monks and nuns of the Studite Order. The response within the monastic community was varied. Not everyone was prepared to engage with such a risky undertaking. Nonetheless, thanks to a core group of individuals who showed outstanding motivation and courage, Metropolitan Sheptytskyi’s plan was successfully carried out. Currently, it is not possible to determine the exact number of Jews who were saved. At the time of the events described, no documentation was kept to record the Jews who sought refuge or were sheltered by members of the Greek Catholic Church. However, this book draws on testimonies and various other sources to identify 19 Jews rescued by Studite monks and seven Jewish women saved by Studite nuns. Further, it identifies 29 Studite monks who played a role in aiding and rescuing Jews. These data are not final and reflects the state of my research at the time of publication.

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After World War II, there was an anticipation that the involvement of members of the Greek Catholic Church in sheltering Jews would become part of wider historical scholarship of that era. However, this expectation never materialized. For several decades, research on the relationship between the clergy and monastic orders of the Greek Catholic Church[[31]](#footnote-34) and Galician Jews during the Holocaust[[32]](#footnote-35) remained largely undeveloped.

Contemporary Ukrainian historiography has yet to conduct a thorough study that fully explores how monastic communities of the Greek Catholic Church sheltered Galicia’s Jews between 1942 and1944. For a long time, this topic was primarily regarded as an offshoot of research on Metropolitan Sheptytskyi’s position regarding the Holocaust in Galicia. As a result, the monks of the Studite Order were often considered only in relation to the level of scholarly interest in Sheptytskyi. In the early stages of research on the Metropolitan’s life within Ukrainian diasporan academic circles, Sheptytskyi’s assistance to Jews during World War II was usually mentioned in passing, acknowledging the fact without examining the details.

The Studite monks were not regarded as active participants in Sheptytskyi’s efforts, as evidenced by the works of Stepan Baran (1879-1953)[[33]](#footnote-36) and Kirilo Korolevskyi (1878-1959).[[34]](#footnote-37) This perception can largely be attributed to the lack of serious interest or scholarly work on Holocaust studies within Ukrainian academic and public circles at the time. However, the late 1950s and early 1960s marked a notable shift in this regard. In 1961, following the publication of Raul Hilberg’s (1926-2007) monograph *The Destruction of the European Jews*,[[35]](#footnote-38) interest among Ukrainian scholars in studying the Holocaust as a distinct phenomenon of genocide began to gradually increase.

This period also saw a shift in understanding regarding the relationships between Metropolitan Sheptytskyi and Galicia’s Jews during the Holocaust. On December 2, 1958, the beatification process for Sheptytskyi began in Rome. This prompted the postulants to undertake a thorough and professional examination of the candidate’s biography and the members of his inner circle. Sheptytskyi’s efforts to rescue Jews played a significant role in affirming the righteousness of his life. An inquiry was initiated, which involved gathering testimonies from witnesses and from Jews who had been rescued. At the same time, members of the Jewish community, including journalists and individuals who had been rescued by the Greek Catholic clergy and monastic orders, became increasingly active. Notably, the first publications by Leo Heiman[[36]](#footnote-39) and Kurt Lewin (1925-2014)[[37]](#footnote-40) were released. These detailed the mechanisms used to shelter Jews and identified the Studite monks who played a key role in these rescue efforts.

However, the emergence of this subject in the context of Sheptytskyi’s beatification process and Lewin’s testimonies did not initiate scholarly discussions. The event that did spark a more open public and academic dialogue on this matter was the request made to the Commission at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust and Heroism Memorial of the Jewish People, to award Metropolitan Sheptytskyi the title of “Righteous Among the Nations.” This request was made on May 5, 1964 by Rabbi David Kahane (1903-1998), who had been saved by the Metropolitan. At that time, the Commission did not reach a consensus on the matter. Consequently, Sheptytskyi’s case was reviewed at subsequent meetings of the Commission in 1964 (twice), 1967, 1970, 1971, 1981 (three times), 1991, 1994, and 2012.[[38]](#footnote-41) Discussions about the Metropolitan, including with regard to his ability or inability to influence the situation in Galicia and his strategies during the Nazi occupation, remain ongoing.

Recognition of the Studite monastic community’s efforts in rescuing Jews has been markedly different. From 1976, the title “Righteous Among the Nations” began to be conferred upon members of the Studite community. The first to be honored in this way was Mother Iosyfa (Olena Viter), abbess of the Holy Protection Convent.[[39]](#footnote-42) In 1984, two monks were honored with this title.[[40]](#footnote-43) These were the schema monks Teodosiy (Teodor Tsybrivskyi, 1899-1972), and Luka (Lazar Shyian, 1907-1968), who provided shelter to Jews in the Solid shoe factory in Lviv. The following year, in 1985, the honor was conferred upon Bishop Nykanor (Mykolai Deineha, 1907-1982),[[41]](#footnote-44) the former abbot of the Monastery of St. Josaphat the Martyr in Lviv. After the death of Archimandrite Klymentiy (Kazymyr Sheptytskyi) in 1951, Bishop Nykanor became the underground archimandrite of the Univ Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order. From 1968, he served as an archbishop of the Lviv Archdiocese. To date, he is the only bishop of the Greek Catholic Church to have received the title of “Righteous Among the Nations.” A decade later, in 1995, the main coordinators of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi’s efforts to rescue Jews were honored: his brother, Archimandrite Klymentiy, and Hieromonk Marko (Mykhailo Stek, 1908-1978).[[42]](#footnote-45) The most recent Studite to receive the title of “Righteous Among the Nations” is Hieromonk Danyil (Dmytro Tymchyna, 1900-1972).[[43]](#footnote-46)

Although in the 1970s and 1980s Yad Vashem began to recognize the contributions of individual members of the Studite Order to saving Galician Jews, this topic continued to receive scant attention from historians within the Ukrainian diaspora. Indeed, advocacy and promotion of this issue remained largely driven by Holocaust survivors who were grateful to the Studites. The most prominent of these figures was the American economist Kurt Lewin, who persistently raised the matter, sent inquiries to Yad Vashem, researched European archives, followed the beatification process of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, and eventually published an extensive memoir.

At that time, two key figures involved in the rescue of Jews – the hieromonks Marko (Stek) and Ioann (Peters) – were still living in the West. Yet, no one interviewed them or sought to investigate this matter. As a result, valuable firsthand information was lost. The absence of research by Ukrainian scholars into this topic prevented this aspect of the Holocaust from being integrated into the broader historical narrative and thus receiving the recognition it deserved. The Ukrainian ecclesiastical context remained largely untapped and unincorporated.

Nevertheless, amid the historical discussions that took place within the Ukrainian diaspora academic community in the 1980s, Paul-Robert Magosci’s edited volume *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrey Sheptytskyi* (1989), gained a strong reputation.[[44]](#footnote-47) This was the first work in which researchers from various countries examined various aspects of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi’s activities. The issue of rescuing Jews was addressed by an Israeli researcher, Shimon Redlich,[[45]](#footnote-48) who notably remained one of the few scholars actively engaged with this history for many years. Another publication, released the year before, was the collection *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations* *in Historical Perspective*, edited by Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster.[[46]](#footnote-49) In essays published in this volume, Israeli scholar Aaron Weiss[[47]](#footnote-50) and American political scientist Yaroslav Bilinsky[[48]](#footnote-51) discussed the Holocaust and the Greek Catholic Church. Once again, the attention of these scholars centered on the figure of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi.

After Ukraine gained independence in 1991, the subject of the rescue of Jews by monks of the Studite Order held significant potential for research. Many of those involved in these efforts were still alive, yet no historian took an interest in the subject. Some interviews with these individuals have been preserved in the archives of the Institute of Church History at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. However, at the time, the interviewers were primarily focused on the underground activities of the Greek Catholic Church. Consequently, the materials relating to schema monk Vitaliy (Volodymyr Matkovskyi, 1915-1993) and hieromonk Herman (Hryhoriy Budzinskyi, 1905-1995), contain no mention of efforts to shelter Jews. During this period, popular academic works began to emerge that touched on the topic but fell short in terms of coverage. These works were influenced by the religious triumphalism characteristic of the 1990s and included exaggerations regarding the number of Jews rescued. In this context, Ihor Mytsko’s monograph on the history of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra stands out for its accurate account of the number of Jews sheltered in the local orphanage.[[49]](#footnote-52)

Although the opportunity to collect the last valuable testimonies from participants in these events was lost, the emerging field of Holocaust studies in Ukraine provided the topic with a new avenue to establish its significance. Since 1991, Ukrainian Holocaust historiography has evolved through three distinct periods. The initial phase, from 1991 to 1995, saw a departure from the ideological biases of the Soviet past. The period from 1996 to 2000 witnessed the emergence of the first articles, monographs, and dissertations on this subject. The third period, beginning in 2000 and continuing to the present, is characterized by comprehensive research into various regional aspects of the Holocaust.[[50]](#footnote-53) It is during this phase that the role of Studite monks in the rescue of Jews gained recognition in the work of Ukrainian scholars. However, it never evolved into a distinct area of study but – much as before – continued to be addressed only in passing, within the broader narrative of efforts by representatives of the Greek Catholic Church to rescue Jews. Most often, this topic was discussed in connection with Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi. This focus is evident in the works of Andrii Kravchuk,[[51]](#footnote-54) Julian J. Bussgang,[[52]](#footnote-55) Andrii Bolianovskyi,[[53]](#footnote-56) Liubov Solovka,[[54]](#footnote-57) Zhanna Kovba[[55]](#footnote-58) and Fr. Andrii Mykhaileiko.[[56]](#footnote-59) While these researchers focus on Sheptytskyi, scholars Myroslava Keryk[[57]](#footnote-60) and Oksana Surmych[[58]](#footnote-61) explore the issue in the context of the German occupation.

Viktoriia Chornopyska is one of the few Ukrainian scholars who, in her monograph dedicated to the religious and public activities of Blessed Hieromartyr Klymentii Sheptytskyi, provides a detailed account of the rescue operation, detailing how it unfolded and the involvement of the Studite monks. Her study emphasizes the role of Klymentii Sheptytskyi, the archimandrite of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra, in sheltering Jewish children and rightly notes how he coordinated his efforts with Abbess Iosyfa (Olena Viter). Chornopyska concludes that Archimandrite Klymentii’s assistance to Jews was driven not by political or other motives, but by the “practical application of Christian ethics.”[[59]](#footnote-62)

However, the most significant contribution to date in shedding light on the involvement of Studite monks in aiding Jews as part of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi’s rescue operation was made by Zhanna Kovba (1940-2018) in her monograph on the behavior of the local population in Galicia during the Holocaust. Kovba identifies the members of the coordinating group and describes their roles,[[60]](#footnote-63) the methods and locations used to hide Jews,[[61]](#footnote-64) and the fate of specific individuals who were assisted by the Studite monks, including the challenges and dangers they faced. Kovba also explores the contributions of both the monks and the nuns of the Studite Order in providing assistance to Galician Jews.[[62]](#footnote-65)

A persistent issue in Ukrainian historiography is that scholars examining the involvement of members of the Greek Catholic Church in rescuing Jews often overlook similar efforts by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in various European countries[[63]](#footnote-66) – not least in Poland. This oversight occasionally gives rise to inaccurate claims that Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi was the sole Catholic hierarch of his rank to assist persecuted Jews. Therefore, analyzing the strategies and decisions of the episcopate, clergy, and monastic communities of the Greek Catholic Church during the Holocaust is merely the first step for scholars in this field. The next step should be to contextualize this history within the broader developments taking place in the Roman Catholic Church at that time, while also considering the Eastern Catholic perspective. In this regard, the recently initiated research on the legacy of the Pope Pius XII is especially significant, as it could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the events, decisions, and motivations of the various parties involved in this process.

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Writing a book about a specific chapter in the history of a closed community, whose actions were kept secret during the events in question, who maintained no written records of these matters, and who did not openly discuss them even afterward, requires a thoughtful approach to uncovering the facts using the available sources. It is evident that a source only begins to “speak” when the right methods are applied to interpret its meaning. Thus, my primary approach when writing this book was historicism. This entailed providing a historical context for the actions of the Studites in order to effectively characterize their role in rescuing Jews. My focus was on reconstructing events in chronological order and examining their interrelationships. To achieve this, I constructed a timeline that helped shed light on the periodic contacts between Galicia’s Jews and the Studies during the interwar period, the deepening of relationships in certain monasteries during the first Soviet occupation from 1939 to 1941, and the moment of rapprochement for the purpose of sheltering Jews in 1942.

In this context, this approach is similar to that of the comparative sequential method. To apply this approach comprehensively, I traced not only the evolution of contacts between Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi and the Jews of Galicia, but also the development of Studite monasticism itself during the first half of the 20th century. This helped facilitate a deeper understanding of the decisions made by the head of the Greek Catholic Church during the years of the Holocaust, and addresses whether the Studites were prepared to act on his intentions. In this context, adopting a systemic approach was key. This entailed gaining a broad understanding of the situation, focusing not only on the actions themselves, but also their internal origins – that is, the worldviews, motives, and fears of the individuals involved. Employing an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates perspectives from various fields – particularly theology, psychology, and religious studies – made it possible to explore a wide range of issues related to the practical aspects of sheltering Jews in the monasteries of the Studite Order.

In terms of methodology, the comparative-historical approach was perhaps the most important for the writing of this book. It enabled the comparison of phenomena and the identification of certain trends within them, including whether these evolved or remained static over time. This approach proved especially useful for comparing the experiences of Jewish children in various orphanages within Studite monasteries, as well as the dangers their rescuers encountered. Naturally, in this context, it was important to adhere to the retrospective method, which involves stepping back from the present and fully immersing oneself in the realities of the past.

In my examination of Studite monasticism during the interwar period, I used the diachronic method to identify the main stages in the development of the phenomenon. Specifically, this method was used to trace the stages of development of Studite monasteries in the first half of the twentieth century. In doing so, I integrated this approach with the statistical method through mathematical data processing. Statistics provided insights into the growth of the Studite community from its inception through 1944, and on the population sizes of the various towns and villages in close proximity to monastic communities.

In addition to these research methods, I also employed oral history techniques. Indeed, it would not have been possible to write this book solely on the basis of archival documents, which contain almost no references to the hiding of Jews by the clergy and monks of the Greek Catholic Church, and on published memoirs that have already been extensively used. Consequently, I had to seek out oral testimonies from eyewitnesses. Employing this method proved challenging. In the villages referenced in the book, there was a noticeable reluctance to speak about the fate of the Jews who had lived there and who had been murdered by the Germans and their collaborators. There were various reasons for this reluctance, often tied to current inter-neighbor relations within a given community. Nevertheless, this method proved highly valuable, as it offered insights into issues and trends that were often not immediately obvious. Thus, in my study of the rescue of Jews, oral history methods proved useful and provided a broader picture of the circumstances, individuals, and their actions. Beyond that, I recognize the limitations of such testimonies as sources.

In conclusion, my research into the involvement of Studite monks and nuns in the rescue of Jews in the Lviv Archdiocese required extensive consideration of published and unpublished materials from state, university, and monastic archives in Ukraine. I also consulted materials from overseas archives. The book’s source base of unpublished material was created from documents housed in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv; the Lviv Oblast State Archive; the Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine Office in Lviv Oblast; the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine; the Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw; the Archive of the Institute of Church History of the Ukrainian Catholic University, the Archive of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order; and the Archive of the Holy Protection Convent of the Studite Order.

I consulted documents from several collections of the Ukrainian Central State Historical Archive. Of particular interest from *Fond* 408, titled *“The Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Ordinariate,”* are letters written by Studite sisters from daughter houses in Halych, Velyki Hayi, Lviv, and the Holy Protection Monastery in the village of Yaktoriv to Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi. These letters reflect the special relationships and care that the sisters received from the head of the Greek Catholic Church. The collection also includes letters from Studite monks from monasteries in Zarvanytsya and Kamenice (in Herzegovina) to the Archimandrite. This same *Fond* also contains numerous key official documents related to Studite monasticism. Among these, the statutes and regulations for monasteries particularly stand out. The *Fond* also includes documents about specific monasteries, such as the charter for establishing the monastery of St. Andrew the Apostle in the village of Perehinske and a gift deed from Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi regarding the transfer of real estate for the benefit of St. John’s Lavra in Lviv.

*Fond* 358,titled *“Sheptytskyi Andrei (Roman-Maria-Oleksandr) (1865-1944), Count, Metropolitan of the Galician Greek Catholic Church, Archbishop of Lviv, Bishop of Kamianets-Podilskyi, cultural and ecclesiastical figure, patron, and active member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society”* continues the theme of official documents pertaining to Studite monasticism. This *Fond* includes the rules and constitutions of the Sknyliv Lavra of St. Anthony of the Caves and the constitution and statutes of the St. Theodore the Studite monastery. It also contains the original will and testament of Archimandrite Klymentiy (Sheptytskyi), titled “Last Word,” from 1940.

*Fond* 684, titled *“The Protohegumen of the Monasteries of the Order of St. Basil the Great”* includes an article by an unknown author detailing the founding of a Studite monastery in the village of Volsvyn. The article chronicles the period and development of monastic life in the first Studite monastery. The chronicle of the Monastery of the Holy Martyr Josaphat in Lviv provides valuable information about events during the interwar period and, after an interruption, the wartime period. It reflects the daily life of the monastery, its challenges and concerns, as seen through the perspectives of various chroniclers. In *Fond* 525, titled *“The St. John Lavra of the Studite Order,”* the charter of the monastery referenced in the collection’s title is preserved.

*Fond* 409, titled “*Central Administration of the Estate Properties of the Greek-Catholic Metropolis,”* contains a wealth of documents regarding the Church’s real estate. In particular, it includes the founding charter for St. John’s Lavra, a land ownership agreement from the village of Univ between Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi and the Holy Dormition Lavra, and a deed of gift from the head of the Greek Catholic Church granting land to support orphaned boys at the monastery’s orphanage.

In conclusion, an analysis of documents from the Ukrainian Central State Historical Archives reveals that these are key sources for research into the history of Studite monasticism during its two periods of development: 1898-1914 and 1919-1939. The archive holds a wealth of official documents, letters, and property deeds, which provide insights into the dynamic life of this monastic community up until the onset of Soviet rule in 1939. Moreover, the materials thoroughly document the activities of the archimandrite of the Studite monks both in relation to the monks themselves and their interactions with the Jewish community in Lviv.

The Lviv Oblast State Archive houses materials related to the period of the German occupation. It includes statistical data on the administrative divisions in the Zolochiv district (in Lviv Oblast) and analyses of the ethnic composition and status of the population based on reports from local German officials. This archive contains a wealth of official documents covering various aspects of life in the Galicia District, making it an important source for shedding light on the wartime history of Lviv and the nearby village of Univ.

The Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine Office in Lviv Oblast and the State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine both house important documents pertaining to individuals involved in the rescue of Jews. The first contains materials concerning individuals from the town of Peremyshliany and the village of Univ who assisted Faina Liakher in her escape. This same archive also contains criminal files concerning Father Ivan Lutsyshyn, Hieromonk Iosef (Ivan Shestiuk, 1894-1978), and Schema Monk Vitalii (Volodymyr Matkovskyi). The case of Hieromonk Iosef is of particular interest as it also involves the investigation of Hieromonk Kypriian (Kyrylo Shulhan, 1885-1975) and Schema Monk Luka (Shiian). Shulhan actively participated in caring for Jewish children, while Shiian hid Jews in the basements of the Solid shoe factory in Lviv. Although the criminal files do not mention these activities, they do provide biographical information about these individuals.

A similar situation can be found in the materials of the State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, which contains postwar Soviet criminal cases related to Archimandrite Klymentii (Sheptytskyi) and Hieromonk Herman (Budzinskyi). It is worth noting that the investigators showed no interest in the involvement of these individuals in the rescue of Jews. Such involvement could have provided a basis for confirming their resistance against the Germans, which is why representatives of the state security agencies sought to avoid questions and confessions on this matter. Nevertheless, these criminal files are still valuable for the personal information they provide about individuals involved in rescuing Jews.

Regarding foreign archival institutions, I consulted materials from the Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, the USC Shoah Foundation Institute’s Visual History Archive, and the Archive of Yad Vashem, the National Memorial of the Holocaust and Heroism. Collection 301 of the Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw contains testimonies of Holocaust survivors who lived in the former Second Polish Republic. I referred to documents relating to two individuals – Lili Stern-Pohlmann (1930-2021) and Marlene Volish – with Stern-Pohlmann’s testimony being particularly noteworthy. This was not Stern-Pohlmann’s final recollection of these events. The book incorporates her testimony from various parts of her life, especially that sourced from the USC Shoah Foundation Institute’s Visual History Archive, illustrating how time and circumstances have shaped how survivors recount their pasts.

With respect to the Yad Vashem Archive, the testimonies of Faiga and Anna Fink about their interactions with members of the Studite monastic community in 1943 and 1944 are extremely valuable. Specifically, these accounts provide important insights into the hiding of Jews in the Solid shoe factory and in the orphanage of the Studite Sisters’ convent at 4 Ubocha Street in Lviv.

In terms of university archive collections, I used materials from the Archive of the Institute of Church History of the Ukrainian Catholic University. This archive includes interviews conducted since the early 1990s with laypeople, priests, monks, and nuns who lived through the underground period of the Greek Catholic Church. While the interviewers primarily focused on this aspect of history, mentions of the hiding of Jews are incidental but still significant. The materials provide valuable information about the life stories of those involved in the rescue efforts.

The most valuable data, which helped this study break new ground, was found in monastic archives. In this context, the Archive of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order is particularly noteworthy. For the first time, the leadership of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra has permitted these materials to be examined, enabling an analysis that reveals an overlooked chapter in the Studites’ efforts to shelter Jews within their monasteries. The most extensive collection of such documents is Collection 15. It includes a variety of materials including copies of documents from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, transferred by Kurt Levin. This collection includes testimonies from children who were sheltered by the clergy and monastic community, including Natan Levin, Kurt Levin, Zvi Barnea, Lili Stern-Pohlmann, Leon Chameides, Edward Harvitt, Oded Amarant, and Adam Daniel Rotfeld. It also contains testimonies from Hieromonk Marko (Stek) and Kurt Levin concerning the activities of Archimandrite Klymentii (Sheptytskyi).

This *Fond* also contains the Archimandrite’s reflections on poverty, as well as copies of the recollections of prisoners who were incarcerated with him following his arrest by the Soviet authorities. These include accounts by Ivan Kryvutskyi and Roman Novosad. The personality of Archimandrite Klymentii, like that of his brother, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi, is revealed in testimonies made by family members in the 1980s. Of particular note are the recollections of Anna Sheptytska, Yan Kazymyr Sheptytskyi, Sister Tereza (Sheptytska), and Kateryna Dembinska.

Regarding the Holocaust period, *Fond* 15 contains a valuable set of interviews. This collection is of particular importance, as it includes interviews with elderly residents and testimonies related to the main centers of Studite monasticism. It contains the recollections of residents of the villages of Univ and Yaktoriv, and from people who had lived in wartime Lviv. This collection also houses documents from the German occupation era, including records on the status of the population.

Like *Fond* 15, *Fond* 17 also contains a collection of interviews. The materials in this *fond* date from the 1990s and early 2000s and include interviews with rescued Jews such as Leon Chameides, Mark Vaytraupp, and Schema Nun Maria (Faina Liakher, 1917-2005). It also includes interviews with monks and nuns who assisted these individuals or who were close to them, as well as interviews with residents of the village of Univ. *Fond* 3 contains pre-war and wartime parish books from Univ.

In addition to the collections of the Archive of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra, I also drew on materials from the archives of St. John’s Lavra of the Studite Order and the Holy Protection Monastery of the Studite Sisters. The St. John’s Lavra archive includes the monastic chronicle of Hieromonk Teofan (Shevaha), which recounts the history of Studite monasticism from its revival by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi up until 1944. It describes the history of the community through the eyes of one of its ordinary members, making it rich in descriptions of daily life. The same archive also contains two interesting interviews with Stepan Yaskiv and Anna Kanych, who discuss the interwar and wartime periods of the monastery’s life. Regarding the Archive of the Holy Protection Monastery of the Studite Order, special attention should be paid to letters written by Lili Stern-Pohlmann, who was saved by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi and the Studite Sisters. Like the Archive of St. John’s Lavra, this archive is still in the early stages of development and as yet does not contain a wide array of sources.

For researchers of the pre-liquidation history of the Greek Catholic Church, schematisms(lists of officials issued by Galician dioceses) are unique sources that provide information about the Church’s administrative and territorial structure. In the course of my research for this book, I examined schematisms from the Lviv diocese for the years 1909, 1914, 1927, 1928, 1930, 1931-1932, 1932-1933, 1935-1936, and 1938, and the schematism of the Stanislaviv Diocese for 1938. These documents were all housed in the Rare Book Department of the Vasyl Stepanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv. I also referred to the schematism for the Lviv Archdiocese for 1944, housed in the Archive of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra. These schematisms reflect the dynamics of growth and development of Studite monasticism prior to 1939 and also shed light on the state of the Church and monasteries in 1944.

Material relating to the hiding of Jews by the Studites and related historical events can be found in the published memoirs of people from that era. In terms of Jewish memoirs, I relied on those written by Kurt Lewin,[[64]](#footnote-67) Rabbi David Kahana,[[65]](#footnote-68) Janina Hescheles (1931-2022),[[66]](#footnote-69) and Hugo Steinhaus (1887-1972).[[67]](#footnote-70) Indeed, since their publication the first two sources have effectively become reference works for researchers, as they contain a wide range of information about the rescue efforts.

From the Ukrainian perspective, I have studied the memoirs of Ivan Hirnyi,[[68]](#footnote-71) Volodymyr Hordynskyi (1915-1994),[[69]](#footnote-72) Mykhailo Khamula (1885-1956),[[70]](#footnote-73) and Mykhailo Shkilnyk.[[71]](#footnote-74) These individuals either participated in events themselves or provided testimonies about others who were involved. Regarding priests and church figures, I consulted materials from Cardinal Josef Slipyj (1892-1984),[[72]](#footnote-75) Fr. Mykhailo Sopuliak (1908-1990),[[73]](#footnote-76) Fr. Volodymyr Pelekh,[[74]](#footnote-77) and Fr. Semen Izhyk (1913-1995).[[75]](#footnote-78) In terms of monastic sources, I consulted the memoirs of Hieromonks Antoniy Masiuk OSBM (1917-2011)[[76]](#footnote-79) and Irinei Hotra OSBM (1890-1973),[[77]](#footnote-80) the Great Schema Monk Vasyl (Voronovskyi, 1929-2010).[[78]](#footnote-81) I also referred to personal interviews, such as with Schema Monk Lavrentiy Kuzyk (1912-1999).[[79]](#footnote-82) The interview with Kuzyk is particularly significant for understanding the relationships between Jewish refugees and the Studites up to 1941, as well as the specifics of sheltering Jews from 1942 to 1944. To gain insight into the worldviews of those involved in the rescue efforts, I also referred to articles written by Archimandrite Klymentii (Sheptytskyi),[[80]](#footnote-83) along with Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi’s pastoral letters and personal correspondence.[[81]](#footnote-84)

1. For more on the events surrounding the adoption of the Union of Brest in 1596, see Borys Gudziak, Crisis and Reform. The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1998); Yakovenko, Medieval and Early Modern Ukraine, 213–20; Isydor Nahayevskyi, History of the Roman Universal Pontiffs, *Vol. II.* (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement Pope, 1967), 299–318 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
2. Ihor Skochylyas, Slavia Unita *in the History and Culture of the Kyiv Metropolis from the Late 16th to the 18th Century*. (Lviv-Kyiv: Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 2024) [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
3. Yakovenko, Medieval and Early Modern Ukraine, 313–369; Norman Davies, God’s Playground: A History of Poland. Kyiv: Solomiya Pavlychko, Osnovy Publishing, 2008, 388–409. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
4. Yakovenko, Medieval and Early Modern Ukraine, 491–93; see also: Rostyslav Paran’ko, Ihor Skochylas, and Iryna Skochylas, eds., The Zamość Provincial Synod of the Ruthenian Uniate Church of 1720, *Vol. I: Acts and Decrees* (Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 2021). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
5. For more on the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Kyiv Uniate Metropolis, see: Larry Wolff, Disunion within the Union. The Uniate Church and the Partitions of Poland (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2019). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
6. Nahayevskyi, Roman Universal Pontiffs, 158–70. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
7. For more on Eastern Galicia under Habsburg rule, see also: Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2010). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
8. Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Essay on* the History of Ukraine: The Formation of a Modern Nation in the 19th–20th Centuries. (Kyiv: Yakaboo Publishing, 2000), 84 [in Ukrainian]; Yakovenko, Medieval and Early Modern Ukraine, 493. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
9. See: Vadym Adadurov, ed. and trans., The Division of the Kyiv and the Elevation of the Galician Uniate Metropolises: Documents and Materials from the Vatican Archives, 1802–1808 (Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 2019) [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
10. St. George’s Church in Lviv became a cathedral in 1539, at which time it belonged to the Lviv Diocese of the Kyiv Orthodox Metropolis. In 1700, the Lviv Diocese accepted the Union. For more details on the history of St. George’s Cathedral, see: Volodymyr Vuitsyk, St. George’s Cathedral in Lviv. Architectural Ensemble. Leopolitana (Lviv: VNTL-Klassika, 2013), 136-178 [in Ukrainian]. For more on the Lviv Diocese, see: Ihor Skochylas, The Galician (Lviv) Diocese of the 12th–18th Centuries: Organizational Structure and Legal Status. (Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 2010) [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
11. Hrytsak, Formation of a Modern Nation, 197. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
12. Hrytsak, Formation of a Modern Nation, 147-148. See also: Sviatoslav Pakholkiv, *The Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Hapsburg Galicia: The Educated Class and the Emancipation of the Nation*. (Lviv: Pyramida Publishing, 2014) [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
13. See: Oksana Haiova and Mykhailo Perun: *On the Rock of Faith: Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi*. (Lviv: Apriori Publishers, 2019), 72-115 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
14. Liliana Hentosh, “Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi: Texts and Contexts,” in *Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi. The Spirit of Christ is the Spirit of Democracy: Selected Texts on Socio-Political Issues,* ed. by Liliana Hentosh, Yaroslav Hrytsak, and Myroslav Marynovych (Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 2024), 15 [in Ukrainian]. See also: Magdalena Nowak, *Two Worlds. The Problem of Andrei Sheptytskyi’s National Identification, 1865–1914.* (Gdańsk: University of Gdańsk Press, 2018) [in Polish]. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
15. Hentosh, “Texts and Contexts,” 16 [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
16. See: Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi’s pastoral letter “On the Social Question” (Krekhiv, May 1904), in Hentosh et al., *Spirit of Christ*, 32-77. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
17. See: Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi’s speech in the Austrian Parliament on the need for a Ukrainian university in Lviv (Vienna, June 1910), in Hentosh et al., *Spirit of Christ*, 88-90; Yurii Skira, “The Position of the Greek Catholic Church in the Struggle for Higher National Education in Galicia, 1900-1939.” *Ukraine-Poland: Historical Heritage and Social Consciousness*, no. 9 (2016): 78-90. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
18. See: Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi’s pastoral letter “The Time is Coming,” in Hentosh et al., *Spirit of Christ,* 80-85. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
19. See: Kazymyr Sheptytskyi, “Metropolitan Andrei and the Renewal of the Eastern Monastic Tradition,” in *Blessed Hieromartyr Klymentii (Sheptytskyi): Collected Works,* ed. by Hieromonk Iustyn Boiko (Yurii Boiko) (Lviv: Koleso, 2014), 133-144; Haiova and Perun, *Rock*, 193-240. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
20. Liliana Hentosh, *Metropolitan Sheptytskyi 1923-1939: A Test of Ideals* (Lviv: VNTL-Klasika, 2015), 213-286 [in Ukrainian]/ [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
21. See, for example: Metropolitan Sheptytskyi’s pastoral letter to the clergy and the faithful, “A warning against the threat of communism” (Lviv, August 2, 1936). Hentosh et al., *Spirit of Christ,* 160-180, 188-191; Metropolitan Sheptytskyi’s pastoral letter to the clergy, “Regarding the persecution of the Church in the Kholm region.” (Pidlute, August 1938). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
22. Hentosh*, Texts and Contexts*, 20. See also: Hentosh, *Test of Ideals*, 402-405; Andrii Mykhaileiko, *Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi and the Nazi Regime, 1941-1944: Between Christian Ideals and Political Reality*. (Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 2024), 46-50 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
23. Mykhaileiko, *Nazi Regime*, 21. See also: Hentosh, *Test of Ideals*, 421. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
24. Mykhaileiko, *Nazi Regime*, 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
25. See: Hentosh, *Test of Ideals*, 159-169; Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi’s appeal to the faithful regarding the murder of gymnasium director Ivan Babii (Pidlute, August 1934); Hentosh et al., *Spirit of Christ*, 152-153. For more on the Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian nationalism, see: Oleksandr Zaitsev, Oleh Behen, and Vasyl Stefaniv, *Nationalism and Religion: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement in Galicia, 1920-1930s* (Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 2011) [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
26. See: Mykhaileiko, *Nazi Regime*, 50-63. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
27. For more on the history of the Jews of Eastern Galicia, see, e.g.: Taras Vozniak, *Judaica Galiciensia*. Kyiv; Dukh i Litera, 2017 [in Ukrainian]; Vladimir Melamed. *Jews in Lviv from the 13th to the First Half of the 20th Century: Events, Society, People.* Lviv: Joint Ukrainian-American Enterprise “TEKOP”, 1994 [in Russian]; Yurii Biriulov, *Jewish Architectural Heritage of Lviv*. (Lviv: Old Lion Publishing House, 2022) [in Ukrainian]; Iryna Kotlobulatova, *Jewish Photographers and Photo Studios of Lviv (1860-1939),* (Lviv: Old Lion Publishing House, 2024) [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
28. See: “Pastoral Letter of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi to the Faithful, ‘Thou Shalt Not Kill’.” In: Hentosh et al., *Spirit of Christ*, 246-256. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
29. During the underground period of the Greek Catholic Church, the Soviet authorities did not permit Fr. Ivan Kotiv to return to Ukraine after his incarceration. As a result, Kotiv settled in Kaunas, Lithuania, where he decided to become a monk of the Studite Order and became known as Hieromonk Ioann (Kotiv). [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
30. Now 16 Shevska Street. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
31. As noted, the term “Greek Catholic Church” was coined by Empress Maria Theresa in 1774 and remained the official designation until the Soviet dissolution of the Church in 1946. In the 1990s, the term “Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church” became official and is still in use today. This book uses the term “Greek Catholic Church” on the grounds that this was the official name of the Church during the period of history when the Holocaust occurred. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
32. The author understands the term “Holocaust” (1933-1945) to mean the systematic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million European Jews by Nazi Germany, its allies, and collaborators. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
33. Stepan Baran, *Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi: Life and Works* (Munich: Vernigora, 1947), 115 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
34. Kyrylo Korolevskyi, *Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi (1865-1944)* (Lviv: Svichado, 2015), 490 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
35. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961). [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
36. Leo Heiman, “They saved Jews: Ukrainian patriots defied Nazis,” *Ukrainian Quarterly*, 17, no. 4 (1961): 326-332. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
37. Kurt Levin, “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi and the Jewish Community,” *Svitlo*, no. 11 (1960): 482-486. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
38. Yurii Skira, *Solid: The Shoe Factory of Life.* (Lviv: Choven, 2023), 213 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
39. Ihor Shchupak, ed., *Righteous Among the* *Nations*. (Dnipro: Tkuma Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2016), 82 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
40. Shchupak, *Righteous*, 83. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
41. Shchupak, *Righteous*, 83. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
42. Shchupak, *Righteous*, 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
43. Shchupak, *Righteous*, 84. See also: Yurii Skira, comp., *‘I Am Prepared to Give my Life for You’: The Works of Hieromonk Danyil (Tymchyna)*, *Righteous Among the Nations* (Lviv: Svichado, 2020), 26 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
44. *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytskyi*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989). [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
45. Shimon Redlich, “Sheptytskyi and the Jews during World War II,” in Magosci, *Morality and Reality*, 145-162. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
46. Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective, ed. by Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
47. Aaron Weiss, “Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Western Ukraine During the Holocaust,” in Potichnyj and Aster, *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*, 417-418. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
48. Yaroslav Bilinsky, “Methodological Problems and Philosophical Issues in the Study of Jewish-Ukrainian Relations During the Second World War,” in Potichnyj and Aster, *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*, 382-383, 385-386. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
49. Ihor Mytsko, *The Univ Holy Dormition Lavra at the End of the 18th Through the End of the 20th Century* (Lviv: Svidlo, 1998), 103 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
50. Alexander Khruglov, Andrei Usmansyi, and Ihor Shchupak. *The Holocaust in Ukraine: Reichskommisariat Ukraine; The Transnistria Governorate* (Dnipro: “Tkuma” Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies and LIRA Publishing, 2016), 18-19 [in Russian]. See also: Anna Medvedkovska, *Is There No Such Thing as Someone Else’s Pain? The Holocaust in Ukraine in Public Opinion from the Second Half of the 20th Century to the Beginning of the 21st Century* (Dnipro: “Tkuma” Ukrainian Institute for Holocaust Studies and LIRA Publishing, 2023), 172-209 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
51. Andrii Kravchuk, “The Social Doctrine and Works of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi During the German Occupation,” in *Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi: Documents and Materials 1941-1944*, ed. by Zhanna Kovna (Kyiv: Duh i Litera, 2003), 248-281 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
52. Julian J. Bussgang, “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi: A Reassessment,” in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry Volume 21: 1968 Forty Years After*, ed. by Leszek W. Głuchowski and Antony Polonsky (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 401–25. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
53. Andrii Bolianovskyi, “Between Christian Morality and Inhuman Evil: Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi’s Reaction to the Occupation Policy of National Socialist Germany in Galicia, 1941-1944, From Loyalty to Criticism and Protests,” in *The Second World War and the Fates of the Civilian Population in Eastern Europe. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference in Memory of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi, November 30-December 1, 2015, Kyiv),* ed. by Leonid Finberg (Kyiv: Dukh i Litera, 2016), 7-70 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
54. Liubov Solovka, “Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi: Public Protest Against Nazi Crimes and the Initiation of Efforts to Rescue Jews,” in Finberg, *Civilian Population*, 71-110 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
55. Zhanna Kovba, “The Role of Metropolitan Sheptytskyi in Rescuing the Galician Jews During the Holocaust,” in *Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi: Ecclesiastical-Religious and Socio-Political Activity. Collection of Academic Works*, ed. by Vadym Khmarskyi (Odesa-Lviv, 2007), 52-67 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
56. Mykhaileiko, *Nazi Regime*, 293-296. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
57. Myroslava Keryk, “Strategy and Methods of Rescuing Jews in Lviv, 1941-1944.” *Visnyk of the Lviv University, Historical Series*, Special Issue 2007, 546-566 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
58. Oksana Surmych. *Days of Bloody Swastikas: The Greek Catholic Church During the German Occupation Regime in Ukraine, 1941-1944* (Lviv: Spolom, 2005) [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
59. Viktoriia Chornopyska, *The Religious and Civic Activities of Klymentii Sheptytskyi, 1869-1951* (Lviv: Halytska Vydavnycha Spilka, 2014), 186-187 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
60. Zhanna Kovba, *Humanity in the Abyss of Hell: The Behavior of the Local Population in Eastern Galicia during the Years of the ‘Final Solution to the Jewish Question*’ (Kyiv: Duh i Litera, 2009), 143 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
61. Kovba, *Humanity in the Abyss*, 143-144. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
62. Kovba, *Humanity in the Abyss,* 144-145. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
63. See, for example: Nahum Bogner, *The Convent Children: The Rescue of Jewish Children in Polish Convents During the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Studies, Vol. XXVII, 1999), 235-284; Ewa Kurek, *Jewish Children in Monasteries: The Role of Female Religious Orders in the Rescue of Jewish Children in Poland, 1939-1945* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Replika, 2012) [in Polish]; Mark Paul, ed. and comp., *Wartime Rescue of Jews by the Polish Catholic Clergy: The Testimony of Survivors* (Toronto: Polish Education in North America, 2007); Suzanne Vromen, *Hidden Children of the Holocaust: Belgian Nuns and their Daring Rescue of Young Jews from the Nazis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
64. See: Kurt Lewin, *I Survived: The Saga of St. Jura Written in 1946* (Warsaw: Fundacja Zeszytów Literackich, 2011) [in Polish]; Kurt Lewin, *Journey Through Illusions* (Lviv: Svichado, 2007) [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
65. David Kahana, *Lvov Ghetto Diary* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990). [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
66. Janina Hescheles, *My Lvov: Holocaust Memoir of a Twelve-Year-Old Girl* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Publishers, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
67. Hugo D. Steinhaus, “The Second Occupation,” *The “Ji” Independent Cultural Journal*, no. 58 (2009): 110-125 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
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69. Volodymyr Hordynskyi, “Memories of Father Ioan Peters, the Studite Fathers, and the Sheptytskyi Brothers,” in *Lantern of Truth: Sources for the History of the Ukrainian Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv 1928-1929-1944, Part III*, ed. and comp. by Dr. P. Synytsya (Toronto and Chicago: Students of the Theological Academy, 1983), 463-468 [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
70. Mykhailo Khamula, *Hlyniany: The City of my Carpets: Memoirs of a Ukrainian Industrialist and Organizer of Carpet Weaving in Western Ukraine* (New York: Literaturno-Movna Redaktsiia Leonida Poltavy, 1969) [in Ukrainian]. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
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