

Yuriy Skira


THEY WERE CALLED UPON:
The Monks of the Studite Rule
And the Holocaust

Translated by
Tatianna Gajecky

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This monograph examines the actions of the Studite monks in rescuing Jews during the Holocaust on the territory of the Lviv Archeparchy of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. The author provides answers to various questions dealing with **the sheltering**; shows motives, methods and risks taken on both sides of this endeavor; debunks myths, which arose due to inadequate knowledge of former researchers as to the conditions and capabilities of the rescuers and the locality. The monograph **renews the historical truth** and formulates the complex vision of the participation of the monks in the rescue operation, which happened on the initiative of their archimandrite Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, and saved the lives of several hundred adults and children.

The book is meant for a wide circle of readers. 

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Author's Dedication:

*Dedicated to
My parents Roman and Iryna*

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I feel blessed to have been chosen to translate this very worthwhile book written by Dr. Yuriy Skira. I am grateful to God for the strength and ability to be able to do this, and to Mr. Alexander Kuzma of the UCU Foundation for allowing me to be a part of this important project.

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Tatianna Gajecky - MA in Slavic Languages and Literatures, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; Honors BA in English/Russian, French and Art, College of St. Teresa, Winona, MN - was born to Ukrainian political refugees in a displaced persons' camp in Austria. Though she lived mostly in the US, her life was intricately intertwined with Ukraine. Her parents Dr. Theodosius and Rostyslawa Gajecky instilled in her a deep love and passion for all things Ukrainian - language, faith, history, and traditions.

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A LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AHIW - Archive of the Historical Institute in Warsaw

AIHC UCU - Archive of the History of the Church of the Ukrainian Catholic University

AHDUL - Archive of the Holy Dormition Univ Lavra

AA SBU - Archive of the Administration of the Security Service of Ukraine in Lviv Oblast

NALO - National Archive of the Lviv Oblast

HDA SBU - Branch of the National Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine

GCC - Greek Catholic Church

KDB - Committee of National Security

NKVS - Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs

p. - priest

OUN - Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

s. - sister

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

UGCC - Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

UCU - Ukrainian Catholic University

UPA - Ukrainian Partisan Army

UkrSSR - Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

CNHAUL - Central National Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv

OMHS - Order of the Most Holy Savior (Redemptorists, trans.)

OSBM - Order of St. Basil the Great (Basilians, trans.)

EXPLANATION OF RELIGIOUS NAMES, TERMS, SPECIFIC WORDS ¹



Arkhariy - a person who finished the six-month trial period of a novice and received the first tonsure. This is the first step in the process of monastic ordination. The arkhariy receives his narrow-sleeved cassock, a leather belt and a small hat/skufiya.

Arkhariy-riasofo - after a successful one-year trial period, the arkhariy receives his wide-sleeved cassock and becomes a arkhariy-riasofo. He then professes his temporary vows of piety, which he renews every year as long as he remains an arkhariy-riasofo. One can remain a riasofo until death, if there are obstacles to obtaining the schyma, but the monastery agrees with the wishes of the riasofo. The arkhariat lasts for three years and may not be shorter.

Archeparchy - a church structure that is under the jurisdiction of the archbishop. As a rule, it is the center of the metropoly.

Archbishop - a higher rank than Bishop. In the Eastern Church, the archbishop heads the metropoly, which oversees the eparchies and the archeparchy.

Archimandrite - the head of a male order or monastery. Sometimes the head of the Church gives this title to a celibate priest, who is not a monk, for extraordinary achievements.

Asceticism - an ancient element of religious life, found in all religions. It aims to change a person, deaden in him/her the desires of the flesh or other bodily functions. The goal of Christian asceticism is to cleanse/purify oneself from sin, attain love for God and for neighbor, in order to freely imitate Christ.

Beatification - the first step to canonization in the Catholic Church, meaning being raised to the level of sainthood, counted among the saints.

Divine Liturgy - the Eucharistic Service in the Eastern Churches. The best known Eastern Liturgies are those of St. John Chrysostom and of St. Basil the Great.

Velykoskhymnyk - the highest rank of Church consecration to God. It is achieved through the "Order of the Great Angel image." The monk at this stage does not profess new vows, other than those which he took in the "Order of the Small Angel Image." The Church only demands a solemn renewal of the earlier vows. From monastic attire he receives: a kukil with a red cross embroidered on it and an analav.

Vespers/Vechirnia - a religious service, which is said in the evening, but is liturgically relegated to the next day. There are three types of Vespers: the Great One (before Sunday), Great Vespers with Lytiya (before holydays) and the Everyday Vespers. In monasteries they sometimes also pray the Small (Short?) Vespers.

Ghetto - a separate quarter of a city where the Nazis deported Jews from other parts of that same populated place, or from other towns and villages with the purpose of isolating, controlling and exploiting them as a cheap labor force. On September 21, 1939 the head of the Main Administration of Imperial Security, Gruppenfuhrer of the SS R. Heidrich expressed his thoughts on the need to concentrate the Jews in larger cities. Thus, on October 28, 1939, the first ghetto in Europe was

established - in the city of Piotrkow Trybunalski in Poland. In time, during the war, the ghetto became a refuge prior to the liquidation of the Jewish populace.

Holocaust - the annihilation of a large number of the Jewish population of Europe (close to 6 million people) as a result of an organized extermination of the Jews by the Nazis and their associates in Germany and on the territories seized by her in the years 1939-1945.

Dean - a priest to whom the bishop delegates the supervision of a certain number of parishes (mostly over ten).

Deacon - a person who has received the first rank of ~~the~~ priesthood. The diaconate precedes ordination to the priesthood. Sometimes a person can remain a deacon permanently.

Clergy - the servers of the teaching Church, leaders of communities of the faithful, who preach the teachings of the Church and perform the religious ceremonies.

Seminary - a higher academic institution, whose graduate can become a doctor of theology.

Spirituality - the systematic and contemplative practice of a prayerful – approved by religious precepts - Christian life.

Eucharist - belongs to the Holy Mysteries of Christian Initiation. It is the essence and summation of the faith of a Christian. This is the most important Holy Sacrament, as during the Liturgy bread and wine are mystically transformed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Receiving Holy Communion, the believer receives God Himself. This becomes the source of holiness for him and strengthens him spiritually, helping him to live in the spirit of Christ's faith.

Ecumenism - a worldwide movement among Christians, inspired by the Holy Spirit through prayer and dialog, with the goal of removing any obstacles to uniting the Church into One, which Jesus Christ desired.

Bishop - a presbyter, ordained to the rank of Bishop, who cares about the spiritual and material life of the eparchy. A Bishop is fully a priest and a successor of the Apostles. Bishops ordain others into the Sacrament of the Priesthood.

Eparchy - an ecclesiastical-administrative unit or province headed by a Bishop (equivalent to a diocese in the Roman Catholic Church - ~~trans. note~~).

Religious congregation/order - certain centralized monastic communities have the status of an order, others of a congregation. Congregations and orders are late forms of monastic life. The difference lies in the format and strength of vows.

Abbot/Abbott - the superior of a men's monastery. His rank is lower than that of an Archimandrite.

Hieromonk - a priest-monk.

Canonization - a ceremonial and official declaration by the Church that one of its previously beatified members now resides among the saints in heaven, and can be prayed to.

Chaplain - a priest, who unlike the parish priest, does not work every day in the parish, but serves among the military, in schools, hospitals and in prisons.

Kapitula - in Catholic and Protestant churches, the Bishop's Council, which

consists of clergy and participates in the management of the eparchy.

Cloister - the section of a monastery which is reserved exclusively for the monks or nuns. Outsiders are forbidden to enter there.

Coadjutor - a clergyman in the Catholic Church appointed by the Pope to help a sick Bishop who cannot fully fulfill his duties. He is given the full authority of a bishop and he is his successor.

Conference of Bishops - a gathering of Catholic Bishops from a region or from a country to plan joint pastoral initiatives.

Kryloshanyin/Monsignor - an actual or honorary member of the cathedral, a councilor to the Bishop.

Lavra/Monastery/Abbey - the name of a renowned monastic dwelling place/establishment, which by its historic name, number of monks, and its influence is a large center of religious spiritual culture.

Lay people - the faithful, baptized members of the Church. They do not have God-serving functions.

Metropolia - a church structure which is under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan-Archbishop, which includes eparchies and one (sometimes larger) archeparchy.

Mitered Archbishop - a priest who received the right to wear a mitre/mitra. A Miter (special liturgical headdress, trans.) is given by the Bishop to a deserving priest.

Monastery - a building designated for the dwelling place and prayerful life of men or women, who have taken vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. According to The Typikon, composed by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and Hieromonk Klymentiy Sheptytsky, a monastery is the name of the abode of monks, in which reside a minimum of six skhymnyks, among them at least one hieromonk and one hierodeacon.

Monk - a man who has taken the monastic vows of chastity, poverty and obedience in some monastic community.

Monastic by-laws - rules by which monks and nuns live.

Martyr - a person who gives up his/her life to suffering and death for faith and love to Jesus Christ.

Conversion - transition into another faith/religion.

Novitiate - in the Catholic Church this is the period of preparation and probation for those desiring to embrace a monastic order. The probation period usually lasts one year.

Postulant - a person who has been accepted for a trial period to live in the monastery and discern a vocation to the monastic life. During this time the person wears his/her own civilian clothes. With the permission of the monastery superiors, a person can remain a postulant for the rest of his/her life. Eventually this postulant will receive the narrow-sleeved cassock and a leather belt, but is not a monk.

Nuncio - the permanent diplomatic representative of the Vatican to the countries with which the Vatican has diplomatic relations.

Circumcision - a surgical procedure which removes a part of the foreskin. In

Judaism, circumcision is a component of the ritual which is carried out on the eighth day after the birth of a boy. It symbolizes the union between God and Abraham. Through circumcision each male Jew becomes a participant of the blessings and promises given by God to the Jewish nation.

Pope - the official title of the Head of the Catholic Church and the Bishop of Rome.

Parish - a church and administrative unit of an eparchy, which unites parishioners within a certain designated territory. It is under the pastoral care of a priest-pastor, who is the prior of the parish church. He is confirmed by the decree of the ruling hierarchy.

Pidriasnyk/cassock – the everyday outer garment worn by a priest, monk with narrow sleeves.

Fast - a conscious restriction of food in general or certain aspects of it, of entertainment, and sexual life with the goal of concentrating the faithful's attention on the spiritual life.

Pontificate - the period of a Pope's time in office, one of his titles since the Vth century - the "Supreme Pontiff."

Obedience - a readiness to carry out laws and orders or to recognize as truth, the assertions which come from the highest authority of God.

Tonsure - in the Catholic and Orthodox rites, the cutting or shaving of a part of the hair on the top of the scalp, which accompanies the ordination into the spiritual or monastic state.

Rabbi - a title granted to a person who completes a higher Jewish religious education. It gives one the right to head a religious community, teach in a yeshiva (Jewish school) or to become a member of a religious court.

Recreation - a monk's free time.

Contemplation - according to the Church's teachings: these are reflections/meditations on the truths of the faith and its requirements.

Riasa/Cassock - a long outer garment with wide sleeves worn by a priest of the Eastern Church. A monastic cassock/habit is worn by monks and nuns.

Priest - the second rank of priesthood. Priests administer the Holy Sacraments and do pastoral work in the parishes. Large parishes often have several priests, one of whom is the pastor, the others are his associates.

Zionism - a political movement and ideology, whose aim is the renewal of Jewish statehood and nation on their historical motherland in Israel.

Synagogue - a house of prayer or a building in which Jews study the Torah and pray. Unlike for the Christians, the synagogue is not a temple, but only a place for prayer.

Skyt/Skete - a small monastery, built in **desert-like** places, where the life of the monks is marked by a stricter isolation and restraint.

SS - Defensive detachments of the National-Socialist German Labor Party (in German - Schutzstaffel NSDAP). In the years 1934-1945 they were part of the armed forces of the Third Reich. During the Second World War, the SS became one of the main instruments with whose help the Nazis executed the Holocaust.

Studyty/Studites - the folk name for the monks of the Studite Order.

Skhymonakh-Stavrofor - after completing the Arkhary/Postulant period, a monk joins the rank of experienced monks through the second step of the monastic Church ordination, i.e. through the "Order of the Minor Angel Image" or the "Order of the Mantle" also known as the "Minor Scheme." From this time the monk becomes a skhymnyk or skhymnyk-stavrofor. Accepting the order of the scheme, the monk takes his solemn vows. At this step of his monkhood, the new skhymnyk receives these articles of monastic garb: paraman, a mantle and a chest cross.

Utrenia/Matins - the first morning service of the day.

Baptism - belongs to the Holy Sacraments of the Christian mystery. Through it a person enters and becomes a member of the Mystical Body of Christ - the Church. A priest administers it once in a lifetime by means of a triple pouring of water in the name of the Holy Trinity and in accordance with the rite of the Church. The baptized person receives a grace by which he/she is cleansed of original sin. The Sacrament of Baptism is a prerequisite to receiving other Holy Sacraments. Without it an unbaptized person cannot approach them.

Liturgy of the Hours (Divine Office) - prayers throughout the day. Morning Prayer (Laude) 6-9 AM; Mid-Morning Prayer (Terce) 9 AM-12 PM; Mid-Day Prayer (Sext) Noon - 15 PM (12-3:00 PM); Afternoon Prayer (None) 3:00 PM; Evening Prayer (Vespers) 15-18 (3:00-6:00 PM); Night Prayer (Compline) 9:00 PM. {Trans.}

Judenrat (Jewish Council) - the Jewish Administrative Agency of Self-Rule, which was created by the Nazis in every ghetto with the goal of organizing and controlling the community.

PROLOGUE

The Railway

Boys, we shall yet return!
*Blessed Priest-Martyr
Klymentiy (Sheptytsky), 1939*

Fall 1942. On a railway line Lviv-Pidhaitsi that no longer exists today, a train is moving from Peremyshliany towards the main city of the “Galician District.” In the overcrowded train cars people, destined by the Nazis for death, are setting out on their last journey. Without hope, this locomotive is moving to its destination in Belzec.

After a while, another train starts moving in the opposite direction. It is filled with passengers who are living their everyday lives in wartime. Among them prominently stands out a figure in a black coat, under which a cassock can be seen. This person travels quietly, from time-to-time glancing at the boy who is sitting next to him and trying to hide his anxiety. Together they will come out in Peremyshliany on the same platform, on which people in military uniforms had just loaded the Jews into echelons.

On one track meet death and life. Hopelessness and hope. Murder and rescue. This railway has a deeply symbolic meaning as it shows the extreme into which a person immersed in the world of evil can fall, and how a person should be who lives in accordance with truth and his calling.

The person on the train garbed in black was a monk of the Studite Order. This was one of the members of the monastic community who in the years of the Holocaust responded to the call of his Archimandrite Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky to give aid to the Jews. They took upon themselves the responsibility to rescue these people despite the misfortunes of war, poverty and malnutrition, and the might of the all-penetrating totalitarian system which declared that no Jew would survive. The Studites knowingly decided to offer up their lives in order to save others. Filled with hope in the will of God, they took on this risky work, in which thousands of paths led to peril.

Velykoskhymnyk Anania (Rusyniak), recalling the fall of 1939, clearly remembers the words of the Blessed priest-martyr Klymentiy (Sheptytsky): “Boys, we shall yet return!”² The Abbott/Ihumen of the Holy Dormition Lavra in Univ said these words when he dismissed the novices and postulants to go home, because it was

no longer possible to carry on the normal monastic life due to the oppression of Soviet rule.

The specific task of this book is to bring back the memory of these people, who went defiantly against the system of evil and did what seemed almost unachievable. I thus invite you to the history of those “returned to mind” and those who traveled in the train car which headed towards life.

What Did Previous Historians Not Write About?

A broad view is needed, otherwise why have history at all?

Fernand Braudel,

Letter to his wife dated February 21, 1941

In contemporary Ukrainian historiography thus far there has been no complex research in which the reasons and process of sheltering Jews by the monks of the Studite Order in 1942-1944 have been analyzed from different angles. For a long time, this issue was treated as an addendum to showing the position of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky on the events of the Holocaust in Galicia. That is why the Studites remained dependent on the interest that scholars had in the leader of the UGCC. In the beginning stages of studying the life of the metropolitan, the scholarly circles of the Ukrainian Diaspora mentioned this side of his help to the Jews in the years of the Second World War by several theses which confirmed the fact but did not reveal details. With this, the Studite monks had no role at all as subjects of the process. This is researched in works by S. Baran³ and K. Korolevsky.⁴

This state of affairs is explained by the fact that at that time in world scholarly and community circles there was no serious interest nor developed works in the field of researching the Holocaust.⁵ At the end of the 1950s to the beginning of the 1960s of the 20th c, there was a certain shift on this issue. Raul Hilberg's monograph "The Destruction of the European Jews" comes out in 1961.⁶ It causes an ambiguous reception. It is criticized by Hanna Arendt and representativeness of the Yad Vashem. The author is interested in the question of the bureaucratic machine - how with its help the Nazis destroyed a large part of the Jews of Europe. The work is also important because it instigated an approach to studying the Holocaust, and the "final solution" to the Jewish problem with which the Nazis came up in the process of war. The representatives of the school of Functionalists start to follow his approach. After this work appears, interest in researching the Holocaust as a specific phenomenon of genocide gradually increases.

There are also changes noted in rethinking the problem of relations between Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Jews in the years of the Holocaust. On December 2, 1958, the process of his beatification began in Rome. This led to a detailed professional studying by postulators⁷ of the biography of the candidate and his immediate surroundings. The question of saving Jews took a very important place in confirming the righteousness of the metropolitan's life. Canvassing began, as well as the recording of testimonies of the witnesses and saved people. This gave the opportunity to set up a strong source base in which the role of the monks of the Studite Order is well documented. The Jewish side also became activated, represented by journalists and Jews who had been saved by the Greek-Catholic clergy and monks. The first publications appeared by Leo Heiman⁸ and Kurt Levin,⁹

in which the mechanisms of hiding Jews are described and the Studites who engaged in this work are named.

However, bringing up this question in the framework of the beatification process and the testimonies of Kurt Levin did not evoke scholarly discussions on an international level. The event which finally led this problem onto an open public and scholarly discussion - during which were formed two opposite approaches in understanding the essence of the problem - was the question to Yad Vashem formed by community activists in emigration in 1964, with the request to grant Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky the title of "Righteous of the Nations of the World." This matter turned out to be protracted. From 1964 to 1981 it was examined seven times without any resolution. Researchers S. Redlich and Y. Busgang traced in their works the final theses of Yad Vashem as to the rejection of the application. According to these researchers the assertions brought up by Yad Vashem have no convincing source base. Later, the opposition of views acquired an apologetic character from the side of the defenders of the historic memory of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. The speech of Kurt Levin at the conference dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the archbishop-metropolitan can serve as an example of this.¹⁰

Totally different was the attitude of Yad Vashem to recognizing the merits of the Studite monks in saving the Jews. From 1976 they started awarding them the title of "Righteous of the Nations of the World." The first was the Abbess of the Holy Protection Monastery Mother Josepha (Olena Viter).¹¹ In 1984 two monks were deemed worthy of receiving this award.¹² These were schemamonks Theodosiy (Theodor Tsybrivsky) and Lazar (Luka Shyian), who saved sixteen Jews in the building of the "Solid" shoe factory in Lviv. The following year 1985, the hieromonk Nykanor (Mykolay Deynega)¹³ received the honor. He was the former prior of the Monastery of the Martyr-priest Josaphat in Lviv, who after the death of hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) in 1951 became the clandestine Archimandrite of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order, and from 1972 carried out the duties of Auxiliary Bishop of the Lviv Archeparchy.

In 1995 the titles of Righteous were received by the main coordinators of the Jewish rescue operation of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky - the hieromonks: Klymentiy (Kasimir Sheptytsky) and Marko (Mykhailo Stek).¹⁴ The awarding of this title to the archimandrite of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) and the continued refusal in the matter of his own brother, at whose will and request he accomplished all the work laid on him with helping Jews in Lviv, again confirms the politicization and prejudice of the representations of Yad Vashem against Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. The last Studite monk thus far to receive the title of "Righteous of the Nation of the World" was hieromonk Danyil (Dmytro Tymchyna).¹⁵ These three hieromonks still remain beyond the attention of the public and of scholars: Herman (Hryhoriy Budzinsky), Yuriy (Ivan Makar) and Ioan (Iohan Peters). They also played an important role in sheltering

Jewish children and adults but remain unacknowledged by Yad Vashem because their merits haven't been researched by Ukrainian historians.

Although in the 1970-80s, Yad Vashem started recognizing the merits of the Studite monks, the above-mentioned problem still remains without the necessary attention of professional diaspora historians. The lead and promotion of this was handled by people who had survived the Holocaust and were grateful to the Studites. The most prominent figure among them was American economist Kurt Levin who constantly brought up the problem, sent requests to Yad Vashem, studied archives in Europe, took an active interest in the beatification process of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and published memoirs. At that time the main executors of the saving of the Jews - Marko (Stek) and Ioan (Peters) - were still alive in western countries, but no one interviewed them nor tried to research this question. This brought about the loss of valuable information from the mouths of first-hand sources. The lack of research by Ukrainian scholars in this area caused the fact that this aspect of the Holocaust was not entered into the context of the general processes and not singled out in it. That time was significant because the foundations of a complex vision of the Holocaust issue were being laid out by world researchers, but the Ukrainian church experience remained not used and was not incorporated into it.

To better understand that era, it is necessary to consider the main discussions of that time about the Second World War. In 1975 a monograph by Lucy Dawidowicz came out called "The War Against the Jews."¹⁶ In it the author explains the Holocaust by saying the Germans had an innate anti-semitism. This work started a school of Intentionalists, which believed that Hitler had a plan to annihilate Jews from the very beginning. The afore-mentioned Functionalists came out in opposition. In the 1980s there were heated debates between them which became the foundation for forming a mixed approach whose main thesis was that the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 caused the Holocaust. Examples of this approach can be found in the works by S. Friedlander,¹⁷ P. Burrin¹⁸ and R. Breitman.¹⁹

In the 1980s ~~of the 20th c.~~ the debates continued not only among American researchers. In 1986-1987, German historians also argued about the Second World War and the Nazi past.²⁰ Historical memory was at stake. As V. Rulynsky notes, the researchers who rallied around E. Nolte, proposed the thesis about the inadmissibility of the destruction of national greatness and tried not to accentuate the mistakes of the past.²¹ They did not see an exception in the crimes of the Nazis. Their view was based on the effort to free the German people from accountability for the crimes of the Nazis. The opponents of these historians were scholars who rallied around J. Habermas, who emphasized the necessity of telling the truth about all crimes of prior generations. He saw in this the guarantee of a healthy future for the German Federation. This group won, which led to the realization by the German society that there is collective accountability for all the wrongdoing of the National-Socialists (Nationalsozialismus) to this day.²²

All these debates in various scholarly circles about the Holocaust and the Second World War could not leave the Catholic Church without participation and expression of its own position. For the Judeo-Catholic dialogue about the past and present, the definitive moments came in the events of 1985-1986 when Pope John Paul II took the first steps to establish full-fledged bilateral relations between the two sides.²³ In the following years the relations developed and the theme of rethinking the Holocaust attained its own important status. On June 14, 1987 while in Warsaw, Pope John Paul II named the Holocaust the universal symbol of evil.²⁴ In 1988 an official document came out called "We Remember: Reflections About Shoah," where the position of the Catholic Church was laid out. The document was ambiguously received by Jewish society.²⁵ The biggest problem throughout many years for both sides was how to treat the actions of Pope Pius XII. Some representatives from the Jewish side accused him of "silence" in the years of the Holocaust.

A similar critical view is also held by the Yad Vashem. Certain other western researchers also supported the thesis of the pontiff's weak involvement and his passivity. An example of this is the monograph by J. Cornwell.²⁶ To this day, this question hasn't had an unequivocal treatment and remains unsolved, as does the matter of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. In this context it is worth noting that in the year 2000 The International Catholic-Jewish Historical Commission in its report "Vatican and the Holocaust" acknowledged Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky as the "only hierarch of the Catholic Church who had the courage to condemn the Nazi campaign against the Jews."²⁷ However, this recognition did not result in changing the view of the scholars who are critical of the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

Against the background of historical discussions of the 1980s, there appeared in the Ukrainian diaspora scholarly circles a well-recommended collection called "Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrey Sheptytsky" edited by P. R. Magoczi.²⁸ This was the first work in which professional researchers from different countries examined various aspects of the activity of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. The question of saving the Jews was treated by Israeli researcher S. Redlich.²⁹

With the acquisition of independence by Ukraine in 1991, research on the saving of the Jews by the monks of the Studite Order reached great possibilities. There were still survivors of those events, however, there was no historian interested in this question. The archives of the Institute of History of the Church at the Ukrainian Catholic University have preserved several interviews with these people. However, the interviewers of that time were more interested in the aspect of the underground of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, thus the materials on skhemonk Herman (Budzinsky) and hieromonk Vitaliy (Matkovsky) do not contain any discussion on sheltering Jews. In that period scientific-popular works also started appearing in which this theme was present, but not professionally highlighted, with

a certain coloring of religious triumphalism characteristic of the ~~90s of the 20th c.~~, and a manipulation of the numbers of saved Jews. In this key, the monograph by I. Mytsko about the history of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra was very important, where he correctly names the number of persons hidden in the local orphanage.³⁰

Although the opportunity to get the last valuable testimony from the mouths of the participants was lost, this theme achieved a new opportunity to take its place in the researching of the Holocaust in Ukraine, which had just begun to be formulated. From 1991, we can distinguish three periods of incipience in the Ukrainian historiography of the Holocaust: the very beginning (1991-1995), when the theme was being freed from the ideological engagement of the Soviet past; the years 1996-2000, when the first articles, monographs and dissertations started appearing; and the period from 2000 until now which is characterized by a fundamental research of various regional aspects of the Holocaust.³¹ The matter of the participation of the monks of the Studite Order in saving Jews as seen in the works of Ukrainian scholars finally found its place in the third period. But it was never researched separately. It was always briefly mentioned as a component of the process of rescuing Jews by the representatives of the UGCC, mostly in the framework of highlighting the person of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. This is examined in the works of A. Kravchuk,³² Yu. Bustang,³³ A. Bolianovsky,³⁴ L. Solovka,³⁵ and Z. Kovba.³⁶ A Kravchuk, in particular, examines the role of Studite monks in sheltering Jews while analyzing the social teachings of the metropolitan.³⁷ He describes the system which the circle of the head of the GCC was able to create, and using hieromonk Marko (Stek) as an example shows the concrete sector under the supervision of individual Studites.³⁸ A. Bolianovsky, in turn, widely uses the memoirs of saved Jews. He gives an analysis of the practical side of hiding Jews by the Studites in the rooms of the “Solid” shoe factory in Lviv.³⁹ Just as A. Kravchuk, Bolianovsky singles out an individual and points out the role of a Studite using hieromonk Ioan (Peters) as an example.⁴⁰ The approach of Yu. Bustang is different. While describing the act of saving Jews, he does not name any Studite monks except for hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky), describing the process without its main participants. He does not incorporate them into the story, just gives a list of them later.⁴¹

If the above-mentioned researchers raise this question, focusing on the personage of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, then M. Keryk and O. Surmych touch him in the framework of the description of the period of German occupation. M. Keryk, in particular, in her article “Strategies and methods of saving Jews in Lviv in the years 1941-1944”⁴² describes the aspect of the participation of Greek-Catholic clergy in this process. In addition, she utilizes the memoirs of Rabbi D. Kahane and L. Sintern. The researcher does not concentrate on particular Studite monks but describes the course of events in general outlines. O. Surmych, on the other hand, in her monograph “The Days of Bloody Swastikas: The Greek Catholic Church in the Period of the German Occupation Regime in Ukraine (1941-1944),” having a similar task, gives the names of several monks and defines their responsibilities.⁴³

V. Chornopys'ka is one of the few researchers who recounts the action of rescue in more detail, in her accounts of the Studite-performers in her monograph, which is dedicated to the religious and public activity of Blessed Reverend Martyr Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). In it, she distinguishes the role of the Ihumen of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra in hiding children, and accurately emphasizes the coordination of his actions with the Ihumenia Josepha (Viter). She also comes to the proper conclusion that hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) gave aid to the Jews not from political or other motives, but for the reason of "applying Christian ethics in practice."⁴⁴

Nevertheless, as of now, the greatest contribution to showing the participation of monks of the Studite Order during the rescue action of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky has been made by Z. Kovba in her monograph about the behavior of the local population of Galicia during the Holocaust. In it she lists the participants of the coordinating group and their assignments.⁴⁵ She outlined the methods and places of hiding.⁴⁶ She described the fate of several Jews, who were helped by the Studites, and the difficulties and dangers which they encountered. She also examined the contribution of the monks and nuns of the Studite Order in helping the Jews.⁴⁷

Among dissertational works, the specified problem was partially developed in the research of D. Slobodynsky and O. Voytiuk. D. Slobodynsky, pausing on the description of the action by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, in his dissertation "Rescue of Jews by Ukrainians in the years of the Second World War" mentions its main participants from among the Studite monks. He notes the tasks in this process assigned to hieromonks: Marko (Stek), Herman (Budzinsky), Kyprian (Shulhan), and Nykanor (Deyneha).⁴⁸ In particular, he focuses on the figures of hieromonks Nykanor (Deyneha) in the context of his work in saving Jewish children, and on Klymentiy (Sheptytsky), analyzing his activity in sheltering Kurt Levin.⁴⁹ However, writing about hierodeacon Danyil (Tymchyna), he contradicts himself. In one sentence he calls him "skhymnyk Danyil" and notes that he took care of more than 200 Jewish children in the orphanage at Holy Domination Univ Lavra.⁵⁰ But, in the next sentence he correctly states that he only took care of three.⁵¹ The topic chosen by the researcher embraces a very wide geographical specter, therefore he was not able to study in detail and concentrate on separate aspects, particularly on the Studites.

Olha Voytiuk in her dissertation "Social-cultural Activity of the Monks of the Studite Order of the Greek-Catholic Church (1898-1947)" devotes a special section to this problem. In it she accentuates the tight cooperation between the hieromonks Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) and Ioan (Peters) and Mother Josepha (Viter) in the matter of saving Jews.⁵² She concentrates on describing the activity of Ihumen Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). In particular, she points to the identifying documents and the coordination of escorting the Jews to the monasteries.⁵³ She notes that he supported

Ukrainians who were helping Jews.⁵⁴ There is some doubt, however, and need for additional explanation for her assertions that the Studites brought the Jews medicines, food products and especially religious literature, which, the author claims that they printed in the monastery, the name of which she does not provide.⁵⁵ At the same time, Olha Voytiuk correctly asserts the role of hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) in creating a reliable group of co-workers among the Studite monks.⁵⁶ She also correctly names the person Marko (Stek) as one of the co-organizers of the action, and the related work of hieromonk Nykanor (Deyneha) in the Monastery of the Saint-Martyr Josaphat in Lviv.⁵⁷ While describing the actions of the monks, the author does not forget to mention the Studite sisters, especially their role in hiding the children.⁵⁸ Another positive note is the description of the Studite monasteries, in which aid was given to the Jews.⁵⁹ There is reservation only as to the conclusions. In them, the author indicates that Ihumen Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) hid some of the Jewish children in the Holy Dormition Univ Lavra in the guise of novices.⁶⁰ This assertion is not completely true, because as was aforementioned, there were only three Jewish boys in the Lavra orphanage, and Kurt Levin was the only novice during war time, who was hidden there as such for several months. Overall, this specific work, aside from certain mistakes, does a good job of highlighting the general picture of the participation of the Studite monks in helping the Jews in the years of the Holocaust.

Speaking of conclusions, it is worth noting that after seventy-three years of attempts at getting a complete picture of the participation of Studite monks in rescuing Jews, there has not yet appeared a work which could answer the many and varied questions as to this process. The Studite monks ended up on different sides of the "Iron Curtain." The main participants in this endeavor, who lived in the western world - the hieromonks Marko (Stek) and Ioan (Peters) ended up in disgrace due to disagreements with the monastic community of the Holy Dormition monastery in Woodstock (Canada) and with different hierarchs of the GCC, as it was with Archbishop Ivan Buchko. Those Studites, who remained on the territory of the Soviet Union lived under constant threats and persecutions. They did not have the time or possibility to make sense of the work experienced by their community in the years of the Holocaust. Therefore, there was no integral transfer of this historical memory about these events by the pre-liquidation generation of monks to the future generation. Without the intervention of researchers this side of church history would be doomed for mythologization and oblivion.

Previous research, which began to appear in the era of Ukraine's independence, became predictors that this theme would evolve and had perspective. Their drawback was that they concentrated too much on the figure of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, using documents that had been published a long time ago, or, in the best-case scenario - the testimonials of rescued Jews from foreign archives. This led to the development of a certain system of transferring information, which passed from article to article, depriving the research of originality. Thus arose the

need for narrower complex research, built on the analysis of unpublished documents from government, foreign and church archives. This book has as its goal to undo this scholarly problem and open a new page in understanding the process of the participation of the Studite monks in rescuing the Jews on the territory of the Lviv GCC archeparchy.

CHAPTER 1

THE POSITION OF METROPOLITAN ANDREY SHEPTYTSKY, ARCHIMANDRITE OF THE STUDITE MONKS, TOWARDS THE NAZI POLITICS OF THE “FINAL SOLUTION” OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM

The Relations of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky with the Jews of Galicia/ ~~Halychyna~~ Prior to the Beginning of the Second World War

While researching the rescue action of saving Jews by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in the years of the Holocaust, it is necessary to emphasize that the head of the GCC had active contacts with the representatives of this people throughout the duration of his service as Archbishop of Lviv. Therefore, this aid was not spontaneous. The Metropolitan was well-versed in the processes which were happening in the lives of the Jews in Galicia/~~Halychyna~~. He was acquainted with the Jewish cultural, community and religious activists. Often ordinary Jews turned to him in need, and he helped them. He was esteemed among Jewish intelligentsia. Through these contacts and experience of communication his vision of Jewishness began to form. These listed factors combined with the Christian duty to help one's neighbor became that which led Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky to a position of resistance to the Nazi regime and to rescuing the condemned Jews.

The cited themes coincide with the understanding of relations between the sides, which were drawn in the matter of beatification of the metropolitan, begun in 1958. Article 59 of the initiation process for the beatification and canonization of the Servant of God Andrey Sheptytsky states: “Many times he showed his goodwill towards the Jews, who lived in great numbers in Lviv; in 1903, he sent the administration of the Jewish community in Lviv a sizable charitable contribution, together with a letter full of expressions of Christian love, and this was written by his own hand in the Hebrew language.”⁶¹

This quoted passage requires an explanation of the separately declared **theses**. First of all, the aspect of the letter. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky began to study Hebrew while still a student.⁶² In his older age, he continued this endeavor and apparently achieved notable success. Regarding the contribution mentioned in

the document, this was for the Jewish hospital on Ya. Rappoport St. in Lviv.⁶³ This action by the Metropolitan needs to be clarified and understood through the prism of the overall charitable activity of the head of the Church. It did not exclude the Jews, but just the opposite: they were one of the areas to where funds were sent. This was a regular event, evidenced by the frequent donations to the poorest Jews on the eve of Passover (Pesach).⁶⁴ Cooperation here was bilateral. The Jews knew that they could ask for help and did this when needed both collectively⁶⁵ and individually, as seen in the case of artist and sculptor Leopold Kretz.⁶⁶

The reason for such attention to the Jews by the head of the GCC was a desire to move them towards faith in Jesus Christ. The metropolitan clearly writes about this on July 26, 1902 in a pastoral letter to the clergy called "About the canonical visitation." In it he notes that when he is on a canonical visitation, Jews often come out to see him with a Torah.⁶⁷ He normally replies to their greeting with a short sermon in Hebrew. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky explains this as being his obligation to preach the Gospel to those who are ready to listen. By using Hebrew, the Metropolitan desires to touch the religious feelings of the Jews, nudging them to "expectation, love, and a search for the Messiah." At the same time, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky does not expect great results from this work.⁶⁸ But, he believes that "every thread of Christian love towards our neighbor, tied between believers and non-believers, can by the grace of the Almighty become an occasion to bring them closer to Christ's teachings."⁶⁹ The results of such activity showed up a few decades later. In 1937 Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky reacted favorably to the idea of creating a Judeo-Christian community in Lviv, an idea which had been nurtured by certain representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia. For the needs of this community, he designated the chapel on St. George's hill, and the spiritual care would be provided by Fr. Ivan Kotiv, who spoke Yiddish well. Statutes were developed, which foresaw that after receiving Christianity, the Jews would retain their national identity and traditions. The members of this community would use the western-Syrian rite of the Melchite Greek-Catholic Church, whose liturgical texts seemed most appropriate at this beginning stage of development. However, the Second World War prevented the full-fledged embodiment of this project.⁷⁰ During the Holocaust, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, as well as his entourage, did not engage in conversations and actions directed to pushing the Jews sheltered by him towards Christianity. This was considered a matter of the future, when people would have a free choice, and not act out of fear or a hopeless situation.

These particular inner convictions of the metropolitan obviously did not influence the behavior of the leading Jewish religious and community activists towards him. This was confirmed by the situation which arose in 1935 when the metropolitan had a jubilee. The Roman Catholic clergy ignored this occasion, while the rabbi of the progressive synagogue "Temple" Dr. Ezekiel Levin and representatives of the Jewish community came to the metropolitan palace and greeted the honoree in the name of the Jewish community of Lviv. Kurt Levin notes in his memoirs that this

was a “sign of respect, as well as a form of protest against the intolerance and animosity that was displayed by Roman Catholic clergy against Jews and Greek-Catholics.”⁷¹ The words of the greeting on this occasion were also printed in the Jewish newspaper “Khvyliya” (The Wave, trans.).⁷² The next year, 1936, a similar delegation came to honor the metropolitan, this time on the anniversary of his enthronement.”⁷³

At that time, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was the only member of the Greek-Catholic hierarchy, who was so highly regarded among the Jews of Galicia/Halychyna, and who displayed such an interest in their life in the Polish Commonwealth.⁷⁴ Chronologically, the roots of this popularity were revealed in the first years of his service as a Bishop. The date fixed in sources is May 20, 1902. That is when the metropolitan was doing his visitation to Rohatyn. When he arrived in the center of the town, a Jewish delegation was already waiting for him with the Torah.⁷⁵ When they came closer, the head of the GCC “raised his hand, placed his fingers to his lips, and then touched the Torah with them.”⁷⁶ A similar episode was recorded in the memoirs of Mykhailo Khamula about the metropolitan’s visitation to Hlyniany in 1913.⁷⁷ The visit to Rohatyn was capped with Jews filling up the church yard the next day as Metropolitan Sheptytsky came out of the Nativity of Mary Church⁷⁸ after finishing the Hierarchical Divine Liturgy. And when he was departing from the train station, a huge crowd of Jews came to see him off.⁷⁹ This visitation to Rohatyn remained with the metropolitan for the rest of his life and subsequently found a response. A Canadian historian of Ukrainian descent Andriy Kravchuk notes that perhaps it was the Rohatyn pogrom in 1942 which led to an unprecedented act in the history of the Third Reich - the writing of a protest letter by the Head of the Church to H. Himmler concerning the extermination of Jews and the engagement in this of the Ukrainian police.⁸⁰

Another interesting incident with Andrey Sheptytsky happened in 1909. While the metropolitan was staying at the residence of Galician metropolitans in Univ, a Jewish choir came up to the window of his cell on the eve of the Dormition of the Most Holy Theotokos (~~Assumption of Our Lady~~).⁸¹ They sang Jewish and Ukrainian songs for him, and afterwards he treated them to wine.⁸²

On the other hand, one can assume that such welcoming encounters of Jews with Greek-Catholic hierarchs on the territory of the Lviv archeparchy became a sort of tradition in the interwar period. There is evidence that similar episodes occurred with both Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and with his Auxiliary Bishop Ivan Buchko (1891-1974).⁸³ The latter claims in the newspaper “Dilo” on September 18, 1936, that he is very moved when the Jews greet him in their Yiddish language on the occasion of his visitations.⁸⁴

In such manner, the Jewish side expressed its desire to deepen the dialogue and eventually asked the episcopate to define its position on Zionism and the idea of renewing Jewish statehood in Palestine. The first to appear in the press was the above-mentioned Bishop Ivan Buchko. In an interview published by “Dilo,” he very

sharply spoke out against any kind of manifestation of anti-Semitism, particularly the beating of Jewish students and people who visit Jewish shops.⁸⁵ He declared his solidarity with the statements of German and Austrian Cardinals, who stood in defense of the dignity of the Jews.⁸⁶ He condemned Nazism, pointing out certain components, such as neo-paganism and the burning of books.⁸⁷ He claimed that the Jews should have their own state and that they will certainly achieve it as a result of their struggle.⁸⁸

In that same spirit, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky also expressed himself in July of 1939. In a conversation with a representative of the Jewish press, he declared: "I was always a supporter of the idea of the renaissance of the Jewish nation and the restitution of the Jewish State in Palestine. I consider Zionism to be a national/peoples' movement - both natural and healthy."⁸⁹ Towards the end, the metropolitan added: "Your fight for freedom is difficult and many obstacles lie on your path. Persevere and believe in the victory of your ideals. A nation, which contributed so much to human culture, will illuminate the world with a splendid vision of the resurrection of its Motherland from ruins, and its entrance into the family of free nations. My sympathy is on your side. It is with pleasure that I certify the development and successes of Zionism. It is with great satisfaction that I learn about the progress in the work of rebuilding Palestine, the blossoming of the country and the formation of a new type of Jew. I believe that all efforts will be crowned with full victory."⁹⁰

It is also worth noting, that for Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Palestine was not an unknown land. Both in August 1905 and in September 1906 he was there personally with pilgrims from Halychyna/Galicia.⁹¹ He even had the idea to found a pilgrimage center in the Holy Land,⁹² but was not able to bring this plan to fruition.

With the beginning of the Second World War, the metropolitan's attitude towards the Jews remained unchanged. It just acquired a new understanding of their situation in the framework of those geopolitical changes. This is witnessed in the memoirs of Fr. Volodymyr Pelekh, the academic secretary of the leader of the Greek-Catholic Church, in the events of September 1939. He writes: "Out of curiosity I ran down the Petro Skarha street down to Horodetska Street, to see the 'liberators.' There were already groups of people waiting on the sidewalk. Shortly, from the side of the church of St. Anne, there came the noise of tanks, and then the tanks themselves appeared, with Soviet soldiers peering out of them. One of the first tanks stopped not far from me, because they saw a woman with a Semite countenance, who lifted a bouquet of flowers, after kissing the dusty metal of the machine. When the tank commander smiled and thanked her, she and her other cronies, called out 'Long live the Red Army!' under the indulgent glances of similar silent bystanders. Upon returning to the palace, I told the Metropolitan about this incident, and he said that not all of 'them' (meaning the Jews) were wealthy, and that they welcome the muscovites because it is already in their nature to be opportunists, even more so since in present Germany they have undergone a lot of evil

and wrongdoing.”⁹³ On this note it will be interesting to hear the thoughts of another representative of the hierarchy of the Lviv archeparchy, Bishop Ivan Buchko. Even back in 1936 he did not agree with the accusations of massive Jewish participation in the Communist movement due to the peculiarities of their individualistic mentality, sometimes even justifying the Communist Jews with historical and social-economic aspects.⁹⁴ He emphasized that the likes and actions of individuals could not be applied to the whole.⁹⁵

The Metropolitan continued to maintain contacts with representativeness of the Jewish religious leadership during the first Soviet occupation. Kurt Levin, recalling this period, writes that “secret visitors” started coming to see his father Rabbi Ezekiel Levin. These were people from Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.⁹⁶ The matter of the fact is that the events of the jubilee of the leader of the GCC in 1935 started a friendship between him and the rabbi.⁹⁷ “The Metropolitan and my father exchanged thoughts and consulted on what to do in this difficult situation. It was too dangerous for my father to show up in St. George’s Cathedral, therefore the conversations were held through emissaries. Eventually, I learned that they talked mainly on how to deal with the overwhelming taxes imposed on religious institutions, and how to understand the official Soviet policy concerning religion. All these transactions took place in utter secrecy, because the situation of Metropolitan Andrey in those days was also perilous.”⁹⁸

The beginning of the German-Soviet war and the following events of genocide again the Jews became the final stage in the relations between the metropolitan and representatives of the Jewish people. At the moment of the beginning of the German occupation, the leader of the GCC had forty years of experience of close contacts with the Galician Jewry, which in the 1930s turned into cooperation. This cooperation consisted first of all in establishing a dialogue with regional cultural and religious leaders of the Jewish people, and of creating a Judeo-Christian community in Lviv. On the other hand, it is worth noting that flexibility and diplomacy were characteristic of the metropolitan, and they made conflicts impossible in questions of faith with people of other religions or confessions. Plus, the conviction that choosing Christianity must happen as an act of free will influenced the fact that during the Holocaust he did not have conversations about conversion nor about preaching the Gospel to people who had lost their freedom.

During the interwar period, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky did not avoid sharp political questions which, in those times and in those social moods, could have harmed him. In particular, he openly supported Zionism and the idea of creating a Jewish state in Palestine. He tried to prevent the development of antisemitism among the Ukrainian community. During the first Soviet occupation, the leader of the GCC continued negotiations with separate Jewish religious activists. This uninterrupted contact caused a consistent behavior of resistance to the Nazis by the metropolitan in the years of the Holocaust and a transition to extreme measures, which consisted of saving all the Jews who turned to him for help.

Pastoral Letters of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky as a Form of Protest Against the Holocaust

The beginning of the German-Soviet war gave birth to a hope among the population of Galicia for swift changes after two years of Soviet terror. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in the circumstances of that time immediately outlined his model of inter-ethnic relations in the Pastoral letter on the occasion of the proclamation of a Ukrainian State on July 1, 1941. In it, he writes: "From the government called to life by Him (God), we await wisdom and a just leadership of citizens, who would consider the needs and the good of all citizens living in our country, regardless of their faith beliefs, nationality/~~ethnicity~~, or social status."⁹⁹ In regards to that, Rabbi David Kahane notes: "This very excerpt from the metropolitan's letter, so important for the Jews, tell us a lot about its author. In those insane days, public pronouncements about responsibility or tolerance towards adherents of other religions, by which the metropolitan - not hiding it - primarily meant the Jews, required a lot of courage and an unwavering moral foundation."¹⁰⁰ Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky continued this line of thinking, which began with this pastoral letter, with some modifications contingent on the development of events, until the end of the German occupation.

Not long after these events, the metropolitan began to comprehend the threat to the Jews from the Nazis. After the arrival of the German army, the residents of Lviv were exposed to the horrific crimes committed by the NKVD/~~NKVS~~ in the prisons. The Nazis skillfully took advantage of this situation and provoked a pogrom directed by them but committed by the local population.¹⁰¹ Kurt Levin recalls: "The next morning people came to us and said that a Ukrainian mob is attacking Jews in the city. My father put on the robe, which a rabbi wears during a service (similar to a cassock), and black gloves, asked me to translate a few sentences from Polish into Ukrainian, and then, accompanied by two elders from our community, went to see Metropolitan Andrey at St. George's. The metropolitan received him immediately. Father mentioned how the metropolitan had many times expressed his friendship towards the Jewish community. Now father emphasized that in the face of deadly menace he begs for help in the name of the Lord. The metropolitan was stricken by the news of the atrocities committed by his people. He immediately promised to turn to the German authorities, and also to send priests and monks into the streets to stop the pogrom. He proposed that my father remain in his residence until everything calms down in the city. Father replied that his place is with his community and that he is going back."¹⁰² This visit of Rabbi Ezekiel Levin is also mentioned in the "Memoirs" of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj: "Persecution of Jews and all kinds of retaliation began then. That is when I escorted Rabbi Levin to the Metropolitan, and later coming out of the palace, he met me and was very happy, saying that he will thank God if the children are saved, but he wishes to share his fate with his people."¹⁰³ The rabbi's refusal to accept shelter at

the metropolitan's had fatal consequences for him. He was killed by the Germans that very day, along with other Jews brought with him, in the courtyard of the "Brygidka" prison.¹⁰⁴ About the ensuing events of the July pogrom, Kurt Levin adds: "A Ukrainian mob continued to attack the Jews for another day or two. Then, under the influence of the priests and monks sent by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the crowd calmed down."¹⁰⁵ These events obviously had a huge effect on Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. In his letters he began to warn young people against actions and deeds aimed at killing and pogroms.

The Metropolitan had complicated relations with the new government. Father Mykhailo Sopuliak remembers: "The Germans knew perfectly well how highly respected the Metropolitan was among the Ukrainian people, thus, in the first few months of the German occupation they visited him regularly trying to get his influence for their politics. The Metropolitan continuously refused. So the visits of the German dignitaries became rarer, and in 1944 almost no one from the official Germans came anymore, because they knew in advance that the metropolitan would not sign any appeal or address to the Ukrainian population, but instead would draw out from his records a letter from Ukrainians in Germany, or from some Ukrainian village and would ask them with a good-natured smile how and if it is possible that under German rule people could be so oppressed and persecuted."¹⁰⁶ Therefore, the "attitude of the German authorities towards the Metropolitan was cold, if not hostile. The Germans did not trust the Metropolitan because they saw him as the embodiment of the Ukrainian spirit of resistance and the patron of the Ukrainian underground."¹⁰⁷

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky could not openly protest against the constantly more threatening policy of anti-Semitism because of the censure and watchfulness of the Gestapo. Consequently, he chose an indirect way of communication, in-between the lines in his letters, where he expressed himself against the crimes of the government. Already on July 10, 1941, in his pastoral letter "About the organization of parishes and the community" the Metropolitan warns those, who "try to cause actions which contradict the conscience and God's commandments."¹⁰⁸ In the Acts of the Metropolitan Ordinariat there is an unpublished letter "About the crime of homicide" from October 9, 1941. In it the Metropolitan writes: "The crime of murder goes against the deepest foundations of the culture of a nation, because the first postulate of that culture is respect for human life. A nation that does not know how to respect human life is a savage nation, not worthy of standing with the Christian nations of the world."¹⁰⁹ In this epistle Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky also mentions the position of the government: "Let the young people know that there is not a government in the world that could allow, approve or demand the crime of homicide. And there is no government that could rule something against God's laws."¹¹⁰ These thoughts will be developed later in a future letter "Do not kill."

In February 1942 the Metropolitan takes an incredible step for his time - he writes a protest to the Reichsfuhrer SS Heinrich Himmler. In it the Metropolitan

complains about how the Germans treat the local population, particularly the Jews, and protests against the use of Ukrainian police in anti-Jewish actions.¹¹¹ Andriy Kravchuk makes the assumption that this letter possibly originated as a response to the Jewish pogrom in Rohatyn.¹¹² Rabbi David Kahane, who personally saw and read this letter, writes: "In the letter to Himmler the Metropolitan exhorts the Germans to not enlist the Ukrainian policemen into operations whose aim was the extermination of Jews."¹¹³ Father Mykhailo Sopuliak thus described the circumstances of the writing of this document: "It was the beginning of 1942. All of Lviv was under the oppressive weight of the evacuation of the Jewish population. Everywhere you could feel the tense and unbearable atmosphere. I went to see the Metropolitan. Although he did not leave his room, the metropolitan was closely informed about the events in Lviv and spoke with great indignation about the treatment of the Jews. At the end of our conversation, he said: "I have made up my mind to write a letter to Himmler. I will write him about everything that is happening, which is contrary to all God's and human laws, and will demand that they do not use the Ukrainian police for evacuation of the Jews, and particularly in executions. Young Ukrainian policemen have come to me lamenting that they are forced to take part in executions, under threat of being sent to concentration camps, or even being shot themselves. Therefore, I must write to Himmler that this could have bad consequences for the Germans..." I remarked that this letter will probably have little to no effect on the German behavior, because persecution of the Jews is an integral part of their political system. The Metropolitan replied that no matter the results, he will write the letter and send it..."¹¹⁴

Berlin answered the metropolitan with a rude refusal. "In a while, I came to see the Metropolitan again. He told me that because of his letter he had great problems with the German police, but declared: "Himmler has never heard so much disagreeable truth from anyone, as from me. And that means something" - Fr. M. Sopuliak recalled."¹¹⁵ In his turn, Rabbi David Kahane writes: "Himmler ordered that the metropolitan be arrested. He promptly sent the order to the komendant of Lviv, Liash, and, if I remember correctly, to the head of the Lviv Gestapo to immediately arrest the metropolitan. In response, Liash gave a detailed report about the situation that had developed. He underscored that the arrest of the metropolitan would create a deep enmity from the Ukrainian population, on whose support the Germans should be able to count on at this time. The local Ukrainians, he said, are the only ones who support the Germans and their military operations in Eastern Galicia, on the eastern Ukrainian territories. The Metropolitan enjoys an extraordinary popularity, and his arrest would put in danger all of the German army in the region. Himmler cancelled the arrest order but directed that they vigilantly watch the metropolitan and all his actions."¹¹⁶

The correspondence between Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the highly placed German officials did not escape the attention of the Soviet national security organs. In a memo from the head of the UNKDB in the Lviv Oblast K. Voloshenko to the People's Commissar of National Security S. Savchenko about the

activity of the clergy of the GCC in the period of German occupation, it is noted that towards the middle of 1942, Andrey Sheptytsky's attitude to the German government is gradually changing."¹¹⁷ The document states: "At the end of 1942, Sheptytsky had sent a letter to Himmler in which he protested against extermination of the Jews and mass terror of the Ukrainian population. In response to this letter, Himmler sent to Lviv from Berlin a group of Gestapo officers, who conducted a search in the residence of Sheptytsky (in the Monastery of St. George) with the aim of finding weapons."¹¹⁸

In June of 1942, the Metropolitan writes a pastoral letter to his faithful named "About Mercy/~~Charity~~." During this time, since the February protest letter to Himmler, the situation in the region had escalated. On March 17, 1942, the first trains with Galician Jews left for the gas chambers of the concentration camps in Belzec.¹¹⁹ From March 14 until April 2, 1942, the Nazis carried out the "April" action in Lviv. Its victims were fifteen thousand Jews, transported to Belzec through the train station Lviv-Klepariv.¹²⁰ Under the impression of these events, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky continues to express criticism of the Nazi regime. As Andriy Kravchuk notes: "He considers the Christian obligation to protect human life to be the main ethical task of his era."¹²¹ "The responsibility of charity grows with the need of our neighbor. When that need reaches the extreme, when it is a matter of the neighbor's life, a Christian is obligated to help him out of love, not only from what he has in excess, but also from what he needs for his own well-being. That responsibility of love then becomes a heavy obligation, an obligation under mortal sin, and an obligation of justice. He who finds himself in extreme misfortune/~~affliction~~, has the right to seek help even from someone else's property, even without the permission of the owner. When a neighbor's need is grave, the Christian is obligated to help him out of love and not only out of that, but, also out of what is needed by that person or useful for the needs of the neighbor."¹²² Andriy Kravchuk emphasizes that the metropolitan "combined the Christian obligation of brotherly love with the sanctity of human life, which in the given circumstances meant the inevitability - even at personal mortal risk - to give shelter to those whose lives were in danger."¹²³

In his letter "About Mercy/~~Charity~~" Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky officially invokes the theme of homicide, which becomes one of his central themes in all subsequent epistles. "From all the sins among and against people, murder is the greatest crime, the greatest denial of human nature, because death is the greatest evil which man can inflict upon man. That is why this crime alienates a person from other people the most, why it wipes out in a person the character of a man, why it is most opposed to human nature."¹²⁴

In the summer of 1942, the Germans intensified their politics of "the final solution" of the Jewish question. Between August 10 and 22, 1942, close to fifty thousand people were forcibly deported from the Lviv ghetto.¹²⁵ In this horrific atmosphere of terror, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky writes a letter to Pope Pius XII (1939-1958). This document belongs to a number of similar letters which were sent

to Pius XII during 1942 by Catholic bishops and priests from various countries of Europe, to inform him and to document the crimes of the Nazis.¹²⁶ At the beginning of the letter, the metropolitan recounts the particulars of the “new order:” “Gradually, the new government has established a regime of terror and corruption, truly unbelievable, which day by day becomes more difficult and unbearable. Today, the whole country agrees that the German regime is maybe to a greater extent even more evil than the Bolshevik regime, almost diabolical.”¹²⁷ And immediately, in the next few lines, he mentions the persecutions and killings of the Jews: “Jews are the first victims of this. The number of Jews murdered in our small area, is probably over two hundred thousand. The farther the army advanced to the east, the greater grew the number of victims. In Kyiv, in a few days, up to one hundred thirty thousand men, women and children were killed. Every small city/town of Ukraine was witness to similar massacres. And this has been going on for a year. At first, the authorities were ashamed of such deeds of inhumane injustice and tried to protect themselves with documents which could prove that the perpetrators of these killings were local residents of the land, or militiamen. But eventually, they began killing Jews openly out on the streets in front of all the people, without any kind of shame.”¹²⁸

In his letter to Pope Pius XII, he also mentions his protest to Berlin: “In addition to this, I protested with a special letter to Himmler, and I tried to prevent enlisting young men to police services, where they could be scandalized.”¹²⁹

The metropolitan especially stresses the fact that “the executioners, used to massacring Jews and thousands of innocent people, are used to seeing bloodshed and they crave blood.” In the letter, the head of the GCC clearly expresses his position on nazional-sozialism: “This is a system of lies, deception, injustices, plunder and a caricature of all ideas of civilization and order. This is a system of excessive egoism to an absurd level, completely insane national chauvinism, hatred towards everything that is honest and good, this system represents something so phenomenal, that total shock is the first feeling in whoever sees this monster.”¹³⁰

In the period of writing this letter, the metropolitan has begun giving shelter to those Jews who come to him. Shimon Redlich notes: “The majority of the Jews saved by Sheptytsky and his helpers, escaped from the Lviv ghetto and the labor camp in the period between August 1942 and May 1943.”¹³¹

The apogee of the open non-acceptance and condemnation of the Nazi crimes became Metropolitan Andrey’s decree “~~Do Not Kill~~ (Thou Shalt Not Kill).” The time of its being written coincided with the time that, according to Fr. Semen Izhyk, the head of the GCC definitively decided that the Germans would lose the war.¹³² Andriy Kravchuk claims that in this pastoral missive the metropolitan “condemned all forms of killings, including hired political assassination, fratricide, and suicide. In the pastoral message there is no direct reference to the extermination of Jews, but the timing of the writing of this passionate appeal relating to the sanctity

of human life, leaves no doubt that it condemns the policy of genocide along with other forms of killings.”¹³³

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky emphasizes: “The foundation of all social order after receiving and respecting authority must be the untouched sanctity of human life.”¹³⁴ He clarifies that “a person who sheds the innocent blood of his enemy, a political opponent, is as much a murderer as the person who does this during a robbery, and deserves God’s (punishment, ~~trans.~~) and the denunciation/~~anathema~~ of the Church.”¹³⁵ Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky describes with particular realism the maniacality of killers: “Bloodlust can become such a passion, bound by nothing, that for it the greatest luxury is to torture and murder people! A homicidal maniac, who arrives at such bloodlust and who with sadistic pleasure admires the manner of the sufferings, tortures and death of his neighbor obviously becomes highly dangerous to the community in which he lives. Crime for him becomes a necessary daily nourishment, without which he suffers and agonizes, as though he has some kind of illness of thirst and hunger, which must be satisfied.”¹³⁶ The head of the GCC insists that: “it is fitting in truth, to love those close to us more, and the strangers - less, but we must embrace all our neighbors with a Christian love.”¹³⁷

The publication of this pastoral letter had a lot of obstacles. Father Mykhailo Sopuliak recalls: “This pastoral letter, written in a very decisive form, was printed in the “Lviv Archdiocesan News” which always had to go through the censure of the Lviv Department of Propaganda. This time the censure office held the “News” for a very long time, and at the intervention of clerical circles, the answer came that the Gestapo was keeping the “News” and demanding that the Metropolitan change the place where he condemns the killing of innocent people by the government. Of course, the Metropolitan refused. And so the letter remained in the censure office for a good several months.¹³⁸ Finally, it was published. Facts certify the level of enmity of the German government towards the text of the message. For reading it publicly, the Gestapo murdered two priests: Fr. Yaroslav Vasylykiv and Fr. Ivan Liubovych.”¹³⁹

Rabbi David Kahane read this letter in 1943. He describes his impressions in this way: “During this time the Lviv ghetto had been liquidated, the all-consuming flames continued to blaze, and the Jews were exterminated with such diligence that it seemed not one Jew would survive this catastrophe, and there would be no more Jews on the earth. Against this background, the pastoral letter of Metropolitan Sheptytsky was gaining a special meaning. In addition, it reflected the extraordinary humaneness and the high moral qualities of its author.”¹⁴⁰ Subsequently, he adds: “Reading this pastoral letter, I understood how deeply humane was the worldview of its author.”¹⁴¹ During their conversation, after the rabbi read the letter “Do Not Kill,” Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky said to him: “You need to know that the Church expresses a humane, friendly attitude towards the Jewish people. The official Church sharply and decisively condemns the attacks on the Jews. We are against the atrocities committed by the Nazis and will do everything possible to

charge them with inhumanity and sacrilege. The pastoral letter of German Cardinal Faulhaber, just as my own pastoral letter of November 1942, is undeniable proof of the position of the Church regarding Nazism and its stance towards the Jewish question. The publication of my pastoral letter was connected to a lot of difficulties, being censured several times. Recently an official delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany visited me. I openly condemned their actions and declared a protest against their cruel and brutal treatment of the Jews. We, as human creatures, are obligated to voice our protest and in the most severe manner to condemn the persecution of Jews and all forms of racial discrimination.”¹⁴²

Zhanna Kovba, pondering why the Roman-Catholic Archbishop and Lviv Metropolitan Boleslaw Twardowski (1864-1944) did not come out with a similar letter, says: “The Greek Catholics were tolerated to some degree by the Nazis, since the aggression of the Germans was directed against Poland as an enemy of the Reich. The Poles and the Polish hierarchs were in a much worse position. Perhaps, that is why Sheptytsky could come out with his Message “Do Not Kill,” even though it was late and censured, but Boleslaw Twardowski could not.”¹⁴³ In spite of this, the Roman Catholic clergy also played a noticeable role in saving the Jews in Galicia.¹⁴⁴

Proceeding to conclusions, it is worth noting that Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky became witness to the brutality of the Nazis towards the Jews in the first months of the new occupation. He then started reacting to the atrocities of the government, writing protests and missives, and sending priests and monks to calm the mobs of pogromshchyks. All efforts of that period were directed towards warning the Ukrainian youth from participating in the wrongdoings of the Nazis. As his form of communication with his flock, the metropolitan chose the publishing of epistles/letters, in which one could read between the lines the essence of his exhortations and advice. It is in this manner that the GCC of the Lviv Archeparchy expressed its position on the policy of the “final solution” to the Jewish question. The pastoral letter “Do Not Kill” is a significant document in this context, since it is a direct reaction to the crimes connected with the Holocaust. These particular documents were a roadmap/guide for the faithful, the witness of the live position of the Church towards the totalitarian order of that time. Understanding the insufficiency of the previous appeals, and seeing the further escalation of terror, placed on the rails of a systematic extermination of the Jews by deportations to “factories of death,” Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky turns to extreme methods of resistance to the regime - saving all people, who turn to him for help. This stage began in August 1942 and lasted until the end of the German occupation in the summer of 1944.

CHAPTER II

THE HIDING OF THE JEWS BY THE MONKS OF THE STUDITE ORDER IN LVIV IN 1942-1944

The beginning of the operation of rescuing the Jews by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in 1942

Expressing his protest against the brutality of the Nazis in his pastoral messages, his letters and conversations with those in his surroundings, in the summer of 1942, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky began the transition to the realization of a systematic rescuing of the Jews. This came about with the constantly growing waves of annihilation of the Jewish population in Lviv. The apex was reached with the “August” operation of 1942.¹⁴⁵ In the memoirs of eye witnesses of those events, it is remembered by the staggering scale of killings and persecutions.¹⁴⁶ In the period between August 10-22, 1942, over 40,000 Jews became victims of this operation.¹⁴⁷ The operation was skillfully developed from the military strategic side: a plan was worked out to block certain buildings and streets, then some victims were transported to the Lviv-Klepariv train station, and from there to the gas chambers of the concentration death camp Belzec, others were delivered for execution near the Yaniv concentration camp, and still others were taken to the villages of Vynnyky and Lysnychiv.¹⁴⁸ On August 23, 1942, after the Lviv operation was finished, some of the German subdivisions, which took part in its realization, departed for the towns of Horodok and Rava-Rus’ka to liquidate the ghettos there.¹⁴⁹

Prior to the “August” operation, the Jews in Lviv were sensing the approach of danger.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, everyone tried to find some kind of shelter or other method of survival. And some decided to find refuge with the head of the UGCC Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. The rabbi of the progressive synagogue in Lviv at 6 K. Shainoch Street (today’s Bankivska Street) David Kahane explained his choice in this manner: “There was nothing unusual here: Jews often found shelter with the hierarchs of the Church, who often expressed an understanding of their tragic situation.”¹⁵¹ Though really it was a difficult choice for the Jews.¹⁵² When Kurt Levin suggested that his mother Rachel Levin go and seek advice about their possible help from the metropolitan, she - even though her late husband had had friendly relations with him - was skeptical about it, though, on the whole, did not object to it.¹⁵³ But, when the metropolitan said he has two hiding places and that she needs to bring her children the next morning, she did not even want to discuss this possibility at home. Kurt Levin recalls that he had to brutally explain to her that otherwise, they would all go “to become soap.” And then Rachel Levin declared, that like

many Jews at the time, her biggest concern was the question of baptism/~~christening~~. She said that she does not want to buy life at such a cost, even if it means the life of her own children, and that she cannot do this if only because of the memory of her late rabbi-husband. The discussion ended **here**. The next morning, Kurt Levin was forced to go to the metropolitan's palace alone and explain the situation. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in his turn, answered him that he understands the reason for this rejection. He announced that the boy should also understand him and that he is not doing it for money or other rewards, but exclusively motivated by love for God and neighbor. **And relative to** the Levins, he has a double responsibility because of the late Rabbi Ezekiel Levin, who had been his friend. As to baptism, the metropolitan declared that he had not even thought about it. If they all manage to be saved and survive the war, and they become convinced in the righteousness of his faith, then they could talk about this. Also, the metropolitan asked that Kurt Levin relate all of this to his mother and ask that she come to him the next morning for a personal conversation. After all of this was presented to her, Rachel Levin agreed to come to the metropolitan's palace. There Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky again confirmed his words and declared that he guarantees that the children will not forget their Jewish heritage and will be raised in the Jewish spirit.¹⁵⁴ Rachel Levin again asked for time to think about this and only on the day after did Kurt Levin bring his younger brother Nathan (b. 1932) to the residence of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.¹⁵⁵ This happened at the end of the "August" operation.¹⁵⁶ However, the plan for saving Jewish children had begun to be implemented during the carrying out of the operation.

Rabbi David Kahane notes that not too long before Kurt Levin, he and Rabbi Kalman Chameides had also turned to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky for help. At first, Kurt Levin had asked the head of the **GCC** to hide the manuscripts of his father.¹⁵⁷ The rabbis had come at the request of the Division of Religion of the Judenrat to ask for the transfer for storage of several hundred scrolls of the Torah, which had been kept in the basements on 12 Bernstein Street¹⁵⁸ (currently Shm-Aleichem Street). As with Kurt Levin, this was a preliminary request. The real motive for their coming was the request for shelter.¹⁵⁹ They knew that the metropolitan was renowned as a righteous man, and so led by the hope that he would not refuse to help, they turned to him.¹⁶⁰ Contact with the Metropolitan palaces was made through a friend of Rabbi David Kahane, a former instructor at the Lviv Theological Academy, Rev. Dr. Havryil/~~Gabriel~~ Kostelnyk. It was he who arranged for the meeting and the metropolitan received them. At the beginning of the conversation, as Rabbi David Kahane remembers, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky took his hand into his own hands, and looking at him compassionately, said with warmth in his voice: "I see that misfortune brought you to me, my son. Please sit down and tell me about it."¹⁶¹ During their discussion, he asked how he could help them. Then Rabbi David Kahane begged him to save the Torah and the children, whose parents the Nazis had murdered, and who would be destroyed in the nearest round-up.¹⁶² The latter was connected to the fact that during their "August" operation the Nazis

paid particular attention to the liquidation of children.”¹⁶³ As noted by Lili Shtern, after this action, at least one to two persons were missing in every Jewish family.¹⁶⁴

In his turn, the Metropolitan agreed to the first request on the condition that the Jews themselves bring the Torah to him. As to the second request, he showed readiness to accept the Jewish children. But, he asked that they return the next day, since he needed to consult about the technical issues of this process.¹⁶⁵ His closest associates in this endeavor - the ~~ihumen~~/abbot of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra, Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) and the abbess of the Holy Protection Monastery of the Studite Order, Mother Josepha (Viter) also expressed their readiness to help with this plan and to facilitate in its realization. The only reservation was that due to the frequent checks of the orphanages, during which the Nazis ordered the children to undress, it was agreed that only girls would be accepted into the first group of those saved. Obviously, the community of the metropolitan needed time to prepare a system of rescuing. Shortly thereafter, the first rescue operation took place.¹⁶⁶ At that time, the personal chauffeur of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, Ivan Hirny, transported in the automobile of the head of the UGCC, a certain number of children to various places prepared for their concealment.¹⁶⁷

Rabbi David Kahane confirms that this visit became the starting point in the conducting of the rescue operation of Jews by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.¹⁶⁸ This thesis is open for discussion, since it is impossible to research all the contacts of the metropolitan with the Jews from the Lviv ghetto, due to lack of sources. The latest research shows that the metropolitan already hid adults in the basements of the St. George complex during the “August” operation, and that many people turned to him seeking help before the visit of the rabbis. The witness accounts of Mark Weintraub confirm this.

Mark Weintraub (born in 1925, real name Izek Markus Weintraub, changed at the start of the 1950s, when he finished the Sorbonne in Paris and moved to Australia) was the son of Jakub and Dina Weintraub, maiden name Kaner. The couple also had two daughters - Adele, who died during the “August” operation, when Mark Weintraub was hiding in the St. George complex, and Regina, who survived by chance in the Yaniv concentration camp, because of a German soldier’s decision not to add her to the number of persons destined for extermination.¹⁶⁹

The Weintraub family was very wealthy. Its head, Jakub Weintraub, was the owner of a building company and a blind factory on Sapiiega Street (currently S. Bandera Street).¹⁷⁰ They lived at A. Kordecky Street, 12a (currently O. Stepaniv Street) in a non-Jewish neighborhood of Lviv, where Jakub Weintraub owned two apartment buildings. Mark Weintraub studied in the 9th State Gymnasium named after Y. Kokhanovsky, where there were six hundred students at the time, but only seven were Jews. All the friends of his childhood and youth were Poles or Ukrainians by nationality. Weintraub writes that during the German occupation they all

abandoned him and he received no help from them, but just the opposite - dislike.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, at one time pre-war contacts helped him and saved his life. When Lviv was occupied by the Nazis, Mark Weintraub was forced to work on the railroad. This was hard and exhausting work, which consisted of laying roads. Workers did not last more than seven-eight days. Their task was to carry on their backs logs that weighed fifty kilograms, and when someone fell from exhaustion, they were immediately shot by the guards. On his fifth day of work, a man came up to Mark Weintraub, who had recognized him as the classmate of his son from the 9th State Gymnasium named after Y. Kokhanovsky. His last name was Hriunyk, and he was the head of the subdivision of the Lviv railway. It was he who transferred Mark Weintraub to work for him in his office, which gave him four-five months of relative peace and saved him from death. Mark Weintraub testifies that this was a random person who helped and saved him, only because he recognized him.¹⁷²

The second act of unselfish aid came to Mark Weintraub through Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.¹⁷³ It is worth noting that the Weintraub family had the opportunity to evacuate at the beginning of the German-Soviet war but refused to do so. Jakub Weintraub knew the head doctor of the military hospital in Lviv. Before evacuating from the city, he came with a three-ton truck to the Weintraub residence and invited them to join him. However, Jakub Weintraub answered that no one could be worse than the Soviet government.¹⁷⁴ This response was prompted by the fact that in the fall of 1939, that government had nationalized Jakub Weintraub's two apartment buildings. That is why he didn't like them and feared them at the same time. He told his family that he had finished a German school in Vienna, that he knows the language, and believes that the Germans cannot do such terrible things, that the Weintraubs should remain in Lviv, and that they will survive the war. But as Mark Weintraub testifies - they did not survive it.¹⁷⁵

Similar moods were not rare among the Jews of Lviv. Kurt Levin mentions such hopefulness of the Jewish community of Lviv towards the German government in his memoirs.¹⁷⁶ However, the brutal politics of the Nazis soon convinced the residents of the city in the futility of their hopes. At the beginning of August 1942, as noted by Mark Weintraub, it was known in the Lviv ghetto about an approaching huge action, as they could observe the growing number of SS military, which encircled the territory inhabited by the Jews. It was at this point that Jakub Weintraub decided to turn to Metropolitan Sheptytsky for help.¹⁷⁷ Before the war, he would often meet with him, and they knew each other well. He telephoned the office of the metropolitan and asked the bishop to save his only son.¹⁷⁸ The list of Greek-Catholic clergy for 1944 shows two telephone numbers for the office of the metropolitan's headquarters - 230-20 and P. K. O. Warsaw 206-76.¹⁷⁹ Evidently, Jakub Weintraub used one of these numbers. The Metropolitan told him that Mark Weintraub was to come to the church of St. George. The latter came to the arch-cathedral church in the evening before the "August" operation. He was led up to the first floor of the metropolitan's quarters. There were about seventeen Jews gathered there. Metro-

politan Andrey Sheptytsky was brought over in a wheelchair. Mark Weintraub introduced himself to the bishop, who laid both hands on his head and blessed him. Then Mark Weintraub was led to shelter in a basement, where he stayed seventeen days and nights.¹⁸⁰ He didn't see the Metropolitan again. Actually, it is Mark Weintraub who testifies that sheltering seventeen-eighteen persons in the basements of the St. George complex during the "August" operation was not just a single example of saving Jews or a happy accident, but a systematic rescue of people persecuted by the Nazis.¹⁸¹ Confirmation of this is a similar act by the monks of the Studite Order, who were simultaneously hiding sixteen Jews in the basements of the "Solid" footwear factory on 16 Tribunal Street (now Shevska Street).¹⁸² Thus, we can conclude that the visit of rabbis David Kahane and Kalman Chameides initiated the rescue of Jewish children from the Lviv ghetto, while the sheltering of adults, due to less difficulties connected with age, was already happening during the beginning phase of the "August" operation of 1942.

Drawing conclusions, it is worth noting that it was this "August" operation which caused the Jews from the Lviv ghetto to turn to the head of the UGCC for help. It was then, during the rescue process, that two independent areas of sheltering were defined: children and adults separately. The sheltering of adults was primary, because of their self-awareness of the dangers, which were manifested in the appropriate behavior and caution in dangerous situations. The people who had sought shelter in the St. George complex before the "August" operation of 1942, were according to the witness accounts, exclusively grownups.

Sheltering children demanded a special approach and had its own specificity, due to age-related technicalities. The community of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, which was assigned this task, acted swiftly and already during the "August" operation organized the transfer of the first group of children from the Lviv ghetto. The credit for this belongs in great part to Rabbi David Kahane and Rabbi Kalman Chameides, as representatives of the Jewish community.

On the other hand, based on researched sources, it can be said that in August 1942 the rescue of Jews became not a one-time act of help, but a systemic rescue of people, who found themselves in the conditions of a planned genocide by the German government. The details, methods and means would be developed and put into life by the closest associates of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in the coming months of fall 1942, and their effectiveness will be demonstrated by the fact that not a single Jew, who was rescued by this group, would be arrested and destroyed by the Nazis.

The historical development of the Studite monasticism in the first half of the 20th c, from the perspective of the formation of experience of action in totalitarian conditions

The beginning of the action of saving Jews in August 1942 by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky meant the transition from passive resistance, directed at keeping the laity of the UGCC from participation in criminal acts against humanity organized by the German occupation administration, to an active opposition to Nazism through the saving of people, who were experiencing genocide because of their nationality. In this context, the head of the UGCC automatically joined the Catholic movement of resistance, whose members did not have a coordinating center or directives from the Vatican, but who acted at their own fear and risk.¹⁸³ For Catholic clergy in Central-Eastern Europe, this activity was deadly dangerous, since the punitive Special Services of the Third Reich did not make any exceptions or give any warnings to anyone, destroying those not in agreement with them.¹⁸⁴

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky understood the peril of the situation, in which he and his associates were involved, having dared to rescue Jews in opposition to the policies of the Nazi regime. As Mark Weintraub so aptly notes, from the moment that His Excellency allowed him to appear in the church of St. George, he immediately put his own life and that of his associates in mortal danger. If anyone reported this - the SS would have immediately appeared in the metropolitan palaces and not only would Andrey and Klymentiy Sheptytski be killed, but so would all the rest of the priests and monks. Mark Weintraub asserts that the Sheptytsky brothers knew all of the German orders about the fact that any person, no matter who they were, who helped Jews, would face death. In his opinion, the activity of the Sheptytsky brothers affirms that they dedicated their own lives to preserve the lives of others. This was, in the understanding of the rescued one, the highest sacrifice of humaneness.¹⁸⁵

Yaroslav Hrytsak points out that “only people with a very high moral responsibility for themselves and for society could conquer fear and act in the way that their human duty demands.”¹⁸⁶ In the opinion of that researcher, “the source of such fortitude/courage, as in the case of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Church led by him, could be Christian morality.”¹⁸⁷ However, moral responsibility alone was not enough in the conditions of a totalitarian system. Also needed was experience, an internal psychological readiness to conquer danger, and, most important - a large group of people, who could sacrifice themselves in the name of saving lives of people of a different nationality and faith. In these conditions, possessing such qualities,¹⁸⁸ Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky placed special expectations on the monks and nuns of the Studite Order, whose historical experience and desire for self-sacrifice corresponded to the challenges of the epoch.¹⁸⁹

At the beginning of the 20th c., Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was the initiator of renewing the traditions of eastern monasticism in Galicia/Halychyna.¹⁹⁰ Within the framework of this plan a new monastic community was created, which followed the rules of St. Teodor Studyt,¹⁹¹ and on October 30, 1906 at the conference of the Greek-Catholic Bishops in Peremyshl, it received the approved “Typ-

icon of the Studite Lavra of St. Anthony of the Caves in Sknyliv, near Lviv.”¹⁹² It became the fruition of several decades of tedious work by the Archimandrite Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Iumen of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Rule Klymentiy (Sheptytsky),¹⁹³ who were the developers of its main documents.¹⁹⁴

The origin of the Studite monks was connected to the needs of that time for a monastic community in the Galician Ukrainian community, which would accept persons of various social statuses.¹⁹⁵ At the end of the 19th c., there was only one male monastic community - the Order of St. Basil the Great, but it did not accept villagers/farmers, workers or servants, that is people of a lower social status without proper education.¹⁹⁶ Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky understood this problem and took the first steps to overcoming it.¹⁹⁷ In 1898 in the manor house of the St. George Krystynopil Monastery of the OSBM (current city of Chervonohrad, Lviv Oblast) of the village of Volsvyn, was founded the first settlement of a few young people, who had chosen to live in chastity, poverty and obedience.¹⁹⁸ In 1901-1902, in the village of Olesko (now a township in the Busk region of the Lviv Oblast), a second similar community sprang up spontaneously. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky visited it and took it under his wing. On the basis of these two groups was formed the first monastery of the Studite Rule.¹⁹⁹

It is noteworthy, that the Studite monasteries were open to farmers/peasants. This was a universal monastic community, which united people of different social statuses. Its special feature was that it functioned on the premise that all monks with permanent vows, whether they were consecrated or not, had equal monastic rights and responsibilities.²⁰⁰ This promoted equality and solidarity, which played a large role in the future sheltering of Jews during the Holocaust.

The monastic community of Studites grew significantly prior to the First World War. Evidence of this is that in 1907 it had 16 brothers and 7 novices,²⁰¹ and in 1914 it already numbered 18 skhymnyks, 23 arkariys and 3 novices.²⁰² Among this generation of monks, which will help to hide the Jews during the Holocaust, it is worth singling out hieromonk Nykon (Mykolay Tsiusniak, 1867-1959),²⁰³ who together with his brother Vasyl (Volodymyr Maksymovych) were the founders of the first community in the village of Olesk in 1898.²⁰⁴ Hieromonk Nykon (Tsiusniak), who in 1943 was the prior of the skyt/skete of St. Andrew in Luzhky, understanding all the risks and possible consequences, allowed Kurt Levin to remain in their dwelling for over a year.²⁰⁵ Another representative of this generation was hieromonk Teofan (Teodor Shevaha, 1889-1973). He entered the Sknyliv Lavra of St. Antony of the Caves on May 28, 1909, and received his clerical garb from the hands of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky on November 11, 1909.²⁰⁶ In 1931 he was ordained a deacon in the Cathedral Basilica of St. George in Lviv.²⁰⁷ During the years of persecution of the Jews, he helped Kurt Levin to hide first in the orphanage at the St. Ivan/John Lavra in Lviv, which he was in charge of in the fall of 1942, and later in

the above-mentioned Luzhky.²⁰⁸ Kurt Levin also had contacts with other representatives of the first Studites²⁰⁹, but they did not play as big a role in his rescue, as did these two monks.

The events of the First World War led the monks of the Studite Rule into a complex/difficult for these lands and nations 20th century. The community received an experience of wartime misfortunes, which would be useful in the coming Second World War, the challenges of which it would be prepared for. During the Great War, the Studites gained the skills of survival in the adverse conditions of global political and military cataclysm. This is recounted in the monastery chronicle of hieromonk Teofan (Shevaha) and the memoirs of monks, who published in the journal “Yasna Put” (Bright/Clear Path), which is an important source for learning about the interior life of the Studite monasteries in the interwar period.

In the first month of the First World War, none of the Studite-monks could comprehend that in the following weeks the question would arise whether this monastic community would even exist. Events developing on the eastern frontline were not favorable to the Austro-Hungarian army.²¹⁰ At the beginning of August 1914, Hungarian divisions, headed for the front, settled in the village of Sknyliv. The next day after their arrival, at lunchtime, the Hungarian field police broke into the Sknyliv Lavra of St. Anthony of the Caves. The monks were just going to work and were not prepared for such an attack. The soldiers arrested seventeen Studites, and not allowing them to even take the basic necessities with them, made them march on foot under threat of bayonets, towards Lviv.²¹¹ Hieromonk Teofan (Shevaha) describes the events that happened on the way: “When those unfortunate brothers were being rushed towards Lviv, where they were beaten badly by rifle butts on the way, and brother Pakhomiy was pierced with a bayonet from the back by a Hungarian and fell, bleeding profusely, they somehow stopped the blood and ordered two brothers to carry him to the train station in Lviv. At the train station, a Hungarian officer kicked Fr. Andrey, the prior, so hard with his boot, that Fr. Andrey fainted and fell to the ground - and such was the fate of almost all the brothers.”²¹² Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) notes that the Studites were arrested on accusations of “Russophilism.”²¹³ Hieromonk Teofan (Shevaha) adds: “Beaten/injured, they were loaded into the wagon trains, which already carried all kinds of arrested priests and nuns, mostly of Ukrainian intelligentsia, and brought to the vicinity of Vienna, and there they were left in an outdoor camp exposed to rain and cold, for three months. Later plagues began, two types of typhoid fever, all kinds of infections, and many people died. From among our brothers, the very young Brother Makariy died.”²¹⁴ When the other Studites were freed, they lived for the rest of 1914-1915 with the Benedictine monks in Tyrol.²¹⁵

After the arrested Studite monks were taken to Lviv, the Hungarian units robbed the Sknyliv Lavra of St. Anthony of the Caves. They destroyed the tabernacle and desecrated the Holy Sacraments²¹⁶. Later, as noted in the chronicle, “the

drunken Hungarians put on the priestly vestments and walked from house to house in the village in them...From the ~~varstaty/shops?~~ they also stole everything, such as fabrics, linens, leathers, and so on, from the storage they took grains and flour, everything from the basements, and at the end, they took live inventory, that is, a pair of horses, a pair of oxen, fifteen cows, seven calves and lots of small fowl. At the end, they took all the farm machinery and sold it in town, then destroyed the mill. And later they smashed all the windows, punctured all the doors, chopped the floors and set them on fire.”²¹⁷ In the following years of the war, the monks were slowly able to restore life in the Lavra. However, ahead lay the total destruction of the Sknyliv Lavra of St. Anthony of the Caves during the Polish-Ukrainian War of 1918-1919. After November 22, 1918, when the Ukrainian Armed Forces left Lviv, a siege of the city²¹⁸ began, and the village of Sknyliv ended in the center of the new confrontation.²¹⁹ During the winter of 1918/1919 the Lavra was ultimately destroyed. Here is how hieromonk Nykyfor describes what happened in his memoirs: “This was in the night from ~~November~~ 19th to the 20th, 1918. Ukrainian armies from the Naddniprianshchyna divisions were staying overnight in the monastery. Sometime after midnight, around one-thirty AM, the sound “Fire” was heard. The fire destroyed everything. The Poles took over the monastery and fortified themselves, but mainly hid in the basements. Ukrainian artillery began firing and completely demolished the buildings that were still standing. Seven monks and seven boys were hiding in the basements and awaited their end in deadly fear. Fortunately, no one was killed or injured, and they all escaped in the night under a barrage of bullets. Before that, the Poles robbed the monastery. Brothers Benjamin and Pakhomey were badly beaten, and Fr. Nikon and three other brothers were ordered to carry their wounded in the middle of the day to Lviv, amidst the bullets. They requisitioned all the cattle, and shot at the chickens on one, two, three. All the accumulated goods of many years went up in flames. It is difficult to describe the abuse/cruelty which our brothers suffered through. Naturally, they received no compensation of any kind for all this damage.”²²⁰

In the context of this theme of the sufferings of the Studite monks during the First World War, it is necessary to accentuate the fact that many brothers were mobilized into the Austrian-Hungarian army in the beginning of the war actions at the Balkan front. The chronicle notes: “In the first mobilization before the war in 1914, brothers were forcibly taken into the army. Brother Joseph Dubyna, the blood brother of Fr. Nykyfor, brother Stanislav, Brother Mykolay, i.e. arkhars, and skhymonk Josaphat, and several novices, where they were all beaten?? in the first beginning offensive in Serbia. There perished more than ten of our monk-brothers²²¹.” The largest number of Studites killed in the Austro-Hungarian army, was in 1915.²²² Four brothers ended in Russian captivity, and two in Italian.²²³ The monks were left on their own with the challenges of wartime. They had no support from their archimandrite, since Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was imprisoned by the Russians from 1914-1917. For him this was the experience of sacrifice, which during the Second World War would help him to deeply understand and endure the evil of men. Few sources have survived which recount his life as a prisoner of the tsar.

Hieromonk Teofan (Shevaha) conveys in his chronicle the account of the Archimandrite in July 1920. He writes that “The chief police commander of the gendarmerie persecuted him by stealing all the packages and money which came to the Metropolitan from America and Austria through the Swiss Red Cross, and he personally confiscated all of this during the whole time of his difficult imprisonment in the monastery. Occasionally, a Latin/~~Roman Catholic~~ priest would come to see the Metropolitan and to hear his confession, since there was not one of our priests available, but the gendarmerie commander would often not allow him to enter and confess him. As far as the furnishings of the prison cell, where the Metropolitan suffered for more than 2 1/2 years looked like this: the room was quite long, divided in the middle by black dirty boards, it was about 6-7 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 4 meters high, with a small window just below the ceiling in each half of the divided room, 40x40, which was densely grated with wide steel rods, and therefore there was very little light, and it was very damp with lack of fresh air. As to furniture, there was nothing, except a small broken bench in a corner, from which it could not be moved, a cot/~~pallet~~ instead of a bed, and under his head a little rotten straw in a dirty little sack, plus two dirty and torn blankets. A broken small table in a dark corner, from where it could not be moved, completed the furnishings. As to food, he got so little, just to barely survive, so that after the revolution, in 1917, when he was released, the Metropolitan was very thin and his health was compromised.”²²⁴ This account has been backed in the 1917-1918 memoirs of the personal secretary to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, Fr. Ireney (Ivan Hotra) OSBM.²²⁵ From the words of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky we can understand that he was someone who had personally felt the brutal behavior of people with authority, had endured hunger, and horrific living conditions. This experience obviously became very important in his later life, bringing forth a deepened sympathy towards people in need. This will be clearly revealed in the case of the Jews who will turn to him for help. It will be recorded in many of their testimonials.²²⁶

Returning to the theme of Studites in the First World War, it is necessary to emphasize that these brothers returned from Russian captivity only in 1920.²²⁷ In the process of their return they became witness to the establishment of Bolshevik power, which they would meet again in two decades. 1920 was the year of the return of the old members of the community and the birth of a post-war generation of Studites.

Among those who helped hide the Jews, it is worth singling out the future hieromonks Joseph (Yoan Shestiuk, 1894-1978),²²⁸ Kyprian (Konstantyn Shulhan, 1885-1975)²²⁹ and skhymonks Teodoziy (Teodor Tsybrivsky, 1899-1972),²³⁰ Sebastian (Benya), who entered the monastery in 1921²³¹, and Atanazy (Andriy Kolbenko, 1905-1978), who entered the monastery in 1923.²³² Particularly, hieromonk Joseph (Shestiuk), who was the prior of the Univ St. Dormition Lavra during the German occupation, and it was with his permission and assistance that the monks helped the Jews hiding in the nearby forests with food.²³³ He also aided with the hiding of Kurt

Levin²³⁴ and Fayina Liakher.²³⁵ Hieromonk Kyprian (Shulhan), under the direction of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, took care of the younger son of Rabbi Ezekiel Levin - Natan²³⁶ at the monastery of the Basilian sisters (OSBM) in the village of Pidmykhailivtsi. Skhymonk Sebastian (Ben) helped Rabbi David Kahane hide in the Monastery of St. Josaphat in Lviv.²³⁷ Skhymonk Teodoziy (Tsybrivsky) hid Jews in the basements of the "Solid" shoe factory.²³⁸ Skhymonk Atanazyi (Kolbenko) looked after the wheelchair-bound Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky²³⁹ and carried out all his various requests, often connected with the hiding of Jews.²⁴⁰

In general, the 1920-1930s were characterized with the dynamic development of the Studite monasticism.²⁴¹ Back in 1919 the Studites moved to the village of Univ (now the Peremyshl district of the Lviv Oblast) to the summer residence of Galician metropolitans. In 1926 during the parcelling of lands belonging to the Lviv archeparchy, this residence and the land around it was given over to the Studites. That same year Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, in a special charter, gives the Univ Monastery the title of "Lavra." Eventually, the Holy Dormition Univ Lavra became the mother place for all other monasteries of the Studite Rule, which were headed by priors.²⁴² Here was the seat of the ihumenate/hegumanate. In 1921 the monastery of St. John the Baptist of the Studite Rule was founded in the village of Zarvanytsia.²⁴³ In July 1925 a dwelling (small monastery, trans) was started in the city of Landrienne in the Canadian province of Quebec, but due to the inability of the monks to adjust to the conditions of life there, it was necessary to disband it in 1927.²⁴⁴ The monastery in the village of Korostiv (Skolye district of Lviv Oblast) was founded in 1926, but the next year it was changed into a parochial settlement.²⁴⁵ In 1931 mission settlements were founded in the village of Zabolittia (currently in Poland), and on the Merlinsky (currently in Byelorussia) and Shistka (currently in Poland) country estates.²⁴⁶ In 1935 the St. Illya/Elias Monastery was opened in the village of Dora²⁴⁷ (now the city of Yaremche in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast). In 1936 a Studite monastery was founded in the Lemko area/Lemkivschyna at the church of St. Michael in the village of Florynka.²⁴⁸ The last abode, opened before World War Two, was the skyt/small monastery of St. Andrew in the urochyshe/tract? Luzhky near the village of Osmoloda (Rozhnyativskiy rayon/district, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast).²⁴⁹ This skete was part of the network of places for hiding Jews and Kurt Levin lived here for over a year.²⁵⁰ However, the most ambitious project of the Sheptytsky brothers was founding a second Lavra of the Studite Rule in Lviv. On April 1, 1927, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky published a charter about the founding of the St. John/Ivan Lavra.²⁵¹ In the following years a whole monastery complex arose there²⁵², which included residential and farm buildings²⁵³, a church named Wisdom of God²⁵⁴, an icon painting studio²⁵⁵, and most importantly - an orphanage.²⁵⁶ It is here that Jewish boys were hidden throughout the German occupation, and they were taken care of by the Studites²⁵⁷; the prefect of this institution in 1944 was the previously mentioned Hieromonk Kyprian (Shulhan)²⁵⁸.

The representatives of the generation of monks, which entered Studite monasteries in the 1920s and played an important role in the hiding of the Jews during

the Holocaust were: hieromonk Teodor (Tymofiy Yaskiv), skhymonk Sylvester (Nestor Boyarsky, 1911-1970), who entered the monastery in 1926²⁵⁹, hieromonks: Martyn (Martyniuk, 1908-1945), Herman (Hryhoriy Budzinsky, 1905-1995), who came to the monastery in 1927 and hierodeacon Danyil (Tymchyna, 1900-1972), who entered the monastery in 1929.²⁶⁰ Hieromonk Teodor (Yaskiv), in particular, would later help Jewish families hide in the basements of the “Solid” shoe factory.²⁶¹ Skhymonk Sylvester (Boyarsky) will be transporting Jewish children into safe places of shelter.²⁶² Hieromonk Herman (Budzinsky) will be in charge of providing food for the care of the Jews in hiding.²⁶³

Another no less important project of the 1920s which will play a large role in the saving of the Jews, will be the founding of a female branch of Studite monasticism. Just as the male branch, the female branch was the outcome of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky’s conception, as well as meeting the desire and initiative of ordinary people, who longed to live in the spirit of the eastern monastic tradition but had nowhere to realize this plan due to the lack of a suitable community. The beginning of the female Studites came with the founding of their Holy Protection Convent in the village of Yaktor (now Zolochiv district of Lviv Oblast). Prior to that, in 1920, pastor Fr. Z. Kalyniuk, who had gathered together several girls who were practicing the Christian way of life²⁶⁴ in Liubintsi village (now Stryisky rayon of Lviv Oblast), arrived in Yaktoriv village. Three of these girls he housed in the rectory of Yaktoriv, where he took care of their spiritual needs. When they were joined by more girls from Yaktoriv, Fr. Z. Kalyniuk presented this to Metr. Andrey Sheptytsky, who based on this community decided to bring to life his vision.²⁶⁵ In 1923 the Metropolitan ordered that the large stable of the estate which belonged to him, be transformed into a convent. Then this community came under the spiritual guidance of the Studites from the neighboring village of Univ.²⁶⁶ On October 14, 1924, there was a ceremonial blessing of the chapel and the convent building, and a cloister was established.²⁶⁷ This convent became the seat of the ihumenate of the female Studites. In the following years a few more subsidiary homes of female Studites were established. Particularly, in the village Hayi Velyki²⁶⁸ (now the Ternopil Rayon/District of the Ternopil Oblast), in the town of Peremyshliany²⁶⁹ (now Lviv Oblast), in the city of Halych (now Ivano-Frankivsk Obl), in the village of Univ²⁷⁰, in the village of Briukhovychi²⁷¹ (Shevchenko District of Lviv), in the city of Pidhaitsi (now the District Center of Ternopil Oblast)²⁷², and in the city of Lviv.²⁷³ In these subsidiary homes the sisters ran the farms. Life there was not easy. The ihumenia/abbess Josyfa (Olena Viter, 1904-1988) recalled: “The sisters were distinguished by their great self-sacrifice, dedication, generosity and love for neighbor. They helped each other, heroically endured shortages of food, clothing and bedding, and suffered extreme poverty out of love for Christ. Cold and hunger, for they were rarely sated, with all kinds of inconveniences, fatigue, working in the sweat of their brow, usually half-hungry.”²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, this way of life prepared them for the difficulties of war-time in the future. In the interwar period the sisters also took care of the orphanages and children’s nurseries.²⁷⁵ Their perseverance and ability to work with children will become the criteria through which Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky will entrust

them with one of the main roles in hiding Jewish girls and women during the Holocaust.

Another important aspect of the cooperation of the metropolitan and the Studite nuns in the years of German occupation will be the high level of trust between them. This was a consequence of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky participating in the life of their community. The magnitude of his protection over them in their many ~~subsidiary houses (so-called daughter homes, trans)~~ and his worry about them is seen in the huge number of letters which have been preserved.²⁷⁶ It was the Metropolitan who himself picked and appointed as abbess/ihumenia the talented administrator²⁷⁷ Mother Yosyfa/Josepha, who eventually became the mainstay of the existence of their convents in the most difficult years. This was tied to her life experience. She was born in 1904 in a Ukrainian-German family.²⁷⁸ Her father Vasyl Viter worked in a gymnasium/high school and died in the battle of Kruty in 1918.²⁷⁹ During the ~~National-Liberation movement/Vyzvolni Zmahannia~~ of 1917-1921, Mater Yosyfa's brother also died.²⁸⁰ After these events, the future abbess/ihumenia went with her mother first to Austria, and later to Lviv, where she finished the Ukrainian private girls' gymnasium run by the Basilian Sisters at 17 Y. Dlugosh St.²⁸¹ There is very little information left about her family. This is due to the fact that Mother Yosyfa almost never spoke of her family life.²⁸² After finishing the gymnasium, Olena Viter entered the monastery of the Basilian Sisters (OSBM) and remained there until Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky assigned her to serve in the Holy Dormition Convent of the Studite Sisters. Initially, she was a teacher to the novices, but from 1932 became the head of the convent.²⁸³

As an individual, Mother Yosyfa had a few traits of character which would determine her approach to the persecuted Jews in the future. First of all, she had a special feeling towards those in need. Sister Khrysanta (Maria Hnativ) testified, that before the war, in the village of Yaktoriv, Mother Yosyfa would often sit alone all night with sick people.²⁸⁴ If someone was sick, she always said that they would need to visit that person, and if one of the sisters was sick or in need, she herself would immediately come to her aid.²⁸⁵ According to Sister Khrysanta (Hnativ): "She never kept anything for herself: whatever someone gave her, she gave to this one or that one. She simply got pleasure when she gave someone something. She would feel sick if she had nothing to give to someone. And not just to the sisters. For example, if some child showed up, or if she saw someone on the street, she immediately searched her pockets, and gave this to this one, and that to that one."²⁸⁶ An example of such care towards the Jews whom she was hiding was this incident, as told by the wife of Rabbi David Kahane, Nekhama: "In the winter of 1944, during one of the visits of the ihumenia (Yosyfa) to the convent on Ubocha Street, she (the wife of Rabbi David Kahane) saw two little girls, one was five, the other not more than ten years old. The smaller one had a deep wound above her knee. Both girls were filthy and ridden with lice. The ihumenia was taking care of them herself, doing everything with her own hands. She cleaned the festering wound, washed the girls' hair, disinfected it with gas and bathed them in her own

bathtub. These two little Jewish girls had jumped out of a train, that was taking them to Belsec. The younger one was shot by an SS soldier, who was guarding the train. The older one escaped unharmed. She dragged the wounded girl to the nearest village, where, fortunately, they came upon good people, who took them to the convent. When my wife turned to the ihumenia asking to let her wash the girls, she replied: "I am just doing my duty, and I'm doing it because I took a vow. I want to carry out this vow myself, without help from others." The girls survived and were sent to one of the convents in Eastern Galicia.²⁸⁷ Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) confirms this story in detail in his memoirs.²⁸⁸

No less important in this difficult work was the fearlessness of this woman. As Sister Olimpia (Olha Katala) testified: "She was not afraid of anyone or anything."²⁸⁹ Her life began in wartime tribulations. She survived the deaths of her father and brother, but this was only a prelude to the future tragedies of the 20th c. This led her to become a convinced Ukrainian nationalist.²⁹⁰ Her chosen worldview, in turn, did not hinder her in her approach of love and sympathy towards the victims of the Holocaust.²⁹¹ Through the example of Mother Yosyfa, we can understand how the personal experience of the participants in the operation of saving the Jews was very individual. However, it is also important to understand that Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky prepared the UGCC in the interwar period for the future challenges of totalitarianism. And this was a strong foundation for the clerics of readiness for the atrocities of the events of the Second World War.

In the context of preparedness for the conditions of church activity in a totalitarian society, it is worth emphasizing that among the Studite monks, the lead in this aspect of work was taken by the ihumen Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). The Metropolitan organized personal meetings among the monastic community, where he underscored the difficulties and the dangers of the future.²⁹² But, it was Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) who gave these preparations the element of systematicity,²⁹³ which would play a very important role in the near future.

An excerpt from the journal "Yasna Put/Clear Path" from January/February 1936 discusses the understanding of the coming political changes and how they were seen by the monastic community: "Today all of mankind feels more strongly than ever that it is heading towards some very huge catastrophe. Everyone feels that some huge wrong has entered into the human order, which created much evil there, the excess of which drags the world into some new all world tragedy, similar to that, which prior to twenty centuries ago played out in the face of the Jewish nation."²⁹⁴ In this article it is clearly noted that the most destructive worldview currents in that world are extreme nationalism and communism. They now rule in Germany and the USSR, and people in their powerlessness must subordinate their will to them. This weakness, in the author's opinion, is the most characteristic sign of the epoch. These currents quickly evolve into extremes, in which they become very similar to each other.²⁹⁵ Their common features are atheism, materialism, rationalism and individualism, which placed on the platform of evil, carry a threat to the life

of man.²⁹⁶ With these theses the author equates two totalitarian worldviews, which one after the other, will destroy nations in Galicia. In another article “The will of God – is our holiness” Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) adds to the list of signs of pragmatism.²⁹⁷ In contrast to this he poses the desire/aspiration of man to holiness. Meditating on this, he writes about the desire of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky to see at least one generation of saints among the Ukrainian people.²⁹⁸ In this thesis and in following analyses of the theme of holiness among the Studite authors of this journal, we can find the important motive of fearlessness, humility and confidence as sources for the saving of the Jews. Another motive can be the remark of the author of the article “Contemporary World-Christ-Us” which in March 1936 notes that the Church “can never look in the same way at the destructive work of world leaders, who lead themselves and their nation to both a premature and eternal peril. Its one and most important weapon for all time, including today - will be the witness of voluntary sacrifice - the blood of its children... The Church is endowed by Christ with such authority, that it gives it the possibility of active striving towards its ideal on earth.”²⁹⁹ And he adds, that “led by Christ - it will surely find that method, through which to oppose them, no matter how strong, and to conquer them.”³⁰⁰ Here the author correctly relates what Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky will do with his Church, being in a position of resistance to the Nazi regime and having conquered it morally, by giving aid to several hundreds of Jews.

For the Studites, an iconic figure, to which they could strive when preparing themselves for future trials, was the person of the exarch of the Russian Greek-Catholic Church Hieromonk Leontiy (Leonid Fyodorov, 1879-1935).³⁰¹ He was the follower and one of the implementors of the project by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky to found the Russian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite.³⁰² In the 1920s he became a victim of the Bolshevik anti-religious repressions.³⁰³ For the Studites, he was a symbol of martyrdom and an example to follow. There are articles in the journal “Yasna put” that confirm this thesis.³⁰⁴ From these publications we can see the special respect for this co-brother among his former monastic community, and the great emphasis on interest in his life from the Sheptytsky brothers. Obviously, they saw in him a holy person and in time supported the idea of his beatification. This was realized in 2001, when Pope John Paul II proclaimed the exarch Leontiy (Fyodorov) to be blessed.³⁰⁵ It is noteworthy that he will be in a list with another exarch, his successor on Russian territories, Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky).³⁰⁶

On July 1, 1936, the first commemoration of Hieromonk Leontii (Fyodorov) was conducted in the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra.³⁰⁷ To emphasize his validity and importance, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky himself arrived at the Lavra and gave a sermon about future trials to come and the Studite community’s readiness for them. He noted: “The Bolshevik invasion is growing - that is the devil’s work. It is approaching us at a fast pace. Are we adequately prepared for it? Are we ready for death? Hey, Brothers! Which death would you pick for yourself if given a choice: to go before the wall “pod stenku,” or execution, or the gallows, or being burned alive, or being buried alive. I think the hardest death is to be buried alive. All of this can

happen to us. Remember, that we can obtain all kinds of death.”³⁰⁸ This address belongs to the worldview theses of the metropolitan, which are strengthened in the 1930s. It reflects the thoughts of His Excellency, which he expressed in previous years.³⁰⁹

A special role in reflections about holiness and preparation for future threats and martyrdom was played by the ascetic-missionary group “~~Leontivtsi~~/Leontians” at the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra. It was founded on April 24, 1936, with the blessing of the ihumen Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). Its task was: “Through the organization of wider and more concise collective conferences to awaken in society a spiritual activism in striving for holiness.” The journal “Yasna put” was created to be the mostpiece of their activity for other Studites.³¹⁰ That is why it best showcases their reflections on various problems of spiritual life and their attitude towards life.³¹¹ The thought that runs throughout and passes through all the activity of the Leontians on the pages of “The Clear Way/Yasna put” is outlined in the theme of striving for holiness. Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) gave the Studites a precise task, that they would by their “holy life - a life of self-sacrifice - help Jesus Christ in the act of saving our neighbors.”³¹² And this thesis pertained not only to Ukrainians, among whom the monks carried out their service. Pondering about the importance of St. Josafat Kuntseych in Ukrainian church history, Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) points out: “St. Josafat loved his people passionately, worked for them and laid down his life for them, but in addition, he always had as much of that universal cosmopolitan spirit, as every Christian Catholic - especially, a priest - should have.”³¹³ In another article, he calls on the Studites to beware of nationalism, and as to other nations - “to help them, now - with prayer, sacrifices, and with self-sanctification.” The Ihumen notes: “We, as Christians and monks, will acknowledge the ancient call: “I am a man, and nothing that is human do I consider as foreign.”³¹⁴ These reflections of the ihumen are important in order to understand how the vision of behavior towards other nationalities was formed in the Studite monasteries, which was advocated by the leadership. As seen by the experience of the Second World War, activity in this area was successful, for as far as hiding the Jews, there was only one incident of displeasure from a member of this monastic community.³¹⁵

As a means of developing endurance in future dangers, which was meant to strengthen the spirit and help keep the equilibrium, the Leontians recommended prayer.³¹⁶ To it they also added the memory of their final vows. These things explain the confidence and humility, with which the Studites, despite the deadly menace from the German occupational administration, would carry out the directives of the archimandrite and the ihumen. For them, this was a source of peace, which is needed by the human psyche, in order not to break down in conditions of constant stress.

Another important question is which of the Leontians took active part in hiding Jews. No lists of this group survived, but through the materials in “Yasna put” we

can establish the participation of several persons. The leader of the group was hieromonk Tyt (Protsiuk).³¹⁷ A member of the group was hieromonk Herman (Budzinsky), who wrote an article about hieromonk Leontiy (Fyodorov).³¹⁸ It is evident that the meetings of the group influenced the formation of the worldview of the young brothers and the members of the novitiate. After all, it was the generation of the Studites of the 1930s that was key among the executors of the operation of saving the Jews of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. Among the monks of this generation, who actively participated in this process, were: hieromonk Hedeon (Hryhoriy Syroyid, 1914-2004) who entered the monastery in 1931³¹⁹, and hieromonks Tyt (Tymotey Protsiuk, 1909-1994) and Yuriy (Ivan Makar, 1912-1990), who entered the monastery in 1932³²⁰; hieromonks: Nykanor (Mykola Deyneha, 1907-1982) and Vitaliy (Volodymyr Matkovsky, 1915-1993), who entered the monastery in 1933, and hieromonks Marko (Mykhailo Stek, 1908-1978) and Yoan (Yohan Peters, 1905-1995), who entered the monastery in 1934.³²¹ The circle is closed with brothers Lavrentiy (Kuzyk, 1912-1999), who entered the monastery in 1936 and Lazar (Luka Shyan, 1907-1981), who entered in 1937.³²² It is these people who took care of the practical side of sheltering the Jews. The relations among them played a huge role in their work. Sister Mariya (Liakher) testifies that hieromonks Marko (Stek), Yoan (Peters), Nykanor (Deineha) and Yuriy (Makar) were “inseparable friends.”³²³ This friendship arose during their novitiacy in the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra³²⁴, under the priorship of hieromonk Yosyf (Shestiuk).³²⁵ The strength of this friendship was proven by the fact that in 1942 hieromonk Yoan (Peters) voluntarily gives himself up into the hands of the Gestapo in order to save the life of hieromonk Nykanor (Deineha).³²⁶ The described relations were a guarantee of success and trust in this matter, while the solidarity of the monks reassured their conviction in what they were doing, and became a kind of guarantee of life for the Jews, who completely trusted their rescuers.

Before the beginning of World War II, the Studite monasticism was a well-developed community. In the 1920s the number of monks was stable, as shown by the statistics reported by the schematism/records of the Lviv archeparchy for the years 1927³²⁷, 1928³²⁸, and 1930.³²⁹ In the 1930s the population of the Studite monasticism grew, as recorded in the records of the Lviv archeparchy for 1931/1932³³⁰, 1932/1933³³¹ and 1935/1936.³³² In 1938 there were 196 monks of the Studite Rule.³³³ Similar tendencies were seen among the Studite sisters.³³⁴ In 1938 there were 78 nuns in the Studite Order.³³⁵

At the beginning of the Second World War, the Studite monks met with the challenges for which the Sheptytsky brothers were preparing them. When the Soviet army entered Lviv on September 23, 1939, great surprises awaited the monks of the Monastery of St. Josafat.³³⁶ They obviously were not expecting such a development of military action. But the chronicler confidently writes: “Oh, our Metropolitan and Archimandrite, your prophetic words came to pass, we will either stand facing the wall or we will follow in the footsteps of our Father Leontiy Fyodorov to Siberia and there we will sow the seed of wheat - faith in Jesus Christ.”³³⁷

From the very first days of this war, the Studites became victims, as did their dwellings, which sustained much damage as a result of German airstrikes and the plunder of the local population, encouraged by the new Soviet rule.³³⁸ In spite of all this, there was peace among the monks, and the Ihumen Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) carried out measures directed at adapting to the new totalitarian reality.³³⁹ In particular, at one of the meetings with the community of the monastery of St. Josafat, he announced: "All novice brothers, all arkhariyi and riasofory, who have vows of piety, can go home, though I am not chasing them out, only if they fear persecution or that which is to come, and do not have the strength, they can leave, they are all on probation and the trial has proven to be very tough, thus any weak vocation will fall away."³⁴⁰ As a result of the first Soviet occupation, only the most resilient monks remained in the monasteries, those who were deeply committed to their calling. This is another important aspect to understanding the Studites, who saved Jews.

While the male Studite **habitats** suffered confiscation of lands and partial nationalization of their dwellings³⁴¹ in October, the situation with the convents was much worse. Prior to 1940 all of their subsidiary homes were liquidated, except for the one in Lviv on 2 Ubocha St. Even the Holy Protection/~~Sviatopokrovsky~~ convent in Yaktoriv village was liquidated. Though three sisters did remain there and managed to bake bread in the bakery for the soldiers, thereby protecting the convent until the coming of the German armies in 1941. Other sisters from this convent and the other subsidiary homes were forced to return home or to turn to the lay people for help.³⁴²

After liquidating the material base of the monasteries and convents, the Soviet authorities turned to physical extermination of the members of ~~the~~ Studite monasticism. During the first Soviet occupation four Studite monks were murdered by the authorities.³⁴³ Ihumen Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) recognized the menace which was coming from the state. Therefore, on June 13, 1940, he wrote an epistle to the monks called "The Last Word,"³⁴⁴ where he describes the measures they should take in the event of his arrest. The Soviet authorities, however, do not arrest him. Of course, his letter was prompted by the arrest of Ihumenia/prioress Yosyfa on June 11, 1940.³⁴⁵ Mother Yosyfa remained in prison until the moment that the Soviet armies retreated from Lviv, where they systemically interrogated and tortured her,³⁴⁶ but, against all expectations of the organs of their national security, never broke her. After the second occupation of Galicia by the Soviet armies, she was arrested again.³⁴⁷

Turning to conclusions, it is worth noting that the Studite monastic community, which included both female and male branches, was already prepared in 1942 to carry out the tasks of rescuing Jews, which was placed before them by their archimandrite, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. The sources of this readiness for self-sacrifice are found in the processes, which the Studite monks went through in

the first half of the 20th c., when they were actively forming, working out the bases and guidelines of work and serving the Ukrainian population of the II Polish Republic. Great recognition belongs to the Sheptytsky brothers, who were the moral/ideological inspiration for renewing the traditions of eastern monasticism on Galician lands. It was they who systematically prepared the members of both communities - male and female - to the conditions of conducting church activity in the framework of a totalitarian political order.

During the interwar period, there arose a new generation of monks, which was shaped by these principles. Not less important was the experience of the former generation which survived the difficult times of the First World War. A consequence of this era was the formation of two generations of Studites - wartime and post wartime, which acquired the know-how of survival during a time of global wartime cataclysm. Research has shown that many of these people would play a significant role in the hiding of the Jews during World War II. The historical experience which they received during the First World War, the persecutions, which many personally suffered, became the components which gave these monks the ability to better understand the tragedy of the Jewish nation and to participate in its rescuing, based on the knowledge and skills which they had left over from the previous war. Nevertheless, the key role in the rescue of the Jews was played by the generation, which was formed during the 1930s.

The first Soviet occupation of Galicia was a significant experience for the Studites as far as acquiring the skillsets necessary for life in the conditions of a totalitarian system. That is when a “selection” of the most-seasoned members was chosen, those who were ready to die for their faith and spiritual Christian principles, and a “dropping” of the unstable, who left the monasteries and did not return in the period of the German occupation. These people, who suffered constant lack of food, threat of arrests and loss of their life, were ready to stand at the call of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in opposition to the Nazi system and to save the Jews. Without the experience of 1939-1941, the operation of 1942-1944 would not have had such a success, because the monks who had the theoretical foundation, would not have had the practical experience. The conscious politics of the hierarchs of the UGCC of the interwar period and the survival skills gained during the Soviet occupation of 1939-1941 definitively equipped the Studites for the mission, which their archimandrite entrusted to them in the years of the Holocaust.

The Places, Persons and Methods of Hiding the Jews by the Monks of the Studite Order in Lviv in 1942-1944

The decision by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in August 1942 to shelter the Jews demanded that he form a team of people, who would take care of the

practical implementation of this project. Going down this path, he obviously placed special expectations on those in his closest surroundings and on the Studite monastics. The question of why members of the Order of St. Basil the Great/Basilians and those of the Order of the Most Holy Redeemer/Redemptorists were not included in any big number requires additional explanations.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky had complicated relations with the Basilians/~~OSBM~~ because of the politics of Byzantiism, which he chose as a dominant for the future³⁴⁸, but which the leadership of the Basilians did not support. This provoked an unacceptance by them of further ideas of the metropolitan and a deepening of the conflict during the interwar period.³⁴⁹ Thus, during the time of the Holocaust, the Metropolitan could not rely on their support. Nevertheless, certain Basilians helped the Jewish population hide, in spite of the catastrophic state of their monasteries after the first Soviet occupation of 1939-1941.³⁵⁰ An exception in this situation with the Jews among the members of OSBM and the metropolitan was the case with Mother Monica (Maria Polianska, 1885-1951) OSBM, who helped the head of the GCC to implement his plan with the help of the convent of the Holy Trinity, headed by her, in the village of Pidmykhailivtsi (Rohatyn raion, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast).³⁵¹

As to the monks of the Redemptorist Order, there was a different reason that the metropolitan did not use them. It lay in the fact that they had a small number of members in 1942, and that one of their biggest monasteries on Ukrainian lands in the village of Holosko Velyke near Lviv had been converted to a hospital for prisoners-of-war by the German administration.³⁵² Because of this the Redemptorists did not have a place in Lviv where they could organize a reliable shelter for Jews. Therefore, in the district of Zboyshch in Lviv, where they had some property, they were only able to feed the Jews who came to them out of their hiding places.³⁵³

Despite these factors, the Redemptorists did make a marked contribution to the hiding and rescue of Jews on the territory of the Lviv archiparchy. Hieromonk Vasyl Velychkovsky, OMHR (1903-1973) rescued several Jews in the monastery of the Dormition of the Most Holy Mother of God in Ternopil,³⁵⁴ and Hieromonk Ivan Nahirnyi, OMHR (1914-1942) led five Jewish physicians, dressed as monks, out of the Lviv Stalag-328, whom the Nazis were preparing to send to the Yaniv concentration camp.³⁵⁵ He himself died in 1942 from typhoid fever, which he contracted while doing his priestly ministry among the prisoners-of-war in Stalag-328.³⁵⁶

Considering the listed factors, it can be concluded that Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky could only fully rely on the Studite monks and nuns in his work of saving the Jews, who soon after the retreat of the Soviet armies, renewed their ownership over the monasteries, though without the lands which the German authorities did not return to them in their pre-war scope. On January 1, 1944, the Lviv archeparchy numbered ninety-three Studite monks and eighty-four Studite nuns.³⁵⁷

Other important helpers of the metropolitan in the matter of saving Jews were members of the closest priestly circle from among the workers in the St. George complex. They were seasoned by the trials of the first Soviet occupation, tested and ready to die for their faith, which was confirmed by the incident when they were all almost executed by the Soviet organs of National Security in the last days of their occupation in June 1941.³⁵⁸

The closest person to the metropolitan during his service as head of the UGCC was his own brother, ~~Ihumen/Prior~~ of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order, Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). It is he who became the chief coordinator of the operation to save the Jews in 1942-1944. Until recently, his person was practically not researched in Ukrainian historiography.³⁵⁹ However, in the last few years, the situation has changed, and the first scholarly works dedicated to this historical figure appeared³⁶⁰; also, works of the Blessed Klymentiy³⁶¹ and letters to his family were published.³⁶²

Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) belonged to several church statesmen known as “late in calling.” He decided to become a monk at age forty-two³⁶³, and received his priestly ordination at age forty-six.³⁶⁴ Before this there were years of indecision, obstacles and a developing of vocation,³⁶⁵ which eventually found its embodiment in many years of serving as ihumen of the St. George Lavra of the Studite Rule. At a young age he received a brilliant juridical education. He studied at at the Jagiellonian University,³⁶⁶ at the University of Munich,³⁶⁷ and at the Sorbonne.³⁶⁸ On July 16, 1892 he received his Doctorate of Law at the Jagiellonian University.³⁶⁹ Not long after, in 1900, he was chosen Deputy to the Parliament in Vienna,³⁷⁰ and from 1901 he became a member of the State Council, where he was very active.³⁷¹ However, in 1907 he starts gradually retreating from political activity, although he keeps his interest in politics, eventually leaving the management of his landholdings, and in 1911 begins his monastic life among the Benedictines. After a year, he enters the novitiate in the Studite monastery in Kamenytsia (contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The relations between the two brothers achieved an even greater significance after Klymentiy entered the monastery. Their niece Anna Sheptytsky testifies: “He (Klymentiy Sheptytsky) resolved many matters for him (Andrey Sheptytsky), helped him, and seemed to always be ‘near at hand.’ I know from my parents’ stories that one of the motivations for my Uncle Kazia to enter the monastery was: “to help ~~Romtsio (dimin. for Roman, trans.)~~ on his exceptionally difficult road.”³⁷² The clergy of the Lviv archeparchy sympathized with the brother of the metropolitan and even wished to see him become an auxiliary bishop during a critical period of this question at the turning point of 1926-1927.³⁷³ However, due to the opposition of Bishops **Hryhoriy** Khomyshyn (1867-1945) and **Yosafat** Kotsylovsky (1876–1947) the Papal Nuncio Msgr. Lorenzo Lauri (1864-1941) was forced to turn down the candidacy of Hieromonk Klymentiy Sheptytsky.³⁷⁴ With the passage of years, as the

metropolitan became more weak and ill, hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) became an indispensable support for the head of the GCC, who entrusted the most important matters only to him. A nephew of the brothers Yan Sheptytsky testifies: "He was for him (Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky) a secretary, a chaplain, and in the wake of the progressive illness, became an indispensable assistant during daily Divine Liturgy. But, most of all, he was his confidant. He took with him more information about the Metropolitan than anyone else from the surroundings."³⁷⁵ A niece of the Sheptytskys, Franciscan Sister Teresa (Sheptytsky) aptly notes in this context, that "Father Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) was the shadow of Andrey Sheptytsky."³⁷⁶ Thus, choosing a main coordinator for the operation of saving Jews, the metropolitan handed this dangerous work to the closest and most reliable person, who had his absolute trust and whose organizational abilities had been verified by many secret dealings.

It is another matter whether Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) was ready to perform such a difficult assignment. To answer this, one needs to examine the figure of the **Ihumen** of the **St. George** Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order. For a new view of the person of Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) one might want to consider the testimony of his relatives,³⁷⁷ and people who were imprisoned with him after his arrest³⁷⁸ by the Soviet organs of National Security in 1947³⁷⁹, when he tried unsuccessfully to hand a letter to the west about the status of the **UGCC** in the USSR.³⁸⁰

A nephew of hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) Jan Casimir Sheptytsky writes about his uncle that he was an extreme ascetic.³⁸¹ He slept in a sitting position, leaning against the railing of the bed.³⁸² The furnishing in his room was very unpretentious - only a few necessary things.³⁸³ With people he was simple and accessible.³⁸⁴ This trait was characteristic of both Sheptytsky brothers.³⁸⁵ During the Holocaust it enabled unfamiliar Jews to turn for help to the metropolitan, because they knew of this trait from the interwar period. The Sheptytsky brothers were alike in many ways, but one must remember that they had different characters. Klymentiy was, in the words of Jan Casimir Sheptytsky, "lively, impulsive, one who took everything to heart. At the same time, he was cheerful and witty."³⁸⁶ The Metropolitan was a bit different, and one felt a certain distance with him.³⁸⁷

Nevertheless, the most important trait of both Sheptytskys was their personal concern about their neighbors. Rabbi David Kahane notes that "concern about his neighbor was the substance of his (Andrey Sheptytsky's) life."³⁸⁸ A niece of the Sheptytskys, Kateryna Dembinska, remembering Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) writes that "the readiness to serve everyone - was the greatest mark of his character."³⁸⁹ And this trait probably found its greatest fulfillment during the persecution of Jews by the Nazis. Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky), in the words of Jan Casimir Sheptytsky "lived not for himself, but for others."³⁹⁰ "He worried about small matters for others."³⁹¹ This is specifically confirmed by the prisoner Ivan Kryvutsky, with

whom the ihumen spent time in the interrogation prison of NKVC UkrSSR in Kyiv in 1948.³⁹² Another prisoner in that same prison - Roman Novosad recalls: that which disturbed and saddened Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) the most in those harsh prison conditions was the fact that he “does not have the ability to properly serve God and the people whom he left behind in the monastery and the village, for there he had the ability to serve the poor and unfortunate.”³⁹³

Also, Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky), in the memoirs of Sister Tereza (Sheptytsky), “had some kind of evangelical approach to every person.”³⁹⁴ As another co-prisoner of the Blessed Klymentiy, Orest Dvornikov indicated: “He gave us a portion of his warmth and hope, which we needed at that time.”³⁹⁵ The Jews, whom he hid, speak very emotionally about these character traits of Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). Mark Weintraub, who together with a group of Jews, hid in the basements of the St. George complex in August 1942, recalls that Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) came to the hiding place every morning to talk to them. He always had a gentle smile. He spoke with him personally several times. “He gave us comfort, which we so needed. Because of it, we felt ourselves to be human again, and that we were surrounded by humans, that there is a God, and there is humanity...He had a smile, a word, advice, and spiritual support for everyone.”³⁹⁶ These visits had a very special meaning, for “we were treated like animals. This was a huge moral support, something bigger than food, for we were young people, anxious, and we felt everything twice as hard...and Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) did this from his whole heart, from his whole soul...He understood that every word spoken to a person hiding in the basements, lifts his spirit and gives hope. This was the greatest expression of humanity.”³⁹⁷ It is an interesting fact that Kurt Levin, who wrote an article in 1960 entitled “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and Jewish Society,” practically echoes the emotions and views of Mark Weintraub. He writes: “The most important was that they (the Studites) gave moral aid to those whom they were hiding, and contributed to the fact that the Jews, who were stripped of all human rights with no sense of any security, felt again the need to believe in mankind.”³⁹⁸ This same Kurt Levin recalls his first meeting with the Ihumen. In the words of the rescued man: “He poured a lot of consolation into my heart...He asked, that in case of any need I should turn to him and to consider him as a father.”³⁹⁹ After this conversation of Kurt Levin with Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky), the Metropolitan asked the boy to describe in detail how he is getting along, and was very satisfied that all was well.⁴⁰⁰ This sincere concern about the Jews in hiding or those in the ghetto was typical of Andrey Sheptytsky. Kurt Levin testifies that “the metropolitan was interested in the standard of life in the ghetto: How do people feed themselves? How much bread do they have? What is the fate of their children? Who cares for the sick?”⁴⁰¹

A no less important character trait of Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) in the years of the Holocaust was his ability to instill hope and show a perspective for the future to people who seemed doomed for annihilation and oblivion. In particular,

Kurt Levin notes that while sheltering him, Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) discussed with him his future advanced studies abroad, the fine points of the educational system, especially its diversity, and advised him to complete his studies in Poland, so that it would be easier for him to get accepted somewhere else later. He listened to the counsel of the ihumen, which later gave him the opportunity to study at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.⁴⁰²

The source of courage and self-sacrifice in the matter of rescuing Jews, to which, in the words of Kurt Levin, Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) “gave his whole soul,” was his faith in the will of God. This theme penetrated all of his pastoral service. He expressed the need to recognize it and to pursue it in his official appeals,⁴⁰³ in private letters,⁴⁰⁴ and in the advice he gave.⁴⁰⁵ It was the factor on which the ihumen relied on in all dangers and with which he calmed the Jews whom he cared for.⁴⁰⁶

Summing up the analysis of the readiness of Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) to hide Jews, it is worth emphasizing that he was completely prepared for the tasks placed upon him by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. His ascetic style of life, his concern for neighbor and the downtrodden, his desire to face persecution, his communication skills and his ability to establish trust, confirm these conclusions. A separate module is his faith in the will of God, which was important for the ihumen to maintain his own inner peace, as well as to comfort the people entrusted to him.

Turning to the matter of considering places to hide the Jews in Lviv, it is worth accentuating the fact that the primary place in the metropolitan’s project was the St. George complex. It was the meeting place with the Jews, it was the primary place for temporary shelter as they searched for a reliable place, and it was the main coordinating center of the operation. This was not the first time that these accommodations on St. George hill played such a role. In 1930, during the time of the “Pacification,” the metropolitan ordered an area of the “capitul” to be transformed into a hospital for the Ukrainians who were beaten and maimed by Polish soldiers and police, and whom the state medical facilities would not admit and would not give them aid.⁴⁰⁷ In the 1940s during a period of two months, the relatives of the Sheptytskys had to hide from the Soviet authorities in the Metropolitan’s palaces, after which they crossed over to the territory of the German General-gouvernement.⁴⁰⁸ In the times of the German occupation, they continued giving refuge to various different people,⁴⁰⁹ but a special place was allocated to the Jews. From the Metropolitan palace began the story of hiding people, sometimes whole families, in these or other monasteries/convents, or in shelters for children, those whose leadership was willing to take the responsibility upon themselves. The situations in which Jews turned for help were varied. Research has shown that these people were often not local but came to Lviv from different cities in the former II Polish Republic. One such example is the story of the Stern family. They came from Cracow,⁴¹⁰ and in the final days of August 1939, just as the Chameides family,

which came from Katovice⁴¹¹ and turned for help to the metropolitan, became refugees and ended up in Lviv. Later, part of the family perished - the father and younger brother of Lili Stern-Polman were transported from the Lviv ghetto to the gas chambers in Belzec.⁴¹² The mother of Lili Stern-Polman - Cecilia Stern was a seamstress. She worked (sewed clothing) for Ingerde Witt, who was the wife of an officer in the high command of the SS. Before the ghetto was closed, Lili Stern-Polman escaped from it to her mother.⁴¹³ They hid for some time at Ingerde Witt's house along with a Jewish family named Podoshyn, whose head asked them to turn for help to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. Listening to the advice of Yuzef Podoshyn, they came to the metropolitan palaces. Lili Stern-Polman describes her meeting with Andrey Sheptytsky: "The Metropolitan probably saw the fear in my eyes, for he beckoned to me to come closer. Then he hugged me and petted me on the head, saying: 'Child, do not be afraid! Nothing bad will happen to you here.'"⁴¹⁴ The next day Cecilia Stern and Lili Stern-Polman were brought to the convent of the Studite Sisters on 4 Ubocha St, where the Ihumenia Mother Yosyfa (Viter) took over their care.⁴¹⁵ Cecilia Stern did not speak Ukrainian, so she pretended to be a deaf-mute per the advice of the sisters, and Lili Stern-Polman lived at the convent orphanage. And thus they lasted until the end of the German occupation.⁴¹⁶

With the hiding in the St. George complex, there were two stories of refusals from the side of the Jews. These were not unique, as similar incidents connected with the initiatives of the clergy have been recorded in the memoirs of saved Jews.⁴¹⁷ The first story relates to the Horowitz family. This family was from Stanyslaviv. At the end of 1942 the head of the family - Joachim Horowitz - was murdered in the Stanyslaviv ghetto. His wife Amalia Horowitz and their son Adolf left the Stanyslaviv ghetto and went to Lviv. In the city they met their old friend from Stanyslaviv Mr. Zhurakovsky, who advised them to turn for help to the metropolitan. Amalia Horowitz took his advice and registered for an audience with Andrey Sheptytsky, who received her. The Metropolitan and his secretary worked out a plan for the mother and son to receive birth certificates. They received them, and Andrey Sheptytsky proposed a place for them to stay in the monastery, but she turned it down, for she had found a family, the Barytski from Chortkiv, who agreed to hide them. There they stayed until the arrival of the Soviet army in April 1944.⁴¹⁸ This case, as well as the case of the Sterns, is a confirmation of the words of Kurt Levin, that the metropolitan hid and aided both Jews that he knew, and those he didn't know.⁴¹⁹

The other story is about Mark Weintraub; it shows the level of security and the selflessness of the monks and priests, who were helping him, against the background of the coming events, when he ended up outside of their protection. While Mark Weintraub was hiding in the basements of the St. George complex in August 1942, his family, consisting of four people, remained in the Lviv ghetto. On the one hand, he describes this time of hiding as a mental rest, a feeling of security, a birth of hope that he will survive all this, and that there is a God and humanity.⁴²⁰ On the other hand, he wanted to return to his loved ones, find out how they were doing.⁴²¹

Reflecting on them, he could not think logically, because of the deep fear he felt for his relatives in the ghetto. He explains that in such difficult circumstances, a person does not have anything to grasp at, his only task is to survive and save himself.⁴²² And so Mark Weintraub decides to leave the shelter and return to his loved ones in the ghetto. On the seventeenth day of his stay in the vaults of the St. George complex, he turned to Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) with such a declaration. For the members of this rescue operation, it was not a simple decision - to let go the Jews whom they were helping. They could be caught, and they could divulge the secret, which would cause the death of both the Jews in hiding and that of the organizers. Thus, against all logic, Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) announced to Mark Weintraub: "This is your decision. You can remain here for as long as you need, but if you wish - you may go."⁴²³ He gave him a young priest who that very evening led him out of the palaces, without the star of David, and back to the ghetto to his parents. From this moment begins the story of the torment of the Weintraub family, which shows how secure the Jews felt who entrusted themselves to the representatives of the GCC, and how misguided it was to place hope on regular people, whose main goal often was not the saving of people's lives.

After these events, the mother of Mark Weintraub, Dina, found a poor woman, a cleaning lady at the "Sokil" sports organization, who agreed to hide them. Her husband was an alcoholic, and she was the sole breadwinner in her family. She needed money, and she wanted to have lots of it. This was a simple worker, who had no clue about the current dangers. The Weintraubs paid her twenty-five thousand zlotys per month for her services, which constituted a quarter kilogram of gold. The Weintraub family of four moved in with her and for the first three months everything was wonderful. Then began the blackmail. Mrs. Hordynska lost her head because of that money, started having evening parties in her home, inviting teachers and the pastor, and organizing garden parties, ordering half a calf in those hungry days of German occupation. Word got around town about this spending and people began to speculate where she could get such money, coming to the correct conclusion that she must be hiding Jews. As a result, there were three-four searches by Polish and Ukrainian policemen. Thrice the Weintraubs were seized and bought themselves off, but, feared that eventually they would be killed. Then they began to be trafficked: two teachers agreed to hide them for one month. Afterwards, they were returned to Mrs. Hordynska and she came up with an idea to keep off the blackmailers - she transported them to Yaniv, to the attic of the "Sokil" Sports Company, where she worked as a cleaning lady and where there was stationed a division of SS, which made raids on the Jews in neighboring forests. The blackmailers/traffickers suspected where the Weintraubs were hiding, but they feared the SS, therefore did not come near there. They lived there for nineteen months. When their money ran out, Mrs. Hordynska brought over a lawyer and Yakub Weintraub transferred two buildings in Lviv over to her on the condition that she would take care of them until the end of the German occupation. The Weintraubs successfully survived all the following difficulties and the coming of the Soviet Army.⁴²⁴

In the sources, a longer period of time in the St. George complex is well-documented in the story of Rabbi David Kahane. Another important source - the memoirs of Kurt Levin,⁴²⁵ are striking in their details and are not only an account about the fate of a Jewish family and particularly about a young person taken in the years of the Holocaust, but are a narrative about the life of the Studite monasteries during the German occupation, since the author hid in all the large dwellings (with the exception of the monastery in Zarvanytsia) on the territory of the archeparchy of the UGCC.⁴²⁶ The difference between the stories of rabbis David Kahane and Kurt Levin lies in the methods of shelter proposed to them. The standard method was used with Rabbi David Kahane, which was utilized by the coordinating group for many people: he was hidden in secret, without changing his clothing and not allowing meetings with other people. Kurt Levin, the other hand, was clothed in the garb of a monk, and was constantly out in the open among other people. His appearance,⁴²⁷ in contrast with that of David Kahane,⁴²⁸ allowed taking such a risk. This was a unique case in the activity of the coordinating group, and it demanded the constant moving around of Kurt Levin in the system of the Studite monasteries, so that he would not be recognized as a Jew.

There were several phases of cooperation between Rabbi David Kahane and the Metropolitan residence. In the beginning, in August 1942, David Kahane received a letter from Fr. Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) addressed to Mother Yosyfa (Viter) requesting that she take the three-year old daughter of Rabbi Ruf⁴²⁹ under her care. He describes his meeting with her in this manner: "Ihumenia Yosyfa received me warmly. She expressed a deep sympathy and understanding of the tragedy which befell the Jewish nation. Only later, when I realized that she, risking her own life, had saved many Jewish women and little girls, did I understand that she spoke not out of courtesy, but that this was truly her conviction."⁴³⁰ The little girl was taken by the Studite sisters and the father only saw her at the end of December 1943, when she was brought to him by Mother Yosyfa to the library in the "Studion."⁴³¹ Next came the turn of the rabbi's wife Nekhama. "Armed with a recommendation letter written by Ihumen Klymentiy Sheptytsky and with false "Aryan" documents, my wife went to the ihumenia of the Studite women's convent, where she was to live for some time."⁴³² Her escape from the ghetto occurred in 1943. "She found her first shelter in the Lychakiv convent, on Ubocha Street, in the residence of Ihumenia Yosyfa, who headed the Studite convents."⁴³³ That convent was not large. It usually housed no more than twelve sisters, and the accommodations were not comfortable, due to a spreading fungus.⁴³⁴ Eventually, my wife moved to the convent in Briukhovychi. Here "she learned the Ukrainian language and became acquainted with her new surroundings, the people, the traditions and possible dangers. She was equipped with reliable "Aryan" documents. She gradually grew accustomed to life in a non-Jewish world, to its streets, and even ventured to go out alone without an escort."⁴³⁵ "In March 1943 my wife left Briukhovychi. Staying too long in one place was risky. Upon returning to Lviv, she lived for some time in the convent on Ubocha

Street, and later began working in a children's care center on Ostrovsky Street."⁴³⁶ "All this time my wife remained in close contact with Ihumenia Yosyfa, met often with her, and received news about her daughter and husband from her. She knew that I was alive and living in a safe place, but did not know exactly where."⁴³⁷ "She slept in the ihumenia's cell and went to church, and thus was not found or captured for two years."⁴³⁸ And finally, Rabbi David Kahane himself escaped from the Yaniv camp and fled to St. George's.⁴³⁹ Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky placed him under Hieromonk Klymentiy's (Sheptytsky's) care.⁴⁴⁰ The latter transferred him to live in the library of the Metropolitan's palaces.⁴⁴¹ In their conversations David Kahane felt that he (Klymentiy, *trans*) understood the tragedy of the Jewish nation and accepted their sufferings as his own. Also, the ihumen reassured him that all was well with his family, that they were in a reliable place, but refused to name it for their own safety. The rabbi was brought food three times a day by a Studite monk; it usually consisted of bread and fruit, sometimes a cooked egg or a glass of milk. Only two other people, besides the metropolitan and ihumen, knew about him as the person hiding in the library - Andrey Sheptytsky's secretary Fr. Volodymyr Hrytsay and a Studite-monk, who took care of the rabbi.⁴⁴² In this context, it is worthwhile to dwell on the persons of the metropolitan's secretaries as important members of the coordinating group for saving Jews. During the German occupation there were officially three of them - Fr. Ivan Kotiv,⁴⁴³ Fr. Volodymyr Hrytsay⁴⁴⁴ and Fr. Kostiantyn Styslovsky.⁴⁴⁵ The first two secretaries played a particularly momentous role in the sheltering of Jews. Thus far, no materials have been uncovered about the activity in this endeavor by the last one - Fr. Kostiantyn Styslovsky.

Father Volodymyr Hrytsay, in particular, had the full trust of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. In the matter of saving Jews, he placed David Kahane in his care and entrusted him with work in emergency situations. Such a situation occurred when a crowd of Jews, escaping from a Gestapo raid, broke into the courtyard in front of the Cathedral of St. George and the metropolitan palaces. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky called him and asked him to hide these people. When the secretary asked where, the metropolitan answered in the apartment of Fr. Volodymyr Hrytsay in the building of the capitul/kapitula, which consisted of three rooms. He agreed and locked this whole mob in there. When the Gestapo came, they demanded permission for a search and the metropolitan agreed, giving Fr. Volodymyr Hrytsay access to all the keys and the showing of all the accommodations. During this process, when they approached the apartment of the secretary, the Gestapo officer asked the priest whose room this was. When he said it was his room, the German ordered them to move on with their inspection.⁴⁴⁶ Thus, all these people were saved, and with them the residents of the St. George complex. This incident shows that the metropolitan went to extreme risks for the sake of the lives of the Jews. As for Fr. Volodymyr Hrytsay, he not only carried out the direct orders of Andrey Sheptytsky, but also showed his own initiative in various situations, saving Jews on the streets of Lviv at any opportunity.⁴⁴⁷ Rabbi David Kahane notes that he "he treated the Jews very warmly and sincerely sympathized with them."⁴⁴⁸

The other secretary - Fr. Ivan Kotiv - carried out an extremely important coordinating role in working with the clergy of the Lviv archeparchy in the saving of Jews. In this he closely cooperated with Mother Yosyfa (Viter). His task was to receive Jewish children from the priests and to place them in safe orphanages and monasteries.⁴⁴⁹ This also extended to the Studites to whom he handed Jews for hiding. An example of this is the beginning of the hiding of Kurt Levin.⁴⁵⁰ Common to both these secretaries was their involvement in communicating with the inhabitants of the Lviv ghetto. There they carried out various tasks - from gathering information about living conditions⁴⁵¹ to attempts at removing families.⁴⁵² After the liquidation of the GCC in 1946, they were both arrested by the organs of Soviet Special Services and condemned to a longterm imprisonment.

Returning to the hiding of Rabbi David Kahane, it is worthwhile to note that he hid in the library of the metropolitan's palaces until June 2, 1943, when he was taken by Brother Teodoziy (Tsybrivsky) to the Studite monastery of St. Martyr Yosaf at on P. Skarha Street, not too far from the St. George complex. The reason for this, as explained to the rabbi by Fr. Volodymyr Hrytsay, was the fact that too many people came to the metropolitan palaces, and this was dangerous.⁴⁵³ In this monastery Rabbi David Kahane lived until September 12, 1943, until the Gestapo had searched the monastery and the metropolitan decided to bring him back into his residence.⁴⁵⁴ There he had several meetings and conversations with Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.⁴⁵⁵ At the end of October 1943, for the same reason as before, the rabbi was once more secretly taken by Brother Teodoziy (Tsybrivsky) back to the Monastery of St. Yosafat.⁴⁵⁶ Besides Rabbi David Kahane, who hid for quite a while in the metropolitan palaces, aid was given there to the pharmacist Dr. Yuzef Podoshyn. This is mentioned in particular by Patriarch Josyf Slipyj in his memoirs.⁴⁵⁷ The Podoshyn family also belonged to the Jewish families saved by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.⁴⁵⁸ This family consisted of the married couple Yusef and Anna and their son Ludwig. Dr. Yuzef Podoshyn was well-acquainted with the Studites from prewar times and kept in constant contact with them during the war.⁴⁵⁹ This acquaintanceship became the basis for his request for shelter. The answer was positive, and in a letter to Patriarch Josyf Slipyj from March 1, 1963, he indicates fathers I. Kotiv, V. Hrytsay and O. Ivaniuk as his main rescuers.⁴⁶⁰

In order to save this family, it was necessary to separate its members. The seven-year-old son of the Podoshyns, Ludwig, was placed in the care of a katekhyt/Catechism teacher from the Lviv Spiritual Seminary of the Holy Ghost, a young priest named Fr. Onufriy Ivaniuk. He brought the small boy to his parents in the village where he was from. They accepted Ludwig quite wholeheartedly, for they assumed that he was the illegitimate child of Fr. Onufriy Ivaniuk, who was in a celibate state. Rumors spread to the pastor of the village, who reported it to the Bishop. There was a disciplinary process over Fr. Onufriy Ivaniuk and he was severely pun-

ished. For the good and safety of the Jewish child, Fr. Onufriy Ivaniuk remained silent at the trial and did not defend himself. Only after the end of the war did the priest reveal the truth and was rehabilitated.⁴⁶¹

In this manner, the St. George complex was important not only in the transit aspect, but also in the project of extended safekeeping. Here the Studites played a significant role taking care of the Jews on a level with the metropolitan's secretaries, who were busy with organizational matters. Nevertheless, the Studites did not only serve needy people in the metropolitan palaces. On the orders of the archimandrite, they hid Jews in two of their own dwellings in Lviv - at the monastery of the martyr St. Josafat and in the St. John Lavra of the Studite Rule. A person who hid in both monasteries was Kurt Levin.⁴⁶² Also, Rabbi David Kahane dwelled alternately in the metropolitan palaces and in the monastery of St. Josafat.⁴⁶³ As for hiding Jews, the St. John Lavra is better known for its orphanage, where Jewish children lived.⁴⁶⁴ It was the place of adaptation of Kurt Levin to new life in the monastic community of the Studite Order. It was here that he was transferred from the orphanage on Pavliniv? Street, due to danger of being exposed by the wards there.⁴⁶⁵ In the St. John Lavra, he lived in the role of a novice and took part in all prayer services at the monastery except for receiving Holy Communion.⁴⁶⁶ In charge of his adaptation was the former leader of the group of "Leontians" Hieromonk Tyt (Protsiuk). He taught him Ukrainian and Church-Slavonic languages, as well as the customs and peculiarities of life in a monastery. Kurt Levin in his spare time read many Ukrainian books, which improved his knowledge of the language.⁴⁶⁷ Hieromonk Tyt (Protsiuk) took care of Kurt Levin in the fall of 1942, and later in November 1943 took care of both Rabbi David Kahane and Kurt in the library of the "Studion" on P. Skarha Street.⁴⁶⁸ Both saved men left warm memoirs, full of sympathy and gratitude towards this Studite.⁴⁶⁹ Kurt Levin remembered his first days in the St. John Lavra: "Life with the monastery regime depressed me deeply, for I wasn't used to being on my knees for hours, listening to singing in an unfamiliar language, and reflecting/meditating. The first days were very hard, but later I gradually became used to the rhythm of monastic life, learned to sing in the choir and to read Psalms in the Church-Slavonic language. One day a monk asked me to read psalms during midnight service, and I realized that the community of St. John the Baptist on Lychakiv St. acknowledged and accepted me."⁴⁷⁰ However, this recognition was not shared by all members of this community. Hieromonk Rafail (Roman Khomyn, 1907-1944), upon arrival to the St. John Lavra,⁴⁷¹ uncovered Kurt Levin's secret and demanded that he be removed from the monastery. His reason was that complete extermination of the Jews is God's will and aiding them is a violation of it.⁴⁷² On one hand, these assertions of Hieromonk Rafael (Khomyn) could testify to this monk's antisemitism. But, in the context of his position, it is worth remembering that he was a controversial figure in the Studite monk community.⁴⁷³

One way or another, he expressed his thoughts regarding the hiding of Jews and in the end contributed to the transfer of Kurt Levin to the Monastery of The

Martyr St. Yosafat.⁴⁷⁴ But, at the same time, he saved two Jewish children from the Lviv ghetto, placing them in an orphanage, visiting them and gave them Baptismal Certificates.⁴⁷⁵ Thus, for a definitive answer about his perception of the Jewish question in the years of the Holocaust, it is necessary to consider which period of the German occupation we are talking about, while the evolution of his thoughts regarding these processes demands more intensive research in the light of the facts uncovered in his helping Jews.

Despite this event, when Kurt Levin left the St. John Lavra, he was already fully adapted to the monastic rhythm of life.⁴⁷⁶ He transferred to the St. Josafat Monastery near the St. George Cathedral in Lviv. This Studite residence was one of the first started for them by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. In the interwar period, it had an important role as a farming and scholastic center in the life of the monks of the Studite Rule. Its monks lived side-by-side with the Jews and had frequent contacts with them before the war, as recorded in the chronicle of the St. Josafat Monastery in Lviv. These contacts lay in commercial transactions, such as the purchase of flour, which sometimes was of poor quality and needed to be returned,⁴⁷⁷ or shopping in Jewish stores.⁴⁷⁸ The chronicle records also the problems of various neighboring Jews, for instance the theft of their goods⁴⁷⁹ or the breaking of a monastery window by children, among whom was a Jewish boy, and his father compensated the value of the loss.⁴⁸⁰ Therefore, for the monks of the St. Josafat Monastery the Jews were ordinary everyday people, known to them and easy to accept because of their everyday connections.

The sheltering of Kurt Levin became a preparation for them in the more complicated hiding of Rabbi David Kahane in 1943. The community of the monastery went through these phases successfully: when in 1943 both were hidden in the monastery, the **abbott/prior** Hieromonk Nykanor (Deyneha) asked the Studites that in the event that the Jews were discovered, someone would take the responsibility on himself and save the lives of all the other monks - all the members of the community expressed their readiness to do this.⁴⁸¹ In this choice they were constantly accompanied by searches, which only became more intense. It was such a search that led to Kurt Levin to be transferred for a year to the **skyt/small monastery** of St. Andrew in Luzhky.⁴⁸² There he met Hieromonk Nykon (Tsiusniak). This was a pretty farsighted person. After Kurt Levin's arrival in Luzhky, he immediately informed the monks about the new resident of the monastery and strictly forbade them to even talk among themselves about the Jewish origins of their guest.⁴⁸³ After a year in this abode, Kurt Levin returned to the Monastery of St. Josafat, where he hid in the library of the "Studion" together with his own brother Natan Levin and Rabbi David Kahane.⁴⁸⁴

Very important are the measures that the monks took to preserve the psyche of the Jews entrusted to them. They themselves, as well as those they were hiding, lived in the epicenter of the events of the Holocaust in Lviv. From the windows of

the St. Josafat Monastery, they saw the columns of Jews led by the Nazis,⁴⁸⁵ heard the shots and the screams from the Lviv ghetto.⁴⁸⁶ This deeply depressed the monks.⁴⁸⁷ This is confirmed by the story of a novice at the St. Josafat Monastery, a famous Polish artist of Ukrainian background - Yuriy Novosilsky (1923-2011), who lived in Lviv among the Studites from October 1942 to summer 1943.⁴⁸⁸ Before his monastic life began, he lived for a period of time with the family of engineer Omelian Kitsera (1892-1975) on 14 Poperechna St.,⁴⁸⁹ wrote icons with pencil and visited museums.⁴⁹⁰ Later he moved to the St. Josafat Monastery. There from the windows he saw dead Jews, whose bodies the Nazis were removing, and the liquidation of the Lviv ghetto.⁴⁹¹ He had also been a witness of similar bloody activities in the St. John Lavra. From the hills where the monastery stood, one could see the ghetto, and Yuriy Novosilsky saw the smoke from fires, and the fleeing Jews who were caught by local residents and police.⁴⁹² This was very hard for him to endure, he lost his faith in God and became an atheist during the years 1943-1954.⁴⁹³

The Studites saved the mental health of the Jews-in-hiding by putting them to work. While in St. John's Lavra, Kurt Levin was given the job of sweeping the corridors and washing the wooden floors in the dining room, the chapel and the hall. Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) helped him with this.⁴⁹⁴ He also did this during his first stay at the Monastery of the Martyr St. Josafat in 1942.⁴⁹⁵ The second time he ended up in this monastery, in 1943, it was due to the need for care of Rabbi David Kahane, who was going through a psychological crisis.⁴⁹⁶ And being in communication with a Jew, whose family he knew well since before the German occupation,⁴⁹⁷ may have helped him, too. Very important was the factor of work, which distracted from thoughts about what was going on around them.⁴⁹⁸ Kurt Levin notes: "Being mostly in a monastery, aside from daily trips to St. George's, I lost confidence in myself. A newly arrived hieromonk Herman, after observing me for a bit, told me in the dining room that I was beginning to look and act like a Jew. He added that someone could notice that I was afraid and advised me to get rid of this fear. The following Sunday I was asked to accompany Fr. Herman across town in the role of a cantor. From then we began to walk across town every week to parishes on the outskirts of Lviv. Father Herman would say the Liturgy, I assisted him, sang the Antifons and Prokimen and read the Epistle. The parishioners sang all the rest. These Sunday excursions gave me courage and we became good friends with Father Herman."⁴⁹⁹

These Jews in the St. Josafat Monastery were under the care of Hieromonk Tyt (Protsiuk).⁵⁰⁰ When the rabbi lived in the monastery previously, the carpenter monk from St. George Lavra built him a secret hiding-room in the attic. Then only three monks knew about this.⁵⁰¹ Now a hiding place was built in a far corner of the "Studion" library.⁵⁰² When the Studites saw Germans, they would ring five times and the rabbi would hide. Daviid Kahane and Kurt Levin took turns sleeping, watching the situation.⁵⁰³

Searches were caused by denunciations. From the criminal case No. 1697 in 1964, which the KDB had against Hieromonk Herman (Budzinsky), from the words of witnesses, it appears that people knew about the hiding of Jews in the St. Josafat Monastery.⁵⁰⁴ Evidently, the monastery was being watched, for as David Kahane testified, when he first ended up in the place, a few weeks later, the searches intensified.⁵⁰⁵ In speaking with him at the time, Brother Sebastian (Ben) assumed that someone informed on him, because one of the searches in the middle of September 1943 was particularly thorough.⁵⁰⁶ This generated fear among the inhabitants of the monastery of St. Josafat.⁵⁰⁷ In only one winter 1943-1944, the monastery endured six searches.⁵⁰⁸ Despite this, the community staunchly survived all the trials and carried out the task assigned by the archimandrite concerning the Jews.

The last question connected with everyday life of the Jews in the St. Josafat Monastery was nutrition. Hieromonk Herman (Budzinsky) was tasked with supplying provisions for the Jews in this monastery.⁵⁰⁹ He had to negotiate the German food cards, as well as find other ways of feeding these persons.⁵¹⁰ This was extremely difficult. Kurt Levin had this to say about the situation: "Life in Luzhky was spartan, but compared with the conditions in the St. Josafat Monastery, it seemed a luxury. The city was starving. They were barely able to survive thanks to help from the monastery on Lychakiv Street, and because of the flour and potatoes, which monks were able to get through the police perimeters from nearby villages. However, this was clearly not enough."⁵¹¹

Money for food for these three Jews was provided by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.⁵¹² He gave it to his secretary Fr. Volodymyr Hrytsay, and he divided it and handed it to the monks for feeding the Jews, who were hiding in the library on P. Skarha St. and in other places in Lviv.⁵¹³ Once or twice Hieromonk Herman (Budzinsky) came to the metropolitan palaces for the money.⁵¹⁴ Also money for food came from the monsignor of the Metropolitan Consistory and member of the Presidium of the Metropolitan Church Court of the II jurisdiction, Fr. Stepan Rud (1883-1963).⁵¹⁵ Prior to WWII, he was a professor at the Lviv Theological Academy,⁵¹⁶ where he taught Liturgical Studies and Church Singing.⁵¹⁷ And in the Lviv Spiritual Seminary of the Holy Ghost, he was a confessor/spiritual advisor.⁵¹⁸ One of the seminarians from that time, Vasyl Yashchun, left such memoirs about this priest: "He was a talented spiritual advisor. Some of the points for meditation, which he gave us every day in the evening, except on Sundays, I still remember to this day, for example, about the world of good and evil in a person, about temptations, charity, patience, about the essence of Christian love, Christian zeal, the power of prayer, and about the Holy Family...His teachings and instructions always left a noble impression on my spiritual life."⁵¹⁹ During the Holocaust, Fr. Stepan Rud demonstrated that charity, which he preached to the young seminarians.

Nevertheless, even these funds were not enough. Therefore, Hieromonk Herman (Budzinsky) bought groceries with his own money. It is important to mention that he carried out this activity not only for the three persons on P. Skarha St. He also helped feed the relatives of the Levins, who were hiding in the shelter for orphans of the Studite sisters on 55 Taborova St (currently Trakt Hlyniansky St) in Lviv.⁵²⁰ Two or three times he even carried them there himself.⁵²¹ He obviously had a lot of experience in this matter, for, as David Kahane testifies: “Many families, now residing in Israel, credit him with their rescue. Budzinsky helped them escape the ghetto and found places for them to hide. Among those rescued were adults as well as children. His particular merit lay in the fact that he would find and deliver food products to the residents of the ghetto.”⁵²² He took care of this food mission for many saved Jews from the ghetto up until the occupation of Lviv by Soviet armies in July of 1944.⁵²³

A joint project of the St. Josafat Monastery and the St. John Lavra, due to participation of monks from both places, was the hiding of Jews in the basements of the “Solid” footwear factory in Lviv. This was an example of group rescue. It was much harder to organize than individual rescues. The dangers lay in the creation of a complicated system of conspiracy, which included the organizing of the secret transfer of sizable amounts of groceries, the buying and transporting of which already aroused suspicion in the constantly hungry Lviv. Another threat was the searches of the German occupational authorities and the denunciations of neighbors. In the latter case, it could be blackmail in order to get money from people, who were hiding the persecuted Jews,⁵²⁴ or the exposing of Jews with the goal of receiving a compensation from the Gestapo.⁵²⁵ The Studites and the Jewish families were able to survive all of these dangers, and in every stage of the hiding process to find ways of solving these problems.

The place where these actions took place was the “Solid” footwear factory at 16 Trybunalska St., in Lviv.⁵²⁶ In some ways it can be compared to the “Email-warenfabrik” of Oscar Schindler in Crakow, but the difference lies in the scope of the enterprise and the spirit, which reigned there due to the bulk of its workers - the Studite monks. Its activity is first and foremost connected with Hieromonk Yoan (Peters). Yohan Peters (1905-1995) was born in the town of Siddinghausen (Westfalia, Germany). At a young age, he studied at the Leuven and Munich Universities, finished his seminary studies and then became interested in philosophy and the traditions of Eastern Christianity at the ~~Papa~~ Oriental Institute in Rome. Having learned about the activity of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, he set out for Galicia, where he decided to enter the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Rule.⁵²⁷

It is important to mention that he went through his novitiate together with the future hieromonks Mark (Stek), Nykanor (Deyneha) and Yuri (Makar).⁵²⁸ In the words of Sister Maria (Liakher), a great friendship developed among them.⁵²⁹ They were the elite of the Studites of that time, since they were highly educated, and the

Sheptytsky brothers placed their hopes on them for the future of the Studite Order.⁵³⁰ Their bond, trust, and obedience played a key role in the action of saving Jews, particularly since they were responsible for its most complex areas. On October 14, 1937, Yohan Peters received his Skhema and was given the name of Yoan.⁵³¹ From the very beginning of his service, the Sheptytsky brothers entrusted him with the realization of complex projects. His first such assignment was to organize a library of Byzantology. He became the director in charge of building the "Studion" - the premises for the library and archives near the St. Josafat Monastery in Lviv.⁵³² Another important aspect was the fact that Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) was a citizen of Germany, and this played a key role in many things in the future. The first time this was useful was at the end of August 1939. While living in Lviv he had become friends with the German consul. Just before the start of WWII, the latter met with Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) and advised him to leave Poland.⁵³³ Ihumen Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) gave him permission, and Archimandrite Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky appointed him to serve as a priest at St. Barbara's Church in Vienna. He also gave him an additional mandate to organize a monastic Studite community in Germany.⁵³⁴

When the German armies took Cracow, Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) arrived there and received the position of director of the division dealing with GCC matters in the administration of the governor-general Hans Frank (1900-1946).⁵³⁵ In this position he first became a liaison between the Peremyshl Assistant Bishop Hryhoriy Lakota (1893-1950) and the Apostolic Administrator for Lemkivshchyna Fr. Yakiv Medvedsky (1880-1941) and the Apostolic Nuncio In Germany Msgr. Cesare Orce-nigo (1873-1946).⁵³⁶ He continued this mission as the courier for Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, after returning onto the territory of the Lviv Archeparchy.⁵³⁷

In July 1941 Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) resigned from the above position on the pretext of health problems and returned to recently occupied Lviv.⁵³⁸ From this moment up to his arrest by the Gestapo, he lived a double life: for the Germans he was a businessman, but in reality - a monk of the Studite Order. Kurt Levin, who saw him in the St. Josafat Monastery, recalled that although he was a monk, for conspiracy purposes, he wore an expensive suit, and not a cassock.⁵³⁹

In Lviv, taking advantage of all the benefits of rights held by citizens of the Third Reich on the eastern occupied territories, Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) expanded his activity. During the first Soviet occupation (1939-1941) the GCC's printing house "Biblos" was confiscated. Its printing presses were transferred to the building of the Oblast Executive Committee in Lviv.⁵⁴⁰ Thanks to the efforts of Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) the apparatus was returned to the St. George complex.⁵⁴¹ As Director of this printing house he received permission to print blank forms and documents for the Wehrmacht and the administration of the district of Galicia.⁵⁴² The real manager of the enterprise was the prior of the St. Josafat Monastery Hieromonk Nykanor

(Deyneha), who, as noted previously, was a close friend of Hieromonk Yoan (Peters). In this printing house, besides the official German documents, they also printed materials for the Lviv archeparchy.

The second significant enterprise, which played a large role in the material support of the Studite monks in Lviv, was the “Solid” footwear factory. Volodymyr Hordynsky (1915-1994) said this about its creation: “I became acquainted with Fr. Peters in late fall of 1941. During that time, I was the director of the united fur factories of the city of Lviv; one morning Fr. Peters came to my office, which was across from the Lviv theatre. He introduced himself and said: “Metropolitan Sheptytsky sent me to you to ask for your help. As a German, I got permission to start a footwear factory, but I don’t know anything about it.” From that point began our acquaintanceship and cooperation, which turned into friendship. One of the buildings which housed workspaces for the manufacture of furs, we emptied for the footwear factory, and part of the furnishings was provided for us by a very good economist and wonderful person, Omelian Pleshkevych, who at that time managed the leather department in the firm Le-Pe-Ha. And so “Deutsche Schuh-Fabrik Solide,” which was really a factory of the Studite priests, began its work at 16 Trybunal Street.”⁵⁴³

Both Studite monks and lay people worked in this factory. Volodymyr Kachmarsky oversaw the technical aspects of the factory, Yevhen Byrchak was in charge of finances, and Ivan Saliak was in charge of procurement.⁵⁴⁴ Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) acquired a patent for the procurement of footwear for the Wehrmacht. He also provided for the regular supply of leather to the factory, of which there was a shortage in wartime.⁵⁴⁵

A separate group of workers was made up of Jewish cobblers, from the ghetto, which was just organized at the end of 1941. As seen from the statistics on the work of enterprises in Lviv on May 31, 1942, a similar practice of engaging Jewish workers was widespread, although they never constituted a large segment of workers in institutions.⁵⁴⁶ Brother Lavrentiy testified that these people came to work every morning to the “Solid” Factory and every evening went back to the ghetto.⁵⁴⁷ The master craftsman over them was Brother Teodor (Yaskiv) from the St. John Lavra in Lviv.⁵⁴⁸ These were highly-qualified specialists. The cobblers were expected to cut out seven pairs of boots from one piece of leather. But, they knew how to cut out eight, and sometimes even nine. The leftover pieces were secretly carried out by the monks under their coats to St. Josafat Monastery.⁵⁴⁹ Kurt Levin points out: “Having leather, one could solve many problems. Leather strips could be exchanged for groceries, firewood and medicines. The footwear factory helped St. George’s, monasteries/convents and orphanages. Today it seems strange, but then leather was worth its weight in gold - it gave the Studites the possibility to help brothers, who were going hungry.”⁵⁵⁰ As for the Jews who worked there, it ensured their life. As Yakiv Honigsman notes in his work “Catastrophe of the Lviv Jewry (1941-1944)”: “In the ghetto there was a line which divided the community between two groups - “the useful/suitable” and “the superfluous.” Incidentally, specialists in

technology, trades and medicine were the privileged. Certain benefits were also given to workers in military and civil enterprises - owned by Germans, as well as employees of firms which worked for the German army.⁵⁵¹ Due to their work at the "Solid" factory of Yohan Peters, which made footwear for the Wehrmacht, the Jewish workers were part of this privileged group. This gave them the appearance of necessity, and therefore documents, which ensured their life during the periodic "operations." Their families, however, were not safe, for there were cases of killings and deportations during the day, while the men were at work.⁵⁵² However, they were able to survive somehow, since they had food ration cards as workers of a German enterprise.⁵⁵³ Yakiv Honigsman writes that "with these food cards, they were given 1400 grams of bread per week, and 200-400 grams of flour with bran...Occasionally, the Germans would provide them with 200 grams of fat and 250 grams of marmalade/jam. In December 1941, in response to the efforts of the Judenrat, all Jews employed in German businesses, were given 25 kilos of potatoes."⁵⁵⁴ Towards the end of 1941, starvation began in the ghetto,⁵⁵⁵ and these small extras were lifesaving for their residents. The Jews paid huge bribes to be able to work at a German establishment.⁵⁵⁶

In the ghetto, beginning with the last days of 1941, there were constant checks of employment documents. When they discovered someone without work - he was arrested and taken outside of the city to be executed.⁵⁵⁷ The Jews working at the "Solid" Factory were able to avoid such dangers. However, in a short while, the situation changed. At the end of July 1942, the Jewish work bureau liquidated all businesses in the ghetto, which weren't connected with production for the needs of the German army.⁵⁵⁸ At this time, the bureau came under the direct subordination of the SS, and Germans understood that in such conditions the unemployed Jews were destined for death. This was the preparatory stage for the implementation of the "operation" of August 10-23, 1942.

The August "operation" of 1942 became the starting point for sheltering the Jewish shoemakers and their families in the basements of the "Solid" footwear factory. As Brother Lavrentii (Kuzyk) notes, the Studites, seeing the destruction of the ghetto, decided to save their workers.⁵⁵⁹ The director of the factory Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) allowed the monks to start this dangerous rescue endeavor in the walls of his business.⁵⁶⁰ From the testimony of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's personal chauffeur Ivan Hirnyi, we can understand that in addition to saving Jews in the basements of the leather factory, Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) simultaneously carried out this same action in the Metropolitan's Printing House "Studion" (at 5 St. George Square), where he also protected Jews as being employees, by providing them with reliable documents.⁵⁶¹ However, in contrast to "Solid," the hiding of Jews in the "Studion" remains not researched due to the small source base.

Two people took the organizational part of the work with Jews in "Solid" upon themselves: Brother Lazar (Shyan) and Brother Teodosii (Tsybrivskiy).⁵⁶²

For these two Studites, such tasks were not a novelty. During World War II the monks of the Studite Order often changed their place of residence in the monasteries, while carrying out various assignments of Iumen Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). When the war began, Brother Teodosii (Tsybrivskiy) worked at the tannery of the Univ St. Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order. During the first Soviet occupation in 1939-1941, this business was nationalized by the state and so Jewish refugees from the Nazi-occupied countries of Central-Eastern Europe worked there alongside the monks. The brothers became acquainted with them at this tannery, so when the German occupation began, Brother Teodosii (Tsybrivskiy) helped hide two Jewish families in the village of Univ.⁵⁶³ As a human being, he obviously felt very deeply the horrors of the Holocaust, which were happening around him. Rabbi David Kahane testifies that during the liquidation of the Lviv Ghetto in June 1943, Brother Teodosii (Tsybrivskiy) took care of him when he was hiding in the attic of St. Josafat Monastery, at the instruction of Archimandrite of the Studite Rule, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. He notes that everything that was happening those days with the Jews, caused Brother Teodosii (Tsybrivskiy) to suffer terribly. His face reflected the pain and fear which he had for the fate of the doomed Jews.⁵⁶⁴

The newly arrived members of the families of the cobblers of the footwear factory "Solid" were kept in the basements by the monks. During daytime, the people sat quietly while the workers worked in the workshops, but, in the evenings they came out of hiding and worked all night making footwear.⁵⁶⁵ The workshops were located on the second floor, therefore the families stayed overnight on the third floor, while the men worked.⁵⁶⁶ In total, there were sixteen Jews who stayed there at that time.⁵⁶⁷ Ivan Hirnyi notes that he personally brought seven people from this group to the factory by car.⁵⁶⁸

We know the names of some of the Jews who were hidden there by the Studites. As recounted by Andrii Usach, they were: Solomon Hilfer, Haskel, Jakub and Dania Heller, Abraham, Feyha and Anna Fink. Brother Teodoisii (Tsybrivskiy) told Rabbi David Kahane about the latter.⁵⁶⁹ Their rescue was due to the Ukrainian policeman Volodymyr Karchmarskyi, who combined this work with his job at the "Solid" factory. The Fink family knew him from pre-war times and thus turned to him for help. Volodymyr Karchmarskyi brought the head of the family to the factory, and the wife and daughter - to the Greek-Catholic convent, where everyone knew who they really were.⁵⁷⁰

Two men alone could not take care of such a large number of people, especially since they were also involved in other initiatives of their archimandrite.⁵⁷¹ For a successful realization of this plan more help was needed. And such assistance came from trusted lay people of the UGCC. The issue of cooperation of the Studites with the lay people in saving the Lviv Jews has not been researched properly, because there are barely any sources available. As Brother Lavrentii (Kuzyk) remarks, the Studites of various monasteries engaged in such

cooperation.⁵⁷² For instance, the monks of St. John Studite Lavra kept clothing in the home of the Kanych family, which lived next to the monastery, in the event of danger and the need to change and leave unnoticed.⁵⁷³ Another example is the story of a member of NTSh, professor and medical doctor Oleksander Kitsera about the activity of his mother Yuliia Kitsera (1896-1987) in helping the Jews who were staying in the basements of the “Solid” Footwear Factory. Before her death Yuliia Kitsera told about her part in this project of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. Prior to this time, no one spoke about this in the Kitsera family. Yulia Kitsera belonged to a group of women whose task was to prepare food for the Jews sheltered by the Studites. They were divided into days and each one cooked the meals designated for that day. Oleksander Kitsera recalls that Yuliia Kitsera would occasionally go visit some friends in hospitals and she would take varenyky and other food, as well as borshch in tins.⁵⁷⁴ There was a meeting point, where she would turn over all of this to monks, who would take the food to the basements of the “Solid” factory. Yulia was entrusted with this work since Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky knew her family personally from the 1920s. An interesting fact is that Yulia Kitsera, who was born in Kishinev (Moldova, *trans*) in the family of Odvonzh-Vastird, had a family history of aiding Jews: her mother Yulia Odvonzh-Vastird, whose maiden name was Nikolaieva, rescued them from the pogromshchyks by baking pasky, which they placed in their windows and the mob would not burst into such buildings.⁵⁷⁵

Continuing the discussion of hiding Jews in the “Solid” Footwear Factory, it is necessary to point out that all of this activity was tied with deadly danger. The factory was located in the center of the city, a few meters from Rynok Square, and was under constant surveillance by both the authorities and simple city residents. It was dangerous both inside and outside the factory. The inside dangers came from the regular factory employees. Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) recalls the unreliability of the secretary, of volksdeutsche origin, because of whom the monks lived in constant stress and fear.⁵⁷⁶ The external dangers consisted of frequent searches by the Gestapo and a particularly critical element - the denunciations of neighbors about the Jews hiding in the basements of the factory.⁵⁷⁷ However, the most dangerous occurrence was tied to the unexpected arrest in fall of 1942 of the director of the factory Hieromonk Yoan (Peters)⁵⁷⁸ and the prior of the St. Josafat Monastery Hieromonk Nykanor (Deyneha).⁵⁷⁹ They were arrested for printing anti-German leaflets in the print shop, which was managed by Hieromonk Nykanor (Deyneha) and owned by Hieromonk Yoan (Peters). The footwear factory, as the property of Hieromonk Yoan (Peters) was confiscated and sealed. Volodymyr Hordynsky comments on further events: “Early in the morning, while I was still in bed, Fr. Kotiv, a person who represented the ailing Metropolitan, came to see me. He was everywhere carrying out the will of the Metropolitan. In a hushed voice he said to me: “Get dressed and come with me immediately to the Metropolitan’s palace. Father Peters was arrested, and the footwear factory was confiscated by the Gestapo.

We have to decide what to do next.” The Metropolitan and Archimandrite Klymentiy were already waiting for me. The conversation was very brief. This was the Metropolitan’s mandate to me - to get the factory back from the Gestapo within 24 hours. Upon exiting, I told Fr. Klymentiy that that was impossible and if I went to the Gestapo with this matter, I would never again come out. But Fr. Klymentiy replied in a very decisive voice that this is the will of the Metropolitan.”⁵⁸⁰ With the help of a bribe in the amount of 30,000 marks, the official Volodymyr Hordynsky was able to return the factory into the possession of the Church. And only after this did it become clear to him why this factory was so important to the Sheptytsky brothers. “I knew that the Metropolitan and the Studite fathers were hiding Jews, but I did not know that at that very moment there were sixteen Jews in the basement of the factory, and their discovery would have been the end of us all.”⁵⁸¹ However, the Studites continuously succeeded in conquering challenges and problems. As Kurt Levin points out, for two years Brother Lazar (Shyian) and Brother Teodosii (Tsybrivskiy) did not know any peace.⁵⁸² They were in the same kind of danger as the Jews whom they were hiding. Thanks to this self-sacrifice, all these Jews, according to the testimony of Volodymyr Hordynskiy, survived the German occupation and became part of the 823 Jews,⁵⁸³ who lived to see the arrival of the Soviet army in Lviv in July 1944.

Summarizing, it is worth noting that in the process of hiding Jews by the Studites in their monasteries in Lviv, a system of organization of this process was developed, and thanks to these well-thought out methods, not a single Jew ended up in the hands of the Gestapo during the German occupation. This system was created and evolved in the process of the monks carrying out the tasks set by their archimandrite Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. He chose and created a coordinating center, whose every member was ready to take the maximum risk in the name of saving the person or group of persons relegated to him. Members of this unit were for many years part of the staff of the head of the UGCC, and he knew their capabilities. It was these people who coordinated the care and accommodations of the Jews in the Studite monasteries. They would work out on the spot the further algorithm of action, directed towards protecting the secrecy and making impossible its falling into the eyes of the Gestapo. A great danger in the Lviv habitats were the denunciations by neighbors and people, who were looking to profit from giving up a Jew. Monasteries had to periodically go through this, as well as the frequent searches. However, because of the forethought of the mechanisms of concealment, they were able each time to avoid the dangers of discovery and arrest. The result of such diligent work, in which in certain cases trustworthy lay people were also involved, was the absolute implementation by the monks of the Studite Rule of the task laid on them by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. They succeeded in preserving the physical and psychological health of the Jews entrusted to them and to guarantee a normal, uninterrupted functioning of their monasteries in conditions of constant fear and endangerment of life.

CHAPTER III

AID TO JEWS BY THE MONKS OF THE UNIV HOLY DORMITION LAVRA OF THE STUDITE RULE IN THE VILLAGE OF UNIV DURING THE YEARS OF THE HOLOCAUST

Monks of the Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Rule and the Jews in the village of Univ: the experience of cooperation and survival during the occupation of the years 1939-1944

The activity of the monks of the Studite Rule in saving Jews in Lviv is an example of their participation in the resistance to the Nazi regime in a city-setting, where there were two Studite monasteries. An example of saving Jews in the countryside was the activity of Studite monks in the village of Univ (now the Peremyshl district of Lviv Oblast) where they had their mother Holy Dormition Lavra. Hiding someone there was a much more difficult matter than in such a large city as Lviv. Univ village was simultaneously on the outskirts and in the epicenter of the events of the Holocaust in Galicia. And the microclimate of the village was not conducive to helping the Jewish population due to denunciations to the Gestapo from a certain group of people, who lived there. But, in spite of everything, Univ turned into a place where the monks and the residents saved both their former neighbor-Jews and also complete strangers, who ended up in the region during the war.

Prior to this work, research done was mostly about saving Jewish children in an orphanage.⁵⁸⁴ However, a range of complex efforts at interviewing (those done long ago, and those realized in 2016-2017) revealed a large involvement in hiding Jews by the local residents and by monks in the years of the German occupation. The result of this project was the discovery of a hitherto unknown story of aid to local and not local Jews by the monks and residents of Univ. This broadens the understanding of the problems of hiding Jewish children in the orphanage at Holy Dormition Lavra, and reveals the dangers and the mechanisms of behavior of the victims as well as the rescuers.

Before clarifying the question of aid to Jews during the Holocaust in Univ, it makes sense to closely examine the Jewish history of the village prior to 1941. Compared to other villages in this region, the Jewish population of Univ was large. Records of the Lviv archeparchy for 1927 show that in Univ there were 933 Greek-Catholics, 112 Roman-Catholics and 90 Jews.⁵⁸⁵ In the neighboring village of Yaktoriv, where the Studite Sisters would be hiding little Jewish girls in their orphanage during the war, there were less Jews - 1,233 Greek-Catholics, 50 Roman Catholics, and 50 Jews.⁵⁸⁶ The records for 1931-1932 show no

change for the number of Jews in Univ, but an increase in Yaktoriv to 62 persons.⁵⁸⁷ A similar situation is seen for the years 1932-1933.⁵⁸⁸ However, the records for 1935-1936 show a sharp change in the number of Jews in both villages - in Univ there were 1,084 Greek-Catholics, 85 Roman-Catholics, and only 54 Jews.⁵⁸⁹ In Yaktoriv there was an analogous situation - 1,377 Greek-Catholics, 60 Roman-Catholics, and only 20 Jews.⁵⁹⁰ Obviously, the reduction of the Jewish population was connected to the loss by the villages of their economic positions in this area.

In previous centuries such an economic station was predicated by the establishment in Univ of the Holy Dormition Monastery, which was operating since the end of the 13th c. The Galician Bishops and Metropolitans built up the monastery and demanded all kinds of privileges from the authorities. Most important among these were fairs, which occurred thrice a year. Mykhailo Khamula (1885-1956)⁵⁹¹ wrote in his memoirs: "The Univ pilgrimage/retreat came on the Feast of the Dormition of ~~Our Lady~~, August 28, and lasted for two weeks. Huge crowds of pilgrims gathered there every year to the Univ vidpust, as well as merchants, who came from all of Galicia, Volyn and Podillia. Merchants set up booths around the monastery with all kinds of merchandise, bread, kielbasa and so on, with fairground literature; magicians showed all kinds of magic, and a carousel was there for the kids. All kinds of goods were sold there: footwear, textiles, clothing, etc. From the monks people bought candles, prayer books and religious literature. The villagers set aside extra money all year so that they could buy something at the famous fair/vidpust in Univ."⁵⁹²

The Jews of Univ and the surrounding areas took advantage of these fairs to sell their own wares. Village resident Vasyl Hovitsky recalls that at these fairs there was always a special Jewish bazaar, where they sold amber, candles, Jewish books and ~~kipas/skullcaps~~.⁵⁹³ He particularly remembered the owner of the inn, "who bought lots of bushels of potatoes from the villagers, then made potato pancakes and sold them hot at the fair for two kreuzers a piece."⁵⁹⁴ In the 1920-1930s the trade situation changed. A resident of Univ, Lukiia Lesitska (born 1932) remembers that time: "There were still fairs, but not on such a grand scale. Now they had smaller goods for sale."⁵⁹⁵ The real heyday of these fairs belonged to the past (beginning of 20thc). Lukiia Lesitska mentions that according to the stories told by her mom and grandma, they used to also sell clothing and armor for horses at those fairs. Those fairs lasted for almost two weeks or longer before a religious holy day and then after the holy day, so for almost a whole month.⁵⁹⁶ World War I and the postwar hard times put an end to the huge Univ fairs, and the economic crisis at the end of the 1920s -to the beginning of the 1930s led to Jews departing from Univ and the neighboring villages.

The topography of the resettlement of the Jewish families is best reflected in the ~~Parish Book~~, which the Studite hieromonks and their predecessors kept. With the help of this source one can single out two hamlets in which the most

Jews lived. These were Kapelivka - the center of the populated area⁵⁹⁷ - and Pidkivka - a neighborhood where the greatest concentration of Jewish population was recorded.⁵⁹⁸ Taking advantage of the parish book gave me the opportunity to check the sources of oral history as to the reality of these or other people living in a specific part of Univ.

Members of the Jewish community of Univ were quite wealthy. The owner of the inn in Kapelivka Ankel Ende was one of the richest Jewish landowners in the village. Lukii Lesitska recounted: "The inn belonged to the Jew Ankel Ende, who, by the way, also owned the brick factory. This inn was built later, because he bought this place after the filvarok/manor estate was divided up for sale. Behind this inn still stood the manor estate's long building, in which the estate's servants had lived. In this building he made a horse stable and kept cattle. Because he was involved in agriculture and brickmaking. And, of course, in trading. And this inn he built with the plan that it would be an inn-hotel. He lived on the first floor with his family, and the hotel was on the second floor. This was done so that he could make a profit on the feast of the Dormition."⁵⁹⁹ Besides Ankel Ende, Khaskil Shtertzer also had a brick factory - in Zastavsk, close to Univ.⁶⁰⁰ On Ankel Ende's farm worked many laborers, most of them Ukrainians. One of them was Ivan Shved, the father of Paraskeviia Baran (b. 1939). She recalls an episode from that period: "Once when we had hunger, on a Saturday, my father was guarding a stack of firewood at the inn for the Jew Ankil, along with another servant, so as a reward he said they could pick a loaf of bread, black or white; my father picked a loaf, but he begrudged giving him the soft white one, instead gave him a black honey one and then Ankil's wife quarreled with him, because that was a ritual bread for Saturday, probably a matza."⁶⁰¹ Ivan Shved did many jobs for him. Paraskeviia Baran mentions that her father Ivan Shved brought various goods to Ankel Ende's inn on horses, from Lviv.⁶⁰² This lasted until 1938. In that year, Ankel Ende sold all of his property in Univ. Since Holy Dormition Lavra had "first rights" towards purchasing the inn, it bought it back.⁶⁰³ The reason for his selling all of his property was that Ankel Ende had a relative in the US who wrote him a letter, calling on him to sell everything and leave the II Polish Republic because of the threat of war. He listened to him, sold all his properties and left the country.⁶⁰⁴

Ankel Ende was not the only wealthy Jewish landlord in Univ. The Jews in this village were quite well-off and very enterprising. The words of Vasyl Kravchynshyn (b. 1932) attest to this: "Jews lived in Pidkivtsi (a hamlet of Univ, where most of the Jews of the village lived - Y.S.), that's where Faiha (Meizel) lived, who resold various things in the village, Ankel (Ende) lived in Kapelivka (central part of Univ - Y.S.) and had an inn and a brick factory, Berko (Hert Shtertzer) lived near Chabaniv and had a farm, cattle and a field, Yuda (Alvahil) had a store and a large farm near the post office."⁶⁰⁵ Jews were owners of two stores in the village, the afore-mentioned Faiha Meizel had a store at the end of the hamlet Pidkivky by the river Hnyla Lypa.⁶⁰⁶ This woman is mentioned by

Dmytro-Petro Baran (b. 1934), because she would buy sour cream and eggs from the Baran family.⁶⁰⁷ Another industry that the Jews ran in Univ was the buying of cattle and reselling it. There was a Jewish family who did this in the Pidkivtzi hamlet of Univ.⁶⁰⁸ Yaroslav Ostiuk (b. 1936) recalls an interesting business of his Jewish neighbors. Yons, the son of Khaskil Shterzer, who was married to one of the daughters of the wealthy Jewish Univ farmer Hert Shterzer, bought lots of eggs in the summer, when they were plentiful. In the basement of his building, he placed them in a liquid lime solution. In December-January when Poles and Ukrainians celebrated Christmas, and eggs were in short supply due to the season, Yons Shterzer rented a horse and wagon and took the eggs to sell in Lviv. This gave him a nice profit.⁶⁰⁹

An important aspect in the farm life of the village was milling. There were four mills in Univ. One belonged to the Jew Hert Shterzer.⁶¹⁰ He had quite a large family, which consisted of three daughters - Zlotka, Aidenka, and Hitsi, plus two sons - Yons and Endel.⁶¹¹ The second and third mills belonged to the Holy Dormition Lavra, though one was rented by the Jew Melman.⁶¹² The fourth belonged to the Stasiuks - a Polish family.⁶¹³ People from the villages of Slovita, Yaktoriv and even Lypivtzi, though they had their own mill, brought their grains to the Univ mills, because they were famous for their mechanisms and for the quality of their grist.⁶¹⁴

There was no synagogue in Univ. Iryna Chuchman (b. 1952) recalls her mother saying: "The Jews prayed in their homes, but for big holy days they went to the synagogue in Peremysliany." However, there was a Jewish cemetery in the village, and some of the gravestones have survived to this day.⁶¹⁵ The Jews of Univ kept the traditions of Judaism. On Saturdays they did not work and invited the Ukrainian neighbors' children to light their hearths. There are testimonies of people who did this work. The Jews gave the children candy for carrying out this task.⁶¹⁶

Relations with Ukrainians had both an economic-commercial and a personal character. About the former there are the facts given about Ukrainians working for Jewish owners, and trading in goods. About the latter, in the words of witnesses, particularly Vasyl Kravchyshyn: "Khaskil (Shterzer) had a handicapped son Badia and another son Yosyp, who went to church and hung out with Ukrainians, especially with Dorko Sukhach, who was a horse driver in the monastery."⁶¹⁷ Bohdan Zinyk, b. 1936, testifies that the handicapped Bad went to the Univ school together with the Ukrainian kids.⁶¹⁸ There were also a few cases in Univ of christenings of local Jews with later arrangements of marriages with Ukrainians.⁶¹⁹ The interviewed longtime residents of Univ testified to friendly relations with their Jewish neighbors.⁶²⁰ Such good neighborly relations would become life-saving for the Univ Jews during the Holocaust, when they would seek help from these former Ukrainian neighbors.

The beginning of the Second World War in September 1939 brought

changes to the daily life of Univ. The first victim of totalitarianism became the Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order. Hieromonk Hedeon (Syroid) testifies that when on September 21, 1939, a Soviet military subdivision was moving through Univ, someone from the local residents said that there were hunting weapons in the Lavra. The soldiers immediately arrested the prior Hieromonk Yosef (Shestiuk), who knew nothing about the rifles, and they were getting ready to execute him if he did not produce them. The situation was saved by Hieromonk Hedeon (Syroid), who found the weapons sealed up in a wall.⁶²¹ This denunciation was a terrifying signal for the Lavra, because it started a series of similar ones, which continued throughout WWII during the reign of various occupying regimes.

Another aspect was that up to the war, the Lavra managed a huge amount of land. This was a result of its development by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, who continually expanded the property. The Lavra owned 80 hectares of fields and 150 hectares of forestland. Between the villages of Yaktoriv and Univ lay the “Stolovi/Warehouses of the Greek-Catholic Metropolia in Lviv.” Their size, in turn, constituted 1270 hectares of land and 1000 hectares of forest.⁶²² All of this monastery and metropolitan property was nationalized by the Soviet authorities in the fall of 1939.

This nationalization was accompanied by open plunder of the monastery.⁶²³ Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk), who was at the Lavra then, testifies that the Bolsheviks confiscated the cattle and the wheat.⁶²⁴ Lukiia Lesitska notes: “The ready grain from the fields, which was already picked, authorized personnel came and loaded onto their wagons, placing poor village people on top of it, and so they rode past us (Lesitskys) singing this song “Freedom, freedom, what is yours is mine. Everything is ours and no one else’s.” And the poor people were so happy with the gifted wheat that they cooked many varenyky, not knowing how much they could eat. They ate and ate, and still so many varenyky were left over, that they gave a barrel to the cow, because they had no idea how much they could eat.”⁶²⁵ During this pandemonium, one of the former wards of the monastery orphanage robbed his friends from the institution and the monks.⁶²⁶

The same thing happened in the neighboring village of Yaktoriv. The local ranger and manager of the forests of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, Petro Piasetsky (1904-1988), who was keeping a diary at the time, remembered: “In Yaktoriv, the property of the Theological Seminary was looted. They took away all the goods on big wagons and stole the cattle. And on the grounds of the Lviv Theological Seminary, the Bolshevik army camped out. Some motorized division. Otherwise, the people would’ve taken the buildings apart, too.”⁶²⁷

In this situation that arose in Univ in September 1939, one can see the flare up of a certain inadequacy in the actions of the local poor population concerning the monastery property, as they acquired access to the estate of the

Studite Holy Dormition Lavra. For instance, Hanna Holovetska cooked varenyky for a cow from the monastery grains. The wheat, which they took from the Lavra, they purposefully spilled on the road, so that it formed a path. It is important to mention that the organizing process of a pogrom was done by the newly-formed village council, from among the Univ dwellers, headed by Andrii Nudyk.⁶²⁸

Before the arrival of the Soviet authorities, there were a few individual Communists in the village. One of these was Ivan Bedriy, who incited the poor villagers against the wealthy ones in Univ in September 1939. This prompted a special meeting in the village council with representatives of the authorities from Peremyshliany. At this meeting the balance between neighborly relations was disturbed for the first time in the middle of the Ukrainian village society. Neighbors began to denounce each other with the goal of receiving property. An example of this was the family of the local blacksmith Ivan Lesitsky. At this meeting, his neighbor Ivan Mykyta publicly accused him of being a kurkul/kulak. The latter wanted to obtain permission to take over part of the property of the former. He motivated this with his poverty and the need to support eight children. However, his proposal was rejected, because the Lesitskys did not have a large field, and therefore did not fall into the category of kurkuls/kulaks.⁶²⁹ In a different format, the same situation repeated itself during the times of Nazi occupation. At that time, certain residents of Univ would watch their neighbors, who helped Jews, in order to get a reward from the German occupational administration. In this context, Khrystyna Khiger's view is right on track, that it was the Soviets who started to deprive people of humanity, and the Germans just perfected it.⁶³⁰

The described situation in 1939 caused the formation of a defensive behavior in the people, which only grew deeper in the following years. It consisted of, as Olha Zaverukha (b. 1919) testified, "knowing how to be mute and trust no one."⁶³¹ This behavior leads us to an understanding of the tension in the village during the events of the Holocaust, as well as the mental state of the people who were hiding or helping Jews survive in those very difficult circumstances.

On the other hand, the events of 1939 can be seen as the first wave of all-out permissiveness in WWII. In two years, this will be repeated again, except its victims will be the local Jews. Its characteristic sign will be a dynamic destruction and a quick end. A confirmation of this can be found in Peter Piasetsky's writings: "A mortal fear overtook us. The people were happy that Poland was gone and thought that now there would be Ukraine. But very quickly the people became sad again. In the very first days the villagers took advantage of the slogan "Rob that which was Looted" and started plundering the landlords' estates and then that was the end of their joy."⁶³²

After the September 1939 events sovietization began in Univ and the neighboring villages. In the Lavra, besides taking the lands, they also took away part of the agricultural buildings. At this time there began a problem with

refugees. Many Ukrainians and Poles were fleeing from the occupied Soviet part of Galicia to the German side, while from the German side the Jews escaped en masse to the Soviet side.⁶³³ Mykhailo Shkilnyk, who in the interwar period was a judge in Peremyshliany, and during the German occupation became mayor of this city, testifies that towards the end of the first Soviet occupation there were around 1,200 Jewish refugees just in this one small town.⁶³⁴ The Soviet authorities also placed some Jewish refugees in the confiscated buildings of the Holy Dormition Lavra. Lukiiia Lesitska recalls: "Jews lived in the building to the left of the church."⁶³⁵ Hieromonk Hedeon (Syroid) notes that they actually lived in the monks' cells.⁶³⁶

This was not an exception, the placing of Jewish refugees by the Soviet authorities into places that were the property of the UGCC. In Lviv, Jewish refugees from the terrains of the former II Rzeczpospolita (the Polish State) were also settled into the buildings of the Theological Seminary of the Holy Ghost.⁶³⁷ When at the end of June 1941 the city was seized by the German armies, at the order of the Rector of the Lviv Theological Academy Archbishop-Coadjutor Yosyf Slipyi, these people were hidden for a while in the basement of the building of the Theological Seminary of the Holy Ghost.⁶³⁸ Their further fate is unknown.

Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) indicates that four families and two single men settled in the Holy Dormition Lavra. The reason that these particular Jewish families ended up in this Lavra is that they knew how to work in the monastery tannery, which was confiscated by the state. Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) contends that for the most part these people were Jewish refugees from Austria.⁶³⁹ But, there was also among them a refugee from Krystynopil (currently Chervonohrad of Lviv Oblast) named Wolff Liam.

The woes of the Liam family began in September of 1939. German armies took over Krystynopil and according to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, this town was to remain in their sphere of influence. Hieromonk Hedeon (Syroid) remembers: "At that time the Germans chased the Jews out of the city. They gave them an hour to get ready. The wealthiest were executed. This was payback because during Polish rule, some Jews drowned an effigy of Hitler in the river Buh."⁶⁴⁰ For the Liam family this expulsion was difficult, because Wolff and Perli had four children.⁶⁴¹ They came to Peremyshliany where Wolff was sent to work at the tannery of the Holy Dormition Lavra. Eventually the tannery played a very important and tragic role in the fate of the Liam family. It became for them both a place of refuge and a place, near which part of their family would be captured. To better understand these events, we need to describe what a tannery/harbarnia was.

A tannery was a place where they tanned hides. In the life of a village this was an important and profitable business. In the Holy Dormition Lavra, work in

this enterprise was placed on a high level. It all began because there was a working trade school at the monastery,⁶⁴² which had around 30 students in 1933. Most of the children were wards of the monastery's orphanage. The Studites desired to not only raise these children, but to give them professional skills, which would guarantee them work and a decent income in the future. In this school, the students learned professions such as cobbler, tailor, locksmith, blacksmith, and from 1933 - tanner.⁶⁴³ In 1935 the above-mentioned tannery began its operation.⁶⁴⁴ At first, it specialized in leather farming. In time, they started to produce skins such as yukht, box calf, rawhide, and skin blanks. This production filled quite a large building, which consisted of five rooms and stretched along a creek.⁶⁴⁵ At first, about seven-eight people worked here. After expansion and reconstruction by engineer Leskiv, the number of workers reached close to 30 in 1939.⁶⁴⁶

The Soviet authorities confiscated this business from the Lavra and combining it with a sawmill, created an industrial plant.⁶⁴⁷ In addition, they started a bakery and a workshop for basket weaving in the Lavra.⁶⁴⁸ The Bolsheviks didn't have enough qualified workers for all these productions, so they allowed the monks to officially work there. Brother Lavrentii (Kuzyk) recalls that eighteen Studites were registered in the kitchen and tannery.⁶⁴⁹ Wolff Liam worked as the foreman at the tannery.⁶⁵⁰ The workers there consisted of both Studites and local villagers.⁶⁵¹ Among the Studites working there at the time were Brothers Teodozii (Tsybrivsky) and Volodymyr (Pobereyko),⁶⁵² who played a significant role in Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's operation of rescuing Jews during the Holocaust.

Commissar Verbovsky, a Soviet Jew, was made director of the industrial plant, and his task was not only to manage the business, but also to supervise the monks. However, the attitude of this Soviet functionary towards the monks was changed by an event that happened in his family. Commissar Verbovsky's daughter became ill and he came to the prior of the Lavra Hieromonk Yosef (Shestiuk) to ask for help. The latter answered that he would pray for the child. That evening the child recovered. In three days the Verbytsky couple came to the prior of the Lavra with their child, and the commissar promised that no ill would befall the monks.⁶⁵³ Thus, the Studites established relations with the local Soviet power, however, there were other threats.

The monks lived and worked side-by-side with the Jewish families of refugees, who were settled in the Lavra. Brother Lavrentii (Kuzyk) notes that the Studites sympathized with these people.⁶⁵⁴ The relationship between them is characterized by a fact, for which the NKVS almost arrested the Studites. Brother Lavrentii (Kuzyk) recalls: "When in the winter, there came people from the library in Lviv, for a whole week they all worked together, all those who had large and valuable books in the Univ library, they numbered everything, recorded

and sealed it. But there were also many personal things belonging to the ihumen. We wanted to save them. And so at night, we broke the seal, and all the more valuable things that were dear to us, we hid in other places...After a while, someone reported that the seal was broken. These Jews, as the NKVD people arrived to arrest us, it was these Jews that saved us. A Jew said that there was a great storm in the night, and his window was blown out, and these doors, he says, there was such a strong draft and those seals were ripped off. And here you have it, that Jew saved us. We saved them, and they saved us.”⁶⁵⁵ This fact shows that the Jews were not indifferent to the monks, who lived side-by-side with them. Both groups, which had become victims of totalitarianism, in those awful conditions, tried to meet halfway and help in whatever way they could. Brother Lavrentii (Kuzyk) says: “The Jews arranged so that flour would be delivered to us, though not very good quality, because there already was not much bread for the village. Not for us though, for we still had some, people who did not eat themselves, brought us flour. And we had a bakery and the brothers baked bread for that village. The Jews did that, too.”⁶⁵⁶ Indicative is the fact that the first person to bring the Studites food after the start of the Soviet occupation, was a local Univ Jew.⁶⁵⁷ Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) notes: “Our neighbor was the first, people were afraid of each other, but a neighbor Jew brought milk to the gate. He was the first, after that people saw that it was okay to bring something, and they did, usually on Sundays, walking along the forest.”⁶⁵⁸ Taking into account the oppressive atmosphere after the confiscation and looting of the monastery, such an act points to the compassion of individual Univ Jews towards the fate of the Studites. Such steps in a regime of a general fear of arrests and denunciations, are evidence of the high regard that the monks held among certain Univ Jews, and about the good relations between people which the Soviet occupation could not break.

It is exactly these kinds of relations that developed among the Jews and the Studites during the first Soviet occupation that explain why in the future, the leadership of the Lavra agrees to let the Liam family live in the attic of the cistern⁸⁴ of the tannery. Besides the Christian obligation to save the life of a person in mortal danger, there was the fact that Wolff Liam was well-known to the Studites and to certain local residents. They trusted him and so took the risk of helping him.

The end of the first Soviet occupation was marked by an all-encompassing atmosphere of fear. People watched with great anxiety the terror, which reached its peak in the spring-early summer of 1941. There was constant uncertainty about tomorrow. Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) remembers: “Trains arrived in Peremyshliany, and it was said that there was a list, and that everyone, the whole village and us (Studites) were to be deported.”⁶⁵⁹

The threat of arrests and deportation was not the only problem. When Germany began war with the USSR on June 22, 1941, the most prominent and

honored residents of Univ were being called out to Peremyshliany. Not suspecting anything bad, people came there and were murdered by the officers of the NKVS. That is how, on the first day of war, one of the Jewish refugees who lived in the Lavra, was killed - he was an engineer, a worker in the tannery.⁶⁶⁰

On July 1, 1941, the German armies occupied Peremyshliany.⁶⁶¹ For the Jews of Univ, this was the beginning of the end of their community. Throughout the next occupation, the life of these people would depend on the compassion of the local Ukrainian population. The events of the Holocaust in Univ would show that the local Ukrainians were not indifferent to the fate of their neighbors, the Jews. The number of acts of help and sheltering greatly outnumbers the amount of crimes, which the local population may have committed against the Jews.

At the moment of the arrival of Germans to Univ, the Liam family had already experienced contact with them, based on their September deportation from Krystynopil. Of course, while living in a small village during the first Soviet occupation, they shared this experience with the local Jews. However, the Univ Jews still had certain illusions about the new powers. This is recorded in the memoirs of Yosyp Zinyk: "When in 1941 the Germans rode on their motorcycles and cars from Yaktoriv to Univ, one educated Jew, who spoke German, told the people to form an archway and to welcome the Jews. But they (the Germans, *trans*) started mocking the "Juden!" and cutting off half their beards with scissors. They (the Jews, *trans*) became very sad, while the Germans drove on to Lypovets."⁶⁶² This testimony is also confirmed by a witness to this act of persecution, Bohdan Zinyk. He claims that one of the victims was Haskil Shtertser.⁶⁶³

This fact proves that the Jews of Univ felt the danger but strove to reach some sort of an understanding with the new power. The relatively peaceful drive through of this military column through Univ was the only case in which the Germans did not openly commit violence against the Jews after capturing a populated point in this locality. For example, the situation was different in the neighboring village of Hlyniany. Mykhaylo Khamula recalls in his memoir: "In 1941, the Germans entering Hlyniany arrested four local Jews, led them to Liashky Korolivski (now the village of Zastavne in the Zolochiv district of Lviv Oblast), shot them and buried them in the pasture."⁶⁶⁴ An even more awful tragedy took place in the town of Peremyshliany.

Peremyshliany was known in Galicia as the center of Hasidism.⁶⁶⁵ This was a typical Galician shtetl, a town where the Jewish population was the majority. According to the census of 1921, there lived 2,051 Jews, which constituted 50.1% of the population of Peremyshliany⁶⁶⁶. In 1931 there were already close to 3,000 Jews in the city.⁶⁶⁷ As already noted, in July 1941, the town was overflowing with Jewish refugees.⁶⁶⁸ In the first days of Nazi occupation, it along with

other Galician cities, suffered a planned-and-regulated by Germans Jewish pogrom, carried out by the hands of the local population, which was in a state of shock after seeing the crimes committed by the Soviets in the prisons of the NKVS. The Nazis played well the card of stereotyping “Jewish-Communists,”⁶⁶⁹ and hundreds of innocent Jews became its victims. After this and the following killings, persecutions and escapes, the number of the Jewish population again fell to the pre-war level. As of November 28, 1941, there were 3,216 Jews⁶⁷⁰ living in Peremyshliany, and in the whole Peremyshliany County there were 15,178 of them.⁶⁷¹

Univ did not become an exception in this spontaneous chain of July violence. In the village several local residents killed the Jewish miller and his wife in their own home. The killings were accompanied by looting of their property.⁶⁷² One can assume that the murders had a social substratum, since this family was wealthy. It brought to mind a more pointed variant of the September 1939 events. At that time, there were no human victims, but in 1941 the all-permissiveness, under the influence of life in a Soviet totalitarian society, evolved to a much higher level of brutality.

In this context the reaction of the Studites was significant. The pastor of Univ at this time was Hieromonk Herman (Budzinsky).⁶⁷³ He found out about the crime that was committed. When a week later there was a village meeting at which the chief of the local administration was elected, this priest came to the meeting and asked to speak.⁶⁷⁴ In a criminal case, which the Soviet organs of national security led against him later, he remarks that he purposely came there, in order to warn the people who didn't go to church. against killing Jews.⁶⁷⁵ The hieromonk declared at the meeting, that after the election of the new officials in Univ, there should be order and similar crimes should not be repeated.⁶⁷⁶ He specifically emphasized that murdering Jews is a manifestation of banditry.⁶⁷⁷ Important in this speech was the fact that since the first days of the occupation the subject of pogroms was discussed publicly and was openly condemned by the pastor of the village, who was the representative of the UGCC in this community. It probably didn't change the behavior of people. After all, people with moral convictions continued to hold on to their views, and criminals continued their actions, supported and stimulated by the German administration. However, this was a confirmation of the position of the Studite monks of the Holy Dormition Lavra on this matter.

For Hieromonk Herman (Budzinskyi) this was the first experience of helping Jews during the German occupation. In November of 1941, Hieromonk Herman (Budzinskyi) was transferred from the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra to the Monastery of St. Yosafat/Josafat in Lviv, where he was sent to work as a chaplain in the hospital for prisoners-of-war, which was located in the building of the Basilian Sisters (~~OSBM~~) at 103 A. Pototsky St. (currently General Chuprynka St.)⁶⁷⁸ In Lviv Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky entrusted him with a number of

responsibilities which pertained to the rescue and care of Jews, who had escaped from the Lviv ghetto. Nevertheless, it was the Univ murders which were for him the entrance to the trials of the Holocaust. He displayed courage and uncompromisingness. Over the next years, this Studite monk would actively help the Jews in Lviv, and after the liquidation of the UGCC in 1946, he continued his service as an underground priest, for which the Soviet authorities persecuted him more than once.⁶⁷⁹

Wolff Liam's family, just as other refugees, were in relative safety during the July 1941 events, since they were living with the monks in the Holy Dormition Lavra. However, this state-of-affairs was short-lived. The German authorities allowed the renewal of normal activities in the monastery and returned part of the lands confiscated earlier by the Soviet powers.⁶⁸⁰ Their attitude towards the Studites was balanced.⁶⁸¹ The Germans only requisitioned two bells for the needs of the army,⁶⁸² and this was the end of their intrusion into the life of the monastery.

Together with the renewal of the monastic rhythm of life, the refugees were to leave the walls of the Lavra.⁶⁸³ The Liam family moved to a building in the village,⁶⁸⁴ but kept in touch with the monastery because their head was officially accepted to work as a master craftsman at the tannery,⁶⁸⁵ which the Germans did not return to the Lavra, but permitted the monks to work there alongside the former workers-residents of Univ.⁶⁸⁶ This became the next stage of cooperation between the Studites and this family, which would end with a place for them to hide during the cleansing of Univ from Jews by the Germans.

For the local Univ Jews the events of the pogrom of July 4, 1941 and the first operation, which took place on November 1941, as a result of which around four hundred unemployable people in Peremyshliany⁶⁸⁷ became victims, was the signal to start searching for methods of salvation. Some people, for example the family of wealthy landowner Yuda Alvahil, the owner of a store in the center of Univ, decided in advance to become illegal. They arranged for a hiding place and separated. Yuda Alvahil and his sons left the village, and only his wife Hanna and their three daughters stayed in the shelter. The shelter was custom-made/dug out of the earth by a local resident. Mariia Kazymyra, the wife of the village head, brought them food. But the locals soon began to suspect something because of Maria's wanderings there with food. So, she stopped doing this and engaged her sister Anastasiia to do it, and she continued bringing them bread and cereals. This lasted all summer of 1942 until the fall. Then Hanna Alvahil announced that they no longer needed to bring them anything, because they were moving to another location. Hanna Alvahil and the three daughters managed to survive the Holocaust, and they returned to Univ with the arrival of the Soviets.⁶⁸⁸

The family of Haskil Shtertzer, was obviously also preparing to hide. They

began this journey by deciding to preserve their own property. Ihor Demkovych (b. 1944) repeats the story told by his father Yosyp Demkovych. Haskil Shtertzer came to Yosyp Demkovych with a suitcase and asked him to keep it for him for the time of the German occupation. The condition of this hiding was that if the Jewish family survives the occupation - they will evenly divide the contents of this suitcase. If not - the suitcase will become the property of the Demkovychs. But, Yosyp Demkovych was too afraid to accept this suitcase. Then Haskil Shtertzer offered that his family could move into his home, which was one of the nicest in Univ, but again was met with a refusal, because Yosyp Demkovych feared that the Germans might take them away for execution in place of the Jews.⁶⁸⁹

All these initiatives which the Jews took for their safety in Univ, were soon justified. The Nazis began the deportation of the Jewish population from the village areas to ghettos created in the cities.⁶⁹⁰ According to memoirs of the witnesses, this began in Univ at harvest time in 1942.⁶⁹¹ This put an end to the legal existence of a Jewish community in this village. Testimonies of eyewitnesses of this raid/round-up have survived. Ostap Kazymyra remembers the columns of Germans who walked in military ranks and combed the vicinity.⁶⁹² Dmytro Baran recounts that for implementing this action the Germans also took Univ men. His father Ivan Baran was involved in this raid. Together with a Ukrainian policeman from Peremyshliany, he came into a Jewish house in the Univ district of Pidkivtsi. There was no one there, only a stack of hay swayed in the corner. The Ukrainian policeman noticed this and told Ivan Baran that Jews were hiding there. And added, let them remain here. Then they left the house and went on their way.⁶⁹³

This incident was an example of a relatively safe way to help Jews in those circumstances. On the other hand, another incident shows the level of risk some fellow villagers took, who had compassion for their Jewish neighbors. Ivan Baran's own brother - Hryhoriy - also took part in this fall raid. The Germans left him to guard some captured Jews in a house. It had a window, which looked out upon a garden, planted with corn. A Jewish woman who was in custody begged Hryhoriy to let her boy go, he agreed, opened the window and the child escaped into the corn. For this the Germans almost shot him, but somehow this was prevented and he was able to avoid death.⁶⁹⁴ During this raid, the Jews of Univ, who had not managed to find reliable cover, were transferred to the ghetto in Peremyshliany and died either during execution or in the gas chambers of the concentration death camp in Belzec.⁶⁹⁵ In particular, this fate befell Haskil Shtertzer, his wife and their grandson Lazar.⁶⁹⁶

Wolff Liam's family managed to survive during the described events. The Studite monks of the Holy Dormition Lavra allowed them to live in the attic of the cistern of the monastery tannery. Among the monks there was only a small

number of persons, with the prior Yosyf (Shestiuk) who knew about this. Wolff and Perli ended up in the attic with four children, one of them of breast-feeding age.⁶⁹⁷ Sheltering families with infants was the hardest. In Univ there was a case of hiding a Jewish childbirth. In the hamlet of Pidkivtsi - Paraskeviia Nudyk (Chaban) hid a Jewish pregnant woman and helped her to give birth to a little boy. She survived with the baby and later was able to move to Poland.⁶⁹⁸ The conditions of their life were a lot better than for the Liams. During the day workers were working at the tannery, so the Liams had to be very quiet, and this with a tiny child. At night, they were able to go out for some fresh air. This was important also, because they did not have enough to eat in hiding, therefore at night they had the chance to turn for help from the closest house to the tannery, the Lesitsky household. Perli Liam went to them for milk for her children. However, this was an extremely dangerous endeavor, because the Germans had made an announcement in the monastery church about a monetary reward for the exposure of Jews and one of the Lesitsky's neighbors decided to get it. He started watching the building. The Lesitskys understood this and began to be more careful in helping the Liams. They agreed that they would meet by the fence of the Lavra and not in the building where the Lesitskys lived. The last time they were given coffee and two loaves. After this Perli Liam and her younger children were caught by two local Ukrainian foresters/rangers and handed over to the Gestapo. Wolff Liam managed to escape with two sons during this raid. They began to hide in the surrounding forests.⁶⁹⁹

The Liam family were not the only ones whom the Studites helped. There was another family, about whom there are memoirs of both monks⁷⁰⁰ and village residents.⁷⁰¹ Leon Chameides and Oded Amarant - Jewish children who lived in the orphanage at the Holy Dormition Lavra, testified that on the territory of the monastery there lived a family consisting of a man, a woman, a little boy and an older girl.⁷⁰² They lived and slept in a wagon covered by a tarp, and the Studites brought them food. Every time that Germans came to Univ, these people escaped to the forest with their wagon.⁷⁰³ Unlike the Liams, members of this family did not manage to survive. Today's sources show two versions of their death. The first one is given by the residents of Univ, who claim that the father was shot in an ambush, and the wife and little boy were taken to the ghetto in Peremyshliany.⁷⁰⁴ The fate of the girl remains unknown. The second version is in the memoir of Leon Hamaides, who writes about the death of all four.⁷⁰⁵

Besides this, there is also mention of a group of people who got to the Lavra from Lviv. The personal driver of the head of the UGCC Ivan Hirnyi notes that he brought six Jewish men from the monastery of St. Yosafat to the Univ Lavra at the instruction of Fr. Ivan Kotiv. They had all been given documents by Hieromonk Yoan (Peters), stating that they are professionals in the printing business. On the Lavra grounds, he left them in an old barn, where he was directed by a local monk. There the driver noticed around fifteen Jewish men, women

and children.⁷⁰⁶ The future fate of these people is unknown, as is the method of their hiding.

To understand the following stage of aid to the Jews by the Studites and local residents, it is worth pausing at the concrete example that Univ was both at the epicenter and on the periphery of those processes, which the American researcher Timothy Snyder aptly called the construction and functioning of the “economics of the Apocalypse.”⁷⁰⁷ The central place in the Nazi terror against Jews of this area was the ghetto in Peremyshliany,⁷⁰⁸ which was about 7 km from Univ. But, there was one more smaller ghetto, in the town of Hlyniany,⁷⁰⁹ 17 km from Univ. In the neighboring village of Yaktoriv, which was about 7 km from Univ, there was a forced labor camp for Jews in the hamlet of Hrushka.⁷¹⁰ A similar camp also existed in the village of Kurovychi about 18 km from Univ.⁷¹¹ The latter two camps of forced labor were part of the network, whose task it was to build a road from Lviv to Rostov-on-the-Don.⁷¹² One of the offshoots of this road also went through Univ. Jews were brought over every day from the Peremyshliany Ghetto to the construction site and they laid the road from Univ to Yaktoriv.⁷¹³ From the local quarry, where Jews also worked, Ukrainian men from Univ took turns bringing stones/rocks with their own horses.⁷¹⁴ They, like all the residents of the village, were witness to the daily abuses of the Jews. The villagers particularly remembered a song which the overseers forced the Jews to sing every day on the way to Univ: “Hitler is golden, he gave us a golden job.”⁷¹⁵ The Nazis also practiced engaging Ukrainians in similar jobs in this vicinity. For example, in the neighboring village of Yaktoriv, the Jews from the forced labor camp on Hrushka worked in the quarries near the village of Slovita. The Germans forced the Yaktoriv landowners to take turns driving a kitchen-wagon over to the Slovita village.⁷¹⁶ And they were also witness to the life of the imprisoned Jews. It is worth mentioning that certain residents of Univ even came to the afore-mentioned camp of forced labor on Hrushka, bringing food and exchanging it for money.⁷¹⁷ Some of them, like Yosyp Demkovych who helped his former Jewish neighbor who ended up there, helped selflessly.⁷¹⁸

Feeling that their end was near, the Jewish prisoners, who worked in Univ, attacked the policemen who were guarding them and killed them, and a few of the prisoners managed to escape.⁷¹⁹ They repeated the act of the prisoners from Yaktoriv. The latter remained in the forced labor camp almost to the end, without any resistance. From the testimony of Bohdan Hnativ (born 1929), one of the wagon drivers who brought food to the imprisoned, we see that they had all kinds of opportunities to escape. The camp security consisted of Ukrainian policemen, not from the area, who did not closely guard the Jews entrusted to them. For weapons they only had rifles. The Jews, who outnumbered the guards many times, could have easily killed them and escaped into the forest, where they were laying the road. However, they did not do this. In the camp there reigned a psychological atmosphere of doom, and only in the face of imminent execution, did a part of the prisoners escape.⁷²⁰ To those who were left,

were added Jews brought over from the vicinities, and all were executed on the Lypovytsia hill near the hamlet of Hrushky.⁷²¹ The executioners were German detachments, while the Ukrainian police only surrounded the place of execution.⁷²² They were shot in the middle of the day. People were working in surrounding fields and heard the shots. Jews buried the executed, and then came their own turn.⁷²³ This happened in July 1943. As noted before, only 80 Jews managed to escape from the forced labor camp in Yaktoriv the night prior to liquidation.⁷²⁴ Afterwards they became a part of those Jews, who were hiding in the surrounding forests and often perished at the hands of the Nazis or local people, who gave them up, and also due to the hard living conditions.⁷²⁵ From them was even formed a Jewish partisan unit,⁷²⁶ which entered into battles together with UPA.⁷²⁷ On the whole, from the 60 person unit, only 6 survived.⁷²⁸

Jews were also hiding in the forests around Univ. They were particularly helped with food by the Studites.⁷²⁹ However, someone from the locals would denounce them to the Gestapo and from time to time, Germans would arrive to do searches. One of those searches ended with a wooden skete being burned down near the Lavra.⁷³⁰ This group had very complicated relations with the local population. Several incidents taken from the stories of eyewitnesses of those events bear witness to this. The first relates to the unsuccessful attempt to rob Jews by some Ukrainians from Univ. One Sunday a group of men decided to stage an attack on the Jews, who at that time were living in cabins in the forest not far from the Lavra.⁷³¹ Hearing strangers approaching, the Jews hid, but didn't take a bag, which was left by an open fire.⁷³² A resident of Univ, Dmytro Zinyk walked towards it. Yons, the son of Haskil Shtertz, warned him not to take it and to go on. But Zinyk did not listen and was shot in response. The other men scattered. The next day the police arrived from Peremyshliany and took away the body of the dead man. The Jews had moved to a different place by then.⁷³³ On a different occasion these same Jews entered into conflict with a local resident Stepan Sukhotskyi. Five of them came armed into his yard and set his house on fire.⁷³⁴ In this context it is necessary to emphasize that there was not a Ukrainian-Jewish conflict flaring up in Univ. There was a war flaring up of everyone against everyone. As noted earlier, before the war there were no pronounced ethnic conflicts in Univ, but the war pitted people against each other.⁷³⁵ The most deeply felt was the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation, which only kept getting worse. As of November 28, 1941 there resided in the village 1,108 Ukrainians and 95 Poles.⁷³⁶ Polish resistance units started attacking Univ from the year 1943,⁷³⁷ and UPA would organize acts of retribution, the victims of which became local Poles.⁷³⁸ Towards the end of the German occupation, one of the active members of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's Jewish rescue operation Brother Volodymyr (Pobereiko) became a victim of a Polish attack. He was killed on the road from Peremyshliany to Univ.⁷³⁹ It is also worth remembering about the escalation of the fighting of UPA with the German units, which was observed at the end of the occupation.⁷⁴⁰

In this vortex of violence, the behavior of the local population varied.⁷⁴¹ There were people in Univ who sympathized with the Jews, helped them survive, and hid them, risking their own lives and those of their kin. There were also those who tracked Jews, gave them up, or even killed them with the goal of obtaining their property. This kind of situation was observed in neighboring Yaktoriv. Some of those villagers sympathized with the tragedy of the Jews.⁷⁴² For instance, the family of Hanna Baran (born 1936) hid a Jewish girl in their attic amidst chaff for several months until a relative took her away.⁷⁴³ Petro Piasetsky, who was the chief forest ranger of Yaktoriv forestry agency from 1941-1944, which was created by the German administration on the basis of the former properties of Yaktoriv-Univ "Stolovi Dobra" of the Greek Catholic Metropoly in Lviv, testifies that Jews were hiding out in all four forested areas of this establishment.⁷⁴⁴ The forestry personnel helped them and did not hinder them in any way. Forest ranger Ivan Vakhula, for example, would bring over food and ammo with his own horses. He was the mediator between them and the outside world. Other foresters would inform groups of Jews about dangers which threatened their specific hideouts. Thanks to this they could leave these places in time and move to others. In this work, the forest ranger Yevhen Liudkevych especially distinguished himself.⁷⁴⁵

The Jews who were being helped, were often from the vicinity. Thus, for instance, nineteen Jews from Lahodova village were hiding in the forest.⁷⁴⁶ Daria Sokolyk (born 1947) recalls that her father Ivan Sokolyk (1920-1988) hid the Pizem family in Peremyshliany for a while. When his father Mykhailo Sokolyk announced that the neighbors suspect this, he led the Pizems through the village of Borshchiv to the village of Chemeryntsi (now villages of Peremyshliany district of Lviv Oblast), and there in the forest they united with other Jews, who were being helped by the foresters.⁷⁴⁷ Among those saved by the forest rangers were the Yaktoriv Jews. Ranger Volodymyr Stefaruk gave shelter in his building in the middle of the forest to Klara Katz, the daughter of the Yaktoriv innkeeper Leyba Katz. However, there were also other non-local Jews, escapees from forest jobs. All these groups lived in hideouts. The local shepherds and forest workers knew about these hideouts. But they never turned them over to the Gestapo.⁷⁴⁸ Silence was the savior. For some of the residents of Yaktoriv excused the "German business,"⁷⁴⁹ at first hiding people, and later turning them over to the Gestapo.⁷⁵⁰

In this regard, it is worth noting that Jews who gave themselves into the hands of people who hid them, became pawns of their goodwill and the circumstances of the time. The Jews were forced to take these steps, otherwise, as Kristina Higer notes in her memoirs, on their own, they were doomed to death.⁷⁵¹ Some were lucky, they ended up with decent people. Others did not, and they perished. In Univ there were a few cases where Jews were killed by local residents.⁷⁵² After the end of the German occupation and the arrival of the Soviet authorities, some Jewish families, which had survived, returned. Certain of their

members were soon after killed by local people. Two such killings have been well remembered by the old-timers. First, that of the wife of Yuda Alvahil - Hanna and her three daughters. The motivation was robbery, since these people had returned to the village to pick up their buried savings. Some local saw this and shot them outside of the village.⁷⁵³ The other incident was with the two daughters of the wealthy Jew Hert Shtertzer, who were killed by an UPA partisan for thanking Soviet officers for freeing them from German occupation.⁷⁵⁴

The murder of Jews in the village was a matter of individual residents, who desired to become richer at their cost. The killers and the informers socially belonged to the poor section of the village.⁷⁵⁵ The residents of Univ knew these people,⁷⁵⁶ and were wary of them. Olha Stashchyshyn (born 1937) recounts that Jews would come up to their building from the forest, since they knew her mother - Hanna Zinyk. But, behind the Zinyk house stood a local man, who watched how the Jews entered the house in order to inform on them later. The Zinyks gave these Jews food and clothing, but they were very careful.⁷⁵⁷

In those dangerous conditions, it was widely accepted to give temporary shelter only for a certain period of time,⁷⁵⁸ or to help with transfer to a different hiding place. An example is what happened with the Lesitsky family. When the Nazis were executing Jews from the labor camp in Yaktoriv on Lypovytsia Hill, a Jewish woman with a child managed to crawl out from under the corpses and run away.⁷⁵⁹ Covered in blood, she came to the Lesitsky house.⁷⁶⁰ They washed and fed her and she went on.⁷⁶¹ However, there were also incidents when frightened people refused to help because of the fear of being given up for hiding Jews.⁷⁶²

An example of a long-lasting sheltering of a group of Jews is the story of a local teacher Mykola Diuk. For fifteen months, from January 1943 to July 1944, he hid five Jews in the brick loft between the Univ school and an annex. In the winter, they stayed in the basement. The Diuk family also lived in this building. An obvious reason that they did not fall under the eyes of the local informers was the German officer, who also lived in this building at the time.⁷⁶³ German officers and soldiers from the eastern front would stop in villages of this region for R&R.⁷⁶⁴ He and the Diuk family developed friendly relations. He probably guessed about the hidden Jews, but didn't say anything.⁷⁶⁵ Thanks to him, these people were able to be saved. One of them was the future Nobel Prize Winner in Chemistry in 1981, Roald Hoffman.⁷⁶⁶

Crossing over to conclusions, it is worth noting that the events of the first Soviet occupation give reasons to speak about a certain solidarity in the face of the totalitarian system, which was manifested by the Studites, the Jewish refugees and the local Jewish population. In the conditions of terror, which the authorities were inflicting in various ways on the monks, the Jews helped the latter

to survive in these very adverse circumstances. The above-mentioned facts serve to show the consolidation of the forces of the Studites and the Jews for rescue purposes. This cooperation began during the first wave of totalitarianism and continued during the second, when the monks gave aid to the Jews doomed by the Nazis.

In the years of German occupation, Univ ended up in the epicenter of the Holocaust events. The forced labor camps and the ghettos were visual pictures for the local residents of the genocide against the Jewish nation. In these circumstances, the behavior of the population varied. Some people, taking advantage of the violence, persecuted, robbed and killed the Jews. These people were in the minority, a small group, which belonged to the category of indigent villagers. Others helped with food, clothing, and took them in for temporary or long-term shelter. They, and their families, were under constant danger of annihilation due to the informers. But, in spite of everything, together with the Studites, they transformed the village into a place where they helped both the local Jews as well as those who, for certain reasons, ended up in this area. The result of this was the rescue of several tens of Jews.

The Hiding of Kurt Levin and Fayina Liakher by the Monks And Nuns of the Studite Order in Univ Village

The aid to Jews by the monks of the Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order did not consist only in providing them with food. This Lavra was included in a system of places to hide Jews and the brothers Sheptytsky actively took advantage of its services. It was at their instruction that Kurt Levin was directed to Univ. The reason for his transfer from Lviv to this village vicinity was the difficult situation in the capital of the district “Galicia/Halychyna” in November 1942. Raids on the Jews and the people who were hiding them intensified.⁷⁶⁷ The Gestapo arrested the prior of the St. Yosafat Monastery Hieromonk Nykanor (Deineha) for printing anti-German leaflets.⁷⁶⁸ Kurt Levin was hiding in exactly this monastery and testifies that the Studites were extremely distressed by the searches and arrests. He notes that every car that drove by on the street brought out the feeling in him that the Gestapo was coming after him. This even made him convinced that there was no chance of being saved. It is interesting to see the behavior of the Studites in those conditions of total fear and uncertainty. Seeing what was happening all around, and understanding who Roman Mytka really was, started to be even kinder to Kurt Levin.⁷⁶⁹ Finally, it was decided to send him away from Lviv to the countryside. His supervision was given over to Mother Ihumenia/Prioress Monika (Polianska) OSBM, who had come to the city then with two Basilian Sisters. At that time, Ihumenia Monika was already hiding Kurt’s brother Nathan Levin in the convent in Pidmykhailivtsi. They headed there on the train.⁷⁷⁰

Kurt Levin remained a few days in Pidmykhailivtsi, then went by sleigh to Berezhany, and from there by train to Peremyshliany. Then he went on foot to Univ, where in the walls of the Studite Holy Dormition Lavra began the following stage of his hiding.⁷⁷¹ The prior of the Lavra Yosyf (Shestiuk) knew nothing about hi, so he accepted him as a candidate to the novitiate. For Kurt Levin this was a surprise. From now on it was his duty to do everything that the candidates to the novitiate were doing, which meant participating fully in the monastery life. It is worth emphasizing that his conspiracy depended on this. He did everything that all the brothers did, with the exception of receiving Holy Communion and Confession. He explained to the prior and the brothers that he had been given a penance, therefore had no right to receive these Holy Sacraments.⁷⁷²

Life in the Holy Dormition Lavra was maybe the hardest of any of the monasteries where Kurt Levin had lived. He had to get up at 3:30 AM. Every day he participated in the Matins and in Holy Liturgy. Later, there was breakfast and then work until 12 noon. Then the Holy Hours and lunch. After lunch there was rest. The whole day was spent in silence. Its violation was punished with a severe penance. After recreation time there was work until 18:00. Then Vespers, supper, and an hour of prayer.⁷⁷³ Then rest and at 24:00 midnight service. The only day of rest was Sunday. To this daily schedule, it must be added that the food was very humble. Three times a week the Studites fasted, so in those days they only ate bread and drank tea without sugar. They slept in their cells on boards, covering themselves with only a blanket.⁷⁷⁴

In the beginning of his stay at the Holy Dormition Lavra, Kurt Levin thought he would go insane, and would never be able to adapt to such a rhythm. The most difficult was to endure the times of prayer, which altogether took eight hours. However, gradually he became accustomed to it all. He was treated just like all the other candidates to the novitiate. He was assigned to saw wood with another monk. This was very difficult physical work. Later he was transferred to the kitchen. This way of life lasted a few months and ended with the checking of documents by the prior of the Lavra Hieromonk Yosef (Shestiuk). The latter discovered certain inaccuracies in the birth certificate of Roman Mytka and ordered him to go to the ihumen in Lviv to get them corrected.⁷⁷⁵ He left and returned to Univ in a week. In a few days, Hieromonk Yosef (Shestiuk) ran to him in the kitchen and announced that someone had recognized him as a Jew and informed on him to the Gestapo in Zolochiv. Another person, knowing this, warned him that a Gestapo car was on its way and he had to run away immediately. Kurt Levin ran out of the Holy Dormition Lavra and on the way to Peremyshliany from a hilltop he saw two Gestapo vehicles headed towards Univ to arrest him.⁷⁷⁶ For the Studites this was yet another serious provocation from the local population. An earlier one referred to the hiding of the families of Jewish refugees. Brother Lavrentii (Kuzyk) hints in an interview that it was the Univ drivers, who contributed to the problems with hiding these

people.⁷⁷⁷ Kurt Levin was able to save himself due to the concern and awareness of a local resident, who managed to forewarn the prior of the Lavra. After this incident, Kurt Levin returned to Lviv.⁷⁷⁸

Special attention should also be paid to the story of the Jewish girl Fayina Liacher, as an example of hiding in Univ. She was hidden at different stages by members of the OUN, and in the last stage by the Studite Sisters in one of their daughter houses in the mentioned populated area and in the Holy Dormition Monastery in Yaktoriv village. After the end of the German occupation, Fayina Li Acher did not abandon her rescuers, but herself became a nun of the Studite Order and shared with them the fate of the Catacomb Church.

The left behind written testimonies and interviews are a valuable source base, with the help of which it is possible to reconstruct the events of the Holocaust in a typical Galician shtetl, which Peremyshliany was, to trace the experiences and the feelings of the victims towards the events that were happening to them, and to provide answers to the questions of daily life and evolution of the worldview of the persecuted. The life journey of Fayina Liacher is unique in that it is permeated with a vocation to monastic life. While still practicing Judaism, she felt that there was something she was being called to, but could not yet achieve. In the process of being rescued, she was baptized and at the end of the German occupation, she decided to enter the convent. This was the only case when during the Holocaust a Jewish girl decided to become a Greek-Catholic nun. To understand this choice, one needs to analyze the key moments of Fayina Liacher's youth and the events of the Holocaust, which nudged her to serve the Church.

Fayina Liacher was born on January 13, 1917 in the town of Peremyshliany.⁷⁷⁹ As mentioned earlier, at that time Peremyshliany was a typical shtetl, a town where the Jewish population predominated. It should be underscored that the Liacher family was religious. The lead was taken by the mother of Fayina Malvina Liacher. "Our parents raised us in a religious spirit, besides myself, there were two brothers, and mama particularly stood out in deep faith. For her, the Lord God was the "Alpha and Omega." She accepted everything, good and bad, happiness and unhappiness as God's will. She wanted to instill this kind of faith in our hearts, but our faith was limited to the external manifestation of the Law of Moses."⁷⁸⁰

The religiousness of her mother, her devotion to Judaism, was one of the reasons that Fayina could not get married.⁷⁸¹ While studying in gymnasium (high school, *trans*), she fell in love with Volodymyr Zaplatynsky,⁷⁸² who came from a Ukrainian-German family⁷⁸³ and was a member of OUN.⁷⁸⁴ She never revealed her relationship with him to her parents,⁷⁸⁵ and yet it was he who played a key role in saving the Liachers, for it was he who found them places to hide.

An important factor in the process of saving Fayina Liacher was also the fact that she grew up in and constantly dwelled in a Ukrainian milieu.⁷⁸⁶ With Ukrainians “we studied together, conversed and socialized together, visited each other on holidays...I never felt that I was a stranger to them. On the contrary, they enveloped me with such affection and love, all of them: the intelligentsia, older people and the youth.”⁷⁸⁷ Fayina Liacher was even friends with the children of the local Greek- Catholic pastor Fr. Omelyan Kovch,⁷⁸⁸ who was later murdered by the Nazis in the Majdanek Concentration Camp for baptizing Jews and giving them Birth Certificates.⁷⁸⁹ It is this same Ukrainian milieu which, while watching the total annihilation of the Jews, began to seek ways to save the girl. The idea came up of sending her to Vienna to work at a factory, where there already was a friend of Volodymyr Zaplatynsky, Vasyl Kachurovsky.⁷⁹⁰ Mykhailo Shkilnyk (1891-1972), who at the time of German occupation was the mayor of Peremyshlany, remarks that the departure of young Jewish girls to work in Germany was a widely used method of rescue in this town.⁷⁹¹ Documents were needed for this, key among them being a Baptismal Certificate. With the help of the assistant of the starosta/headman of the Peremyshliany District Dr. Tkachuk,⁷⁹² the pastor of the Ostalovychi village (now of Peremyshliany district of Lviv Oblast) Father-Rector Ivan Lutsyshyn⁷⁹³ gave Fayina the Holy Sacrament of Baptism and handed her a Baptismal Certificate in the name of Anna Myrka from the village of Prybyna (now of Peremyshliany district of Lviv Oblast).⁷⁹⁴ This priest Fr. Ivan Lutsyshyn was not indifferent to the fate of people, who were persecuted by the Nazi regime. He tried to help them by all possible means. Thus, in the fall of 1942, for several weeks he hid in his own residence the wife of the assistant to the Military Aide of the Central Leadership of the OUN (B) Oleksa Hasyn - Olha.⁷⁹⁵

However, having all the necessary documents, Fayina, from now Anna, did not leave for Vienna. At the advice of a well-known Jew in Peremyshliany, who foresaw the future, she refused to carry out this idea because of the dangerous journey.⁷⁹⁶

Fayina (Anna) Liacher remained with the Jewish community of Peremyshliany practically until the end of its existence. During this time, she was witness to the pogrom in July 1941, actions⁷⁹⁷ during which she almost perished. In April 1943 the liquidation of the ghetto was approaching, and with it of all the Jews who were still alive. Volodymyr Zaplatynsky saved her one more time. He worked as an assistant director of the labor exchange in Peremyshliany and took care of sending workers to Germany. Pavlo Chaban, a resident of Univ, received a discharge from work from Volodymyr Zaplatynsky, in exchange for which he was to hide Fayina (Anna) Liacher in his house.⁷⁹⁸ When he received the letter that was a signal that he was supposed to take the girl, he immediately came to Peremyshliany and brought Fayina (Anna) to Univ.⁷⁹⁹ There Pavlo's sister Olha took her into her house and together with her husband Ivan Chaban started to take care of hiding her. But, her conscience would not give

the girl peace, and she decided to return to her parents, whom she had left to certain death.⁸⁰⁰ To not allow her to do this, Ivan Chaban reassured her that he would bring her parents to her. Within two weeks Havryil and Malvina Liacher were in the same shelter as their daughter Fayina (Anna).⁸⁰¹

For Ivan Chaban, who, like Volodymyr Zaplatynsky, was also a member of OUN,⁸⁰² this was not the first experience of hiding someone. The younger daughter of the Chabans, Yaroslava, indicates in her testimony: "I remember from my mother's accounts, that she and dad hid two Jewish girls, gymnasium students, but not for too long, for the parents of the girls were taken into the Pere-myshliany ghetto, and the parents themselves took the girls there, and their further fate is unknown."⁸⁰³ To hide the Liachers, Ivan Chaban made an interesting shelter: "It was a village bakery, with a clay floor, and something was baked there. But, they built a special kitchen, covered with a hatch. The place where the ashes were, they covered with a metal sheet, so that you could light a fire. And we sat inside. When there was no one around, we took away the metal sheet, so that we could straighten out our heads. But when there was an alarm of some kind, they brought down the sheet and lit a fire (the sheet above us was hot), until the danger passed."⁸⁰⁴

As noted, before, the danger in Univ was not so much due to German raids and searches, as it was because of a few local informers, who closely tracked their neighbors. Fayina (Anna) remained in this shelter for six months, and then in December 1943, Ivan Chaban said that further hiding there was impossible, because people in the village began to guess about their secret.⁸⁰⁵ Kateryna Kazymyra (born 1933) testifies that people in the village feared Ivan Chaban, because he was a member of OUN.⁸⁰⁶ This fear, to a degree, was one of the elements of a guarantee of a lack of blackmail from the informers. Nevertheless, the situation was getting out of hand. By this time, Malvina Liacher had died, and Havryil Liacher agreed that his daughter should go to a new place, and he would stay at the Chabans'. Fayina (Anna) did not know where exactly they would send her, but, because the life of her caretakers depended on it, she agreed.⁸⁰⁷ Before this, Volodymyr Zaplatynsky visited her a few times and said that she should go to the Studite nuns in Univ, because he could no longer take care of her, since he himself was now also hiding from the Germans.⁸⁰⁸

Ivan Chaban and his brother-in-law Haliuk, who was also a member of OUN, took Fayina (Anna) in the evening on a sleigh to the Studite Holy Dormition Lavra. There were people walking along the road, so the men flashed their faces with reflectors, so they couldn't see who was riding there.⁸⁰⁹ Ivan Chaban left the girl in the reception room of the convent/monastery and soon thereafter, Brother Vitalii (Matkovsky) came there. Fayina (Anna) already knew him, since he had come several times to the Chabans, knew about the hiding of the Liachers and brought her religious literature, which she read of her own will. It

was Volodymyr Zaplatynsky who had asked Brother Vitalii (Matkovsky) to supervise the stay of the Liachers at the Chabans'.⁸¹⁰ It was also to him that he turned for help in the further hiding of Fayina (Anna). Brother Vitalii (Matkovsky) was the physician in the monastery and took care of the wounded UPA soldiers.⁸¹¹ For this he and a few other monks were convicted by the Soviet authorities after the war.⁸¹² And Volodymyr Zaplatynsky was in the Security Service of UPA, that is why they were in close contact. However, Brother Vitalii (Matkovsky) could not do anything without the knowledge of the prior of the Lavra Hieromonk Yosef (Shestiuk). He was the key person in any activity of the Studites in Univ. He knew about the issue of hiding the Jews. At the Lavra orphanage, at the request of Archimandrite Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, two Jewish children were hiding: Leon Hamaydes and Oded Amarant. The third was Adam Daniel Rotfeld, whom the Studites brought from Peremyshliany. With the prior's knowledge, the Studites also brought food to the Jews hiding in the surrounding forests.⁸¹³ As Sister Maria (Liacher) would later testify, Hieromonk Yosef (Shestiuk) "was merciful to all who needed help."⁸¹⁴

Therefore, Brother Vitaliy (Matkovsky) "quietly and quickly dressed me in a long black coat, wrapped my forehead with a white bandage and placed a black scarf on my head; I looked like a nun, and was told to follow him. I walked with difficulty, my legs were not used to movement - were like dead - and the night was so dark. The monk turned his steps to another building - where there was a church. In the doorway stood a tall nun - it was dark in the church, only a tiny oil lamp shone weakly on a gold picture of the Mother of God. 'Let us pray for the new road' whispered the monk, and knelt down, so did the nun... "Let's go"- said the nun; they took me on some long road, and led me to a tall building, which stood out from the other village houses. We entered a warm room. 'This will be your room' - said the nun - here you can rest, do not be afraid, do not worry about anything - the Mother of God will protect us."⁸¹⁵

The building to which Sister Teodora (Makh)⁸¹⁶ brought Fayina (Anna), was a daughter home of the Studite nuns in Univ. Three nuns lived there.⁸¹⁷ The aforementioned Sister Teodora (Makh), who was the prioress, Sister Monika (Rebryna)⁸¹⁸ and Sister Sebastiana.⁸¹⁹ The sisters serviced the church of the Dormition of the Blessed Mother on the Lavra territory, and washed the church vestments.⁸²⁰ Juridically, the building belonged to the Studite monks. During the interwar period they gave it over to the Studite sisters, and there usually lived three nuns. This number was needed because of the work they did - one nun took care of the church, the second was in charge of the kindergarten, and the third took care of the house. The building was two-storied, with three rooms upstairs, and below a living room and a big hall where the village children would gather before the war. In front of the building there was a yard, and behind it - a garden and orchard.⁸²¹

At first Fayina (Anna) lived on the first floor, but eventually for greater

safety, the sisters settled her behind the cloister. This happened a few days before Christmas, at the beginning of January 1944.⁸²² They had a great relationship. “The sisters surrounded me with great love and lots of warmth...from the very first days I felt like “one of them.” I completely not only got used to them, but melted into one with them and immediately knew how to pray with them from the *Book of Hours/ Chasoslov*. I learned Church Slavonic very quickly and could participate with them.”⁸²³ It is worth emphasizing that in her memoirs Fayina (Anna) clearly states that the sisters did not take any steps to nudge her towards the UGCC. She herself once asked them about the need for confession, and then the sisters just gave her a prayer book, and did not explain anything.⁸²⁴ The prior of the Holy Dormition Lavra Hieromonk Yosyf (Shestiuk) and Brother Vitalii (Matkovsky) brought her spiritual literature, “*Life of the Saints*,” the Bible and, at her request, familiarized her with Christianity. *Father Prior* became her first confessor, because before this she had never been to confession.⁸²⁵ He came to this daughter's home every day, since he was bringing the sick sister Sebastian (ailing with tuberculosis)⁸²⁶ the Holy Sacraments. Fayina (Anna) also received Communion. This continued until she was accepted to the Holy Protection Studite Convent in Yaktoriv village.⁸²⁷

Obviously, the brothers Sheptytsky gave oral instructions on how to act with hiding the Jews as far as religion went. This is confirmed by the same behavior of the Greek-Catholic clergy and monkhood in the conditions of giving aid to the victims of the Holocaust in different vicinities. Thus far there has not been any indication from the mentioned Jews that there was any kind of pressure on them towards accepting Christianity. In that regard, Kurt Levin observes: “It should be noted that neither Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky nor his brother Klym ever used any religious pressure towards the Jews. In their opinion, conversion in such circumstances could never be a free choice. All the monks and all the nuns adhered to this tactic.”⁸²⁸ In the memoirs of other Jews this tolerant position towards their religious convictions is also recorded. In particular, Rabbi David Kahane recalls: “I spoke for two hours, and at daybreak the Metropolitan asked me to pray with him. I helped him off his wheelchair and supported him on his knees in front of the Crucifix. He prayed in his way, and I prayed in mine.”⁸²⁹ And then he added: “Needless to say, the Metropolitan never tried to convert me to his faith.”⁸³⁰

About her stay in the daughter/filial home, Fayina (Anna) recalls: “For safety reasons, I never went out anywhere, I helped the sisters in their work, and I had time to read a lot.”⁸³¹ The sisters in turn, were also very careful. When a woman from Univ, Maria Rekhtelny, came to see them once, and she was allowed to enter the cloister, Fayina (Anna) was ordered to hide under the bed, to protect their secret.⁸³² However, there was one incident that deeply frightened the residents of the daughter-home. Someone from Univ wrote a denunciation to the Gestapo against the Holy Dormition Lavra, that the monks are hiding Jews. They came to the Lavra and did a search.⁸³³ The danger concerning

Fayina (Liacher) consisted of the fact that she had worked for a while as a typist in the office of the village head/starosta of Peremyshliany district, a German named Survir,⁸³⁴ and was therefore known by the local police and the gestapo.⁸³⁵ This is how she recalls the sisters' reaction: "They completely changed me into a nun's clothing, with headwear and everything, gave me eyeglasses, and I sat there embroidering something. And they did not eat or cook all day, just prayed all the time in front of the icon of the Mother of Go."⁸³⁶ The danger passed when the Gestapo, not finding anyone in the Lavra, returned to Peremyshliany.

During her sheltering in the daughter-home, Fayina-Anna's desire to become a nun matured and became confirmed. This was not a spur-of-the-moment decision. She was led to this by a long evolution of her worldview, and the need and calling towards something higher. This began yet in her childhood. Then the question was first of all about Christianity. "From early childhood my girl-playmates were children of our Christian neighbors. I often ran into their homes where there were holy images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary hanging on the walls, and looking at them I was sad that we didn't have any like that."⁸³⁷ "During their praying of the 'Our Father' and 'Hail, Mary' which my friends recited before and after school, I felt a strange regret about why I couldn't pray like that, and why I wasn't allowed to greet others with the words 'Glory to Jesus Christ!'"⁸³⁸

The search for something unknown, which was calling her, escalated in her gymnasium years. "Earthly love, even though it's nice and pure, became more natural and didn't bring me happiness, did not calm my heart, which longed for something higher, searched for something which it couldn't describe, for something truly ideal, unearthly."⁸³⁹ Already then she decided that family life was not for her and that she would never get married.⁸⁴⁰ Roman Catholic priests, whom she would randomly meet, felt that she was going on the path that would lead to Christianity in the future, but did not speak about this openly.⁸⁴¹ This was also felt by the Rev. Dean Ivan Lutsyshyn, who gave her the Sacrament of Baptism. He said then: "My child, I know you - I used to be in their home on vacation and have wonderful memories - I know you, and I will not explain anything to you. You are a true Christian, and I give you the Sacrament of Baptism with a clean heart."⁸⁴² After that, when she was already baptized, she had one more doubt regarding her new faith, but it quickly ended. While at the Chabans' she "asked for a prayer book and slowly learned the "Our Father," the "Hail Mary," the "Creed," "Have Mercy on Me, Lord" and other prayers. And daily, morning and night, I would recite them, not from conviction, but why, I cannot say today."⁸⁴³ Her discussions with her father Havryil Liacher did a lot to strengthen her spiritually, as well as reading literature. This is how she describes it: "Father, exhausted by all the suffering, slept day and night, and I sat alone with my thoughts. Some voice comforted me; it said that everything is controlled by the Lord God - the Almighty, that all that was happening now, all

that had happened, happened because of His will, that everything depends on Him; that there is no death and it comes only when the Lord sends it. I sensed that there exists in the world, one, and only one Truth. And I wanted to know this Truth with my whole heart. One time, the owner of the house (Ivan Chaban) brought me a spiritual book to read called "Eternal Truths." Father asked that I read it out loud. The chapter on death and heaven brought great relief in our longing for mama and my brother. I started bothering my father with questions about whether our religion also teaches about this; I wanted to find as many points as possible that were common to both religions and was very happy when I found some. The wounds in my heart were bleeding, but my soul was at peace. The hot desire to discover the Truth became even greater, when my father, during the reading of "Eternal Truths" said: "There must be something there, that Christ's faith reigns in the whole world for so many centuries. I would gladly get baptized if I had the chance."⁸⁴⁴

In the daughter's home, after Fayina (Anna) confessed and was receiving Holy Communion almost daily, while watching the life of the sisters, there came defining changes within her. "In my heart was born a new desire - to love God above all, and to give Him my whole miserable life. The convent life with the magic of its beauty pulled me so hard, that I wanted to remain with the sisters for always." Granted,⁸⁴⁵ "at one time the thought occurred to me that if my father survives, my place is at his side, but if God takes him, then I should stay in the monastery. A few days later, I learned about the death of my father."⁸⁴⁶ Havryil Liacher died in Univ during a transfer from the place of shelter under mysterious circumstances.⁸⁴⁷ After this, her life's journey definitively led Fayina (Anna) towards the Studite Monastery. She asked Sister Sebastian how to enter the monastery when they were left alone, and the latter answered briefly that one needed to write a letter to the Mother Ihumenia Yosyfa (Viter).⁸⁴⁸ When all the sisters in the daughter-home learned about this decision of Fayina (Anna), they tried to warn her about the future difficult life in the monastery, its rhythm, and said that after the occupation, new opportunities would open up for a young girl.⁸⁴⁹ However, Fayina (Anna) had made up her mind. When Lent ended, a nun came from the Holy Protection Monastery/Convent in Yaktoriv village and brought the answer that Fayina (Anna) Liacher had been accepted into the Novitiate.⁸⁵⁰ Before the war, there had been some cases, when Jewish girls, after being baptized, decided to devote their life to serving God in the convent. An example of this can be the story of Sister Severyna (Stefaniya Paryllie, 1884-1941), OSBM.⁸⁵¹ Mother Yosyfa (Viter), who had started her monastic journey among the Basilian Sisters, was obviously well-acquainted with her. Thus, in the ihumenia's decision to accept the Jewish girl Fayina (Anna) Liacher, there was nothing unusual.

From this moment a new life began for Fayina (Anna) among the sisters of the Studite Order at the Holy Protection Monastery, and also with this her fi-

nal closing chapter in hiding from the Nazis. When she received the letter of acceptance to the novitiate, she immediately went on foot from Univ to Yaktoriv (a distance of 7 km) and, as she recalls: “on the first day of Christ’s Resurrection (1944), I crossed over the threshold of the Yaktoriv convent.”⁸⁵² On Easter 1944 they changed me into monastic garb. I went to church (St. Nicholas the Miracle Worker in the village of Yaktoriv) for Divine Liturgy with the sisters, and now no one was checking me out.”⁸⁵³ Sister Khryzantiia (Hnativ), who entered the monastery a few months later, remembered her first meeting with Fayina (Anna): “I was constantly observing Sr. Mariya (Liacher) and could not see even the smallest trace of the Semitic race. Sister Mariya (Liacher) was always calm, happy during recreation, was desirable company, had a lovely lyrical voice, played the piano beautifully, spoke in pure Ukrainian, and loved Shevchenko and the songs to his words.”⁸⁵⁴ Fayina (Anna) herself writes about her first days in the convent: “My first days of novitiate began. The bloody wound of my heart began to slowly heal. The Lord God took away my own earthly mother, but gave me another - a spiritual one, in the person of the sister-in charge Sr. Dariya (Kaniuk), who with her extraordinary kindness and goodness pulled me the most to her. Her every step, deed, thought and word directed young souls onto the path of spiritual childhood to a great, selfless, indivisible love of the Savior - Jesus Christ, Our Lord God. Her daily life, quiet and hidden, her constant sacrifice were and will be for me a live book, a live example of true monastic life - the real love of God.”⁸⁵⁵

The leadership of the convent knew who Fayina (Anna) was, therefore, for her own safety, they immediately, as in the daughter's home, took her into the cloister.⁸⁵⁶ However, they were no longer as careful as during the hiding in Univ. This is seen in the following memoir of Sr. Khryzantiia (Hnativ): “One time the German army was camping on the field near the stable (of the monastery). At dinnertime, the cows were returning home from pastureland. One of them made a mess near a military tent. Sister Andreyia ordered Anna to clean up.”⁸⁵⁷ One can only imagine with what fear Anna carried out that order.”⁸⁵⁸

Fayina’s (Anna’s) weekdays passed in constant work. For her, a girl who grew up in a city atmosphere in a wealthy family, it was not easy. There is almost nothing about them in her memoirs, but Sr. Khryzantiia (Hnativ) remembered them well. “The first day after the holidays, during breakfast, our head sister Dariia (Kaniuka)⁸⁵⁹ was assigning sisters to various tasks. Anna was assigned to the garden along with other sisters. Each sister was to dig two rows of beets. Anna didn’t know what a beet was among the weeds. Sr. Monika (Rebryna) came to her aid. She showed her how to work, while digging her own rows and Anna’s rows, since she was always behind. Anna was assigned to various jobs: washing dishes in the kitchen, sweeping the cells-bedrooms, corridors, refectory/dining room, prayer room/asketar and helping out in the stable.”⁸⁶⁰ A special challenge for Fayina-Anna was work with domestic animals, for she was afraid of them. “Sr. Andreyia (Lyshchyshyn), responsible for the stable, told Anna to pick

the eggs, which the chickens had laid under the trough of the cows. Anna was very afraid, for the cows kicked their hooves and flicked their tails, chasing off those bothersome flies. Having become frightened, Anna did not dare to carry out the assignment right away. Sr. Andreyka scolded her and assured her that nothing would happen to her. Another time, she told Anna to carry the pail with food to the pigsty, for the large hog. Anna only stepped into the hog pen with one foot, when the pig with its snout started to grunt near her bare feet. The girl was very frightened but carried out the order.”⁸⁶¹ Fayina (Anna) overcame her fear and in the future, carried out the domestic responsibilities laid on her in the convent in a normal fashion.

The German occupation ended in July 1944. Fayina (Anna) survived the Holocaust and prepared for the next year in her new life. On the feast of the Nativity of the Mother of God, she was vested. “I received my monastic clothing and this was the first truly happy day in my life. I found my happiness, which I searched for in the world and didn’t find, because it is not there.”⁸⁶² The head of the Holy Dormition Lavra Hieromonk Yosyf (Shestiuk), who took care of Fayina (Anna) in Univ and came weekly to Yaktoriv to confess and to serve the Liturgy, when he vested the girl, he became so emotional that he wiped away tears. She thought, what a good father he is. At her vesting ceremony, Fayina (Anna) received the name Mariya. The prioress wanted to give her the name Andronika, but Hieromonk Yosyf (Shestiuk) objected and said that she should have the name Mariia.⁸⁶³

In 1946, Archimandrite of the Studite Order Klymentiy (Sheptytsky), who during the Holocaust was one of the main executors of the assignment of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky for rescuing Jews, came to the Holy Protection Convent, listened to Sr. Mariya’s (Liacher) story and asked her only one question - does she pray for her Jewish nation. She was very surprised by this sort of question and replied No. He then said that she should pray for her Jewish nation, that it is her blood obligation.⁸⁶⁴ This question and answer by the archimandrite reflected respect, religious tolerance and the sympathy which the Studite monks and nuns had towards the Jews, whom they rescued in the period of German occupation.

It is worth noting that the story of Fayina Liacher is the only one of a Jewish woman, rescued by the monks and nuns of the UGCC, that is well-documented in historical sources. In all other cases, there are only fragmentary memoirs and testimonies of people, who either hid, met with, or lived next to the persecuted. Just as well-documented is the story of the rescue of Kurt Levin.

Fayina Liacher left several interviews and one testimony, which was written four years after the end of the German occupation, plus she constantly returned to these events in conversations with people close to her, for instance with Sr. Khryzantiia (Hnativ). Due to the availability of these materials, we can follow the Holocaust in a Galician small town and village, observe the attitudes

of the monks and nuns of the Studite Order towards the Jews whom they hid, and analyze the methods which they used.

Kurt Levin left two books of memoirs: the first was written immediately after the end of WWII, and the second - as a summation of his life and career. He also constantly gave interviews, and testified during the process of beatification of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in Rome, and during the attempts to grant the head of the UGCC the title of “Righteous among the Nations of the World” in Jerusalem. Through the prism of his memoirs, we can trace the mechanisms of shelters and the functioning of the places of hiding the Jews by the Studites, the attitudes in their surroundings and the positions of the Sheptytsky brothers.

The story of Fayina Liacher is not typical because of her vocation to monastic life. Also atypical is the story of Kurt Levin, because he was the only Jew, for whom the brothers Sheptytsky chose the method of masking him under the guise of a novice. In this context, we must realize that the story of every Jew rescued by the clergy or a monastic community of the UGCC, was to a certain degree- unique. In view of the atmosphere, the traditions and the spirit of that epoch, asking them for help was already a step which only a few individuals dared take, conquering within themselves doubts and preconceived notions.

Fayina Liacher survived all dangers, and the credit for this goes to a large number of people of various origins, different professions and political views, whose activity made possible the rescue of the Liacher family. Religious tolerance, respect and compassion were the things that filled those persons. And the end result of this was the rescue of Fayina Liacher, who survived the Holocaust and passed on her experience as a woman. Kurt Levin left his experience of a young man, who spent two years hiding among the monks of the Studite Order. Together, their stories are valuable for an understanding of Jews of both sexes being rescued by representatives of the UGCC in the years of the German occupation.

The Orphanage of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Order as a Hiding Place for Jewish Children

Beginning the operation of saving Jewish children in August 1942, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was counting on taking advantage of the experience and capabilities of the monks and nuns of the Studite Order. During the interwar period they had taken care of orphanages within their own monasteries,⁸⁶⁵ and as the future ordeals would show, completely devoted themselves to the project of their archimandrite.

Prewar records clearly demonstrate the statistics about the activity of these orphanages and children’s homes at the Studite monasteries/convents of

the Lviv Archeparchy. The expansion of such institutions occurred as a result of the development of Studite monasticism. The records of the Lviv Archeparchy for 1927 notes that a shelter for children was opened in the Holy Protection Convent of the Studite Sisters of Yaktoriv village.⁸⁶⁶ In the Lviv Archeparchy records for 1928 it notes that besides the orphanage in Yaktoriv village, the Sisters founded another such shelter in their daughter house in Univ, and that four sisters took care of it.⁸⁶⁷ In 1930, it shows that beside the children's home in Yaktoriv, the sisters also started a shelter for preschool children.⁸⁶⁸ In 1932-33, it is noted that the sisters opened a children's shelter at their daughter home in Pidhaitsi village.⁸⁶⁹ The records of Lviv archeparchy for 1938 indicate that the sisters opened a children's home at their daughter home in Briukhovychi village, where they housed forty-three children.⁸⁷⁰

The Studite monks, in contrast, had only two orphanages: at the Holy Dormition Lavra in Univ and at the St. John's Lavra in Lviv. The orphanage in Univ was older. The founder and generous patron of both was Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.⁸⁷¹ The era of service of this head of the UGCC was distinguished by an active sponsorship of orphanages, charitable organizations and institutions.⁸⁷² The Prelate was interested in the life of the youth,⁸⁷³ communicated with them⁸⁷⁴ and tried to help them achieve a future.

For the Univ orphanage he allocated the revenue from the water mill in this village and from several tens of hectares of land. He provided them with firewood from the metropolitan forests.⁸⁷⁵ The novices helped the monks raise the children in the children's home, where they had often been raised themselves.⁸⁷⁶ The orphanage was located in a building at the entrance to the Lavra and consisted of ten rooms. Its residents cleaned it themselves and took care of the structure; there existed a self-rule, which was based on the rules of an internal routine, approved by the ihumen of the monastery. There was also a seventh-grade general education school.⁸⁷⁷

In the records of the Lviv archeparchy for 1927 it shows that in this orphanage there were forty young boys and a working trade school.⁸⁷⁸ For the years 1932-1933, the records show that its prefect was the future Hieromonk Kypriyan (Shulhan),⁸⁷⁹ who during the Holocaust would be one of those responsible for the transport and care of Jewish children. This same record book mentions the orphanage at St. John's Lavra. There lived thirty boys and their prefect was the Shymonakh Sava (Savytsky).⁸⁸⁰ For the year 1935-36, it is recorded that there were twenty-four children in this orphanage.⁸⁸¹ In addition, this document gives the exact address of the orphanage in Lviv - 3 Horishnikh Pavliniv St.⁸⁸²

With the coming of Soviet rule in 1939 and the liquidation of full monastic life in the Studite abodes, the orphanages in both lavras and daughter homes of the sisters were closed down and handed over to the government. From the beginning of German occupation, however, the activity of the Studite monks and

nuns was renewed. The year 1942 became particularly difficult for the Studites in Univ. As Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) testifies, the Central Ukrainian Committee sent fifty children to their orphanage.⁸⁸³ The girls were taken by the Studite sisters of Yaktoriv, and the boys remained in the Holy Dormition Lavra. These children were mostly from the environs of Stanislaviv (current city of Ivano-Frankivsk). They needed to be provided with clothes and food. After the first Soviet occupation, the property of the Lavra was completely plundered, and so the Studites needed to quickly restore it due to the needs of the children. An additional obstacle in this was the reality of the famine of 1942, which Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) emphasizes.⁸⁸⁴ The 1942 spring-summer famine in Prykarpattia was a result of the 1941 autumn flood.⁸⁸⁵ The unchanging “contingents,” which the occupation administration forced from the population, and the obstacles of the German police in the efforts to acquire food, only exacerbated the problem.⁸⁸⁶

The famine of 1942 holds a prominent place in the collective memory of the old-timers of Univ village. Ivan Bilyk (b. 1927) testifies that in the spring of 1942 the residents of the village gathered everything that could possibly be eaten.⁸⁸⁷ He particularly remembers the hunt for sparrows. Older people swelled from hunger, because they gave everything to the children. The biggest death toll was among older people and children. But the hunger was universal, for it even touched the wealthiest Univ households.⁸⁸⁸

Besides the sources of oral history, which give evidence of the famine of 1942 in this village, an extract of the Univ Greek-Catholic parochial administration has survived, which was prepared for the board of the volost/rural municipality in Peremyshliany. It came about as a result of instructions given by the statistics department of the office of the General governorship in Cracow about reporting marriages, births and deaths in the period between 1939-1943 and the first five months of 1943. There the mortality rate is the largest for the year 1942, consisting of 29 persons.⁸⁸⁹

To improve the situation, some inhabitants of Univ traveled to Volyn for a food exchange.⁸⁹⁰ On the other hand, many hungry people from surrounding villages came to Univ, and the Studites helped them with food.⁸⁹¹ Brother Lavrentiy (Kuzyk) testifies that there were instances when close to one hundred people came in one day.⁸⁹² Everyone was given a bowl of soup and a piece of bread.⁸⁹³ Some of the monks of the Holy Dormition Lavra had already experienced hunger in 1940, when after all the looting and confiscations, the Soviet authorities left them without the means to survive.⁸⁹⁴ As Mykhailo Khamula notes in his memoirs: “In the years of WWII, the monastery in Univ became a true refuge for the persecuted and the hungry.”⁸⁹⁵

The Lavra also supported the residents of Univ in a similar manner. Ivan Bilyk confirms that the Studites gave the local villagers whatever they could.⁸⁹⁶

However, the reality was such that they could not feed everyone. Therefore, they provided the very poorest inhabitants of the village with food once a day.⁸⁹⁷

Helping the needy was one of the main components of the activity of the monks of the Holy Dormition back in the interwar period. The monastery had a separate room where they fed poor people with dinners. They also supplied them with firewood so that they could heat their dwellings.⁸⁹⁸ It can be assumed that the mastermind of this was Ihumen Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). In the memoirs of the old-timers of the surrounding villagers he was remembered as a person gifted with great compassion and concern for the needs of his neighbor. Bohdan Hnativ, who in postwar time transported the ihumen every week from Univ to Yaktoriv for Divine Liturgy to the Studite sisters at the Holy Protection convent, described the character of Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky), emphasizing that “he would give everything to the poor...what he had on, he would take off and give away.”⁸⁹⁹ An inhabitant of Univ Ivan Bilyk describes this incident which happened in the Lavra with the ihumen. A poor man came with no shoes on. Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) saw him, sat down on the stairs, took off his shoes, and gave them to him. The eyewitness testified that he had great compassion for people.⁹⁰⁰ Another Univ resident Olha Zaverukha notes that Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) did not refuse people who asked him for something. She lived poorly, and often wrote him letters describing her needs. And he responded to her requests. When meeting her in person, he always inquired about her life with concern.⁹⁰¹

At the same time, the leadership of the Lavra understood that the villagers had nowhere to make money in those economic conditions of the 1930s. Therefore, they helped them out. Local residents worked the monastery lands and took part in the harvests.⁹⁰² Milkmaids worked with the cattle, women came to churn butter and to do wash in the laundry house.⁹⁰³ In the winter, they sewed clothing and wove fabric.⁹⁰⁴ In one day you could earn seventy hroshi at the monastery. At that time, one kilogram of flour cost thirty hroshi, according to Olha Zaverukha. She, for instance, worked in the fields at the Lavra, so that the Studites would help her on her land with their horses.⁹⁰⁵

On Christmas Eve, the monks organized the Holy Supper for the village children in the reception room of the monastery. The children came, ate and sang Christmas carols. The poorest residents of Univ were given materials to build a house, and boards for a coffin. People in any kind of need always turned to the Holy Dormition Lavra.⁹⁰⁷ This also occurred during the famine of 1942. By August 1942, the situation was under control, and that is when Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky entrusted the Studites with the task of hiding Jewish children in their orphanage. The latter immediately became part of a system of similar institutions which the coordinating group from Lviv used to implement this project of the head of the UGCC. It became both the transit and the stationary place of cover for Jewish children. As in the monastery of the holy priest-martyr Yosafat

in Lviv, in Univ there was also a conversation with the monks concerning this risky matter. All members of this monastic community agreed with this plan.⁹⁰⁸ From among them, in order to better protect this secret, a group was chosen who were included in all the nuances of this matter.⁹⁰⁹ Thus at the end of August 1942, this plan started to materialize. That is when the personal driver of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Ivan Hirnyi brought the first children from the Lviv ghetto.⁹¹⁰

The source for learning the conditions and particularities of the life of Jewish children in the Univ orphanage is the testimony of three persons who were there in 1942-1944. They were Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Leon Chameides, and Oded Amarant. The journey of these children to the orphanage was different. The last two were similar in that it began in the metropolitan palaces in Lviv. Leon Chameides' family lived in Katowice before the war. Leon's father - Kalman Chameides – had been the rabbi of the local Jewish community since 1928. A few days before the start of WWII the family decided to leave Katowice, since the city was located near the border with Germany. They took practically nothing with them and left for Lviv, where Kalman's sister lived with her husband and two children. At first, they lived with these relatives in their home on 7 S. Zheromsky St (now M. Drai-Khmara St), but later moved to the small town of Shchyrtsse (now a large city-like village in the Pustomytiv district of Lviv oblast), where the rabbi's parents lived. Kalman Chameides was fortunate to find a job in Lviv, so he lived there, while his wife and two children - stayed in Shchyrtsse. This situation lasted until the beginning of the German-Soviet war in June 1941.⁹¹¹

From the first days of the German occupation, the Chameides family became witness to the anti-Semitic politics of the Nazis. Leon Chameides remembered well the horrors of the Jewish pogrom in Shchyrtsse in July 1941.⁹¹² With the development of further events, Rabbi Kalman Chameides understood that it was necessary to seek some means of rescue. And such an occasion presented itself with the visit to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky together with Rabbi David Kahane regarding the transfer of the Torahs for safekeeping.⁹¹³ During their conversation, the Head of UGCC enquired about the rabbis' families and asked how he could help them.⁹¹⁴ Kalman Chameides replied that he has two sons. After additional consultations with Ihumen Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) and Ihumenia Mother Yosyfa (Viter) the Metropolitan agreed. Kalman Chameides made two dangerous trips, during which he separately brought his sons Herbert and Leon to the metropolitan's palaces.⁹¹⁵ Leon Chameides remembers that his father kissed him in the presence of the metropolitan and said goodbye. He began to cry, because he realized that he was being left there. Kalman Chameides took out a handkerchief and wiped his son's tears. After this, Leon recalls that he ended up in a new and strange world for him.⁹¹⁶

Herbert Chameides in his turn remembers that Metropolitan Andrey

Sheptytsky asked the rabbi in detail about the condition of the Jewish community, about the ghetto, and the Yaniv concentration camp. That day Fr. Ivan Kottiv told Rabbi Kalman Chameides that he could not take his son, because a place for his cover had not yet been prepared. So, the Chameideses came back in a few days. As he said goodbye, Kalman told his son that he would be left in the care of good people.⁹¹⁷

Oded Amarant, the other small boy from the Univ orphanage, also belongs to the group of children connected to the Holy Dormition Lavra who began their journey from the metropolitan's palaces. He was born in Tel Aviv, but when he was five, he and his mother traveled to visit their relatives in Poland. The mother soon returned to Palestine, while the boy was to come back with his grandparents. However, World War II began which made this trip impossible. Oded Amarant from the beginning of the German occupation lived with his uncle Rabbi Isaak Bartfeld on 18 Yu. Bem St. (now Yaroslav Mudryi St), and later in the ghetto.⁹¹⁸ Rabbi Isaak knew someone connected to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and this person organized a meeting for him with the head of the UGCC.⁹¹⁹ He arranged for a shelter for his nephew and brought him over. Here is how Oded Amarant describes this meeting: "While speaking with my uncle, the elderly man stroked my head. Later, he spoke to me wanting to know if I speak Ukrainian. I knew Ukrainian well, because I had learned it in my grandfather's town. After consulting with other priests, Metropolitan Sheptytsky gave me a new name - Dorko Borovetsky, and turned me over to the care of a priest."⁹²⁰

After the transfer of the children, the coordinating group was faced with the problem of their adaptation to new, absolutely unfamiliar and strange conditions of life for them. Oded Amarant recalls: "For a few days I stayed with the priest, then I was taken to the men's monastery, then for a few days - to a convent, and then for several months, I lived in the village with the local priest, thanks to whom I mastered the Ukrainian language, learned the prayers and became acquainted with local customs. With time, I stopped being outwardly different from the Ukrainian boys and then they transferred me to the monastery orphanage in Univ."⁹²¹

For Leon Chameides the first stop on the way to Univ was the orphanage in Briukhovychi. A very difficult trial was ahead for this child - in contrast to Oded Amarant, who knew some Ukrainian, he did not, and thus was forced to learn it very quickly, as well as the prayers."⁹²² If asked why he spoke Ukrainian poorly, he was to say that his family spoke Polish at home.⁹²³

Clearly, language problems were one of the toughest challenges for the Jews, who ended up in the inquisitive surroundings of other children. Thus, one needed to be very careful and clever in order not to be exposed as a Jew. An example of this can be the case of Kurt Levin. He began his life among the Studite monks in September 1942 in the orphanage at St. John Lavra, where he

was sent by the archimandrite.⁹²⁴ He spoke Ukrainian poorly, therefore at the establishment, he told his housemates that he comes from the Lemkos. To turn the attention from himself, he also hinted that he had connections with the OUN, therefore was forced to run away from home, afraid of German persecutions. This satisfied the residents of the orphanage.⁹²⁵ However, they did see a certain difference in him, and he testifies that these were people leaning towards anti-semitism, so that if he remained there, his secret would have definitely been uncovered. Thus, Kurt Levin only stayed in this orphanage for three days and then was moved to the main building of St. John's Lavra.⁹²⁶ A similar fate awaited Herbert Chameides. In the evening after his father brought him to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, a Studite seminarian Sebastian (Ben) took him to the above-mentioned orphanage at St. John's Lavra. His story was that he is Yosyf Kamin-sky, who came with his father from Podillia, but got lost. However, in the orphanage, the children immediately recognized him as a Jew because he could not make the sign of the cross properly, and his Ukrainian was bad, since he had only studied it for a year in elementary school. He stayed in the orphanage for a week, and then, just like Kurt Levin, was taken by Brother Sylvester (Bo-yarsky) to the Lavra building. By the decision of the prior of the monastery Hier-omonk Marko (Stek) he was settled in Brother Sylvester's (Boyarsky) cell for sev-eral weeks. The child was forbidden to leave the cell, and it was locked with a key. During this time, Brother Sylvester taught him how to cross himself properly, how to pray, the basics of the catechism, and most importantly, how to speak properly and with the correct accent.⁹²⁷ The placing of a child in a monk's cell was not an isolated case in this monastery. A hieromonk Yuriy (Makar) also took care of a child in his room. He was given a Jewish boy named Moishe to hide. He was seven years old and his problem was that he refused to own his new name - Mykhailo, stubbornly repeating that he is Moishe. Hier-omonk Yuriy (Makar) took the tram/trolley daily from the Lavra to the St. George complex, where he worked in the print shop. He left the child in his cell, covering the windows with curtains and asked him not to go near them. These measures were also prompted by the fact that there were some monks who did not ap-prove of hiding Jews, for they were afraid of reprisals from the German authori-ties. But, this child apparently did not understand what was happening around him and did not obey the Studite. One day he returned from work in the evening and a monk told him that there is an unholy spirit in his cell, because the curtain moved constantly. This incident confirms that not even all the monks of the St. John Lavra knew about the hiding of Jewish boys there. Finally, the boy was transferred to the orphanage in Briukhovychi.⁹²⁸

The problem with the orphanage in Briukhovychi was that the people who worked there were not ready to hide Jews, for they were very afraid.⁹²⁹ Some were not even okay with Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's decision to give them Jewish children, and this brought out malice.⁹³⁰ They were particularly afraid when the Jewish children fell ill. In his memoir about wartime Lviv, Vo-lodymyr Hordynsky, whose brother Bohdan Hordynsky was the metropolitan's physician, mentions that being a trusted person, they let him give medical help

to the Jews in hiding. He particularly visited the convent of the Sister Servants in Pustomyty in this matter. However, as the author himself states, these were isolated extreme cases.⁹³¹

Leon Chameides describes in his memoirs how when he became sick in Briukhovychi and had a fever, the personnel had a dilemma - the doctor, whom they would have called upon, could discover the child's circumcision. And this would have put them all in danger, since the punishment for hiding Jews was death.⁹³² And one time, this actually happened. A doctor, upon examining his young patients, revealed their identity. That very night, Leon and Herbert Chameides, as well as Oded Amarant, who was also there then, were moved for a night to the Basilian Monastery.⁹³³

After that night in the Basilian Monastery, the children were taken the next day by a nun to the Monastery of St. Yosafat in Lviv, where Hieromonk Marko (Stek) told the children that Leon Chameides and Oded Amarant would be taken to the orphanage at Holy Dormition Lavra in Univ, while Herbert Chameides would remain there for the time being, as they were still looking for a reliable hiding place for him.⁹³⁴ After this, the two children were taken to Univ, where they remained until the end of the German occupation, while Herbert endured two more transits. He shared the fate of Jewish children whom the Studites hid in the parishes. In those places these children mostly shepherded farm animals, and whenever there arose a suspicion as to their origins amid the local population, they immediately changed their place of living.⁹³⁵ An example of this is the story of Natan Levin. In August 1942 he was taken by Hieromonk Kypriyan (Shulhan) to the village of Pidmykhailivtsi, where the monk was serving both as the parochial priest and as chaplain for the Convent of the Holy Trinity of the Sisters OSBM. After a few months Natan was moved to Bachiv village (now in Peremyshliany district of Lviv Oblast), where the pastor was Studite Hieromonk Platon (Budzinsky), who lived there with Brother Hervasiy (Ivasiv). During this time they were visited by hieromonks Marko (Stek) and Nykanor (Deyneha), who were obviously checking out the state of the hiding. After this, Natan Levin was again taken back to Lviv.⁹³⁶

Unfortunately, there were few available spots in the Studite parishes⁹³⁷ and it was necessary to engage the monks' relatives to help save Jewish children. Herbert Chameides testifies that after being moved from the orphanage in Briukhovychi, he stayed for nine months with Hieromonk Marko's (Stek) blood brother - Fr. Dmytro Stek (1889-1959) and his mother. Hieromonk Marko (Stek) brought the boy by train to Panivtsi Zeleni village⁹³⁸ (current name - Panivtsi of Borshchiv District, Ternopil Oblast). In 1934-1946, Fr. Dmytro Stek was the pastor of this village and also served the parish in the neighboring village of Latkivtsi (now Borshchiv District, Ternopil Oblast). This was not an average person for the UGCC. He had studied in the Papal Rus' Collegium in Rome (now the Ukrainian Papal Great Seminary of St. Yosafat), knew Latin, Greek, German, English and

French languages, was a Cavalier of the Order of Polish Renaissance, a trusted person of Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn and one of three candidates in the 1920s to serve as Auxiliary Bishop of Stanyslaviv Eparchy.⁹³⁹ Hieromonk Marko (Stek) was risking the lives of his own brother and mother, and they recognized the danger of accepting a Jewish child but took care of him for all this time. This was a true expression of faithfulness to the Christian ideals by the Stek family. After this stage of hiding, Herbert Chameides was also transferred to Lviv.⁹⁴⁰

Transporting Leon Chameides and Oded Amarant from Lviv to Univ demonstrates the dangers with which the Studites met while traveling with Jewish children. Hieromonk Marko (Stek) accompanied Leon Chameides. In Lviv, on the way to the train station, an SS officer sat down across from him in the street-car and began speaking in a gentle voice. Hieromonk Marko feared that Leon Chameides, who knew German well, might answer him. This would be a dead giveaway as to his identity, since Ukrainian children did not speak it well. The child kept silent, and this saved them both.⁹⁴¹ The Studites understood all the difficulties of transporting these small boys, and therefore tried all kinds of methods to avoid unpleasanties and extra attention from the side of the authorities. One such method was to dress them as little girls. Hieromonk Yuriy (Makar) used this method a lot. He should have been twice as careful, since he himself resembled a Jew. Once the gestapo even stopped him and checked to see if he was circumcised. Bringing over the dressed-up boys, he sometimes had curious encounters with the sisters to whom he brought them. Once, bringing over the next child, he took it to the orphanage in Briukhovychi. The sisters decided to bathe this little “girl” and discovered that it was a boy. They came with this news to Hieromonk Yuriy (Makar), and he replied shortly to them: “Sisters are supposed to keep their glance modest and not look at what is there.”⁹⁴² They then understood the origin of the child and accepted it without unnecessary words.⁹⁴³ This masterful skill in the matter of transporting children made sure that not once during the German occupation was a Studite with a child caught by the police.

In the orphanage at the Holy Dormition Lavra, Leon Chameides and Oded Amarant met a third Jewish child, who would remain there with them until the end of the German occupation. That was Adam Daniel Rotfeld, who came there at the age of three and a half.⁹⁴⁴ In two interviews he asserted that he came to that orphanage at the beginning of December 1941.⁹⁴⁵ However, in his testimony, a copy of which he sent to the archives of Holy Dormition Lavra, Kurt Levin says it was late fall of 1942.⁹⁴⁶ Adam Daniel Rotfeld obviously does not remember the exact year, since he himself wrote: “From a child’s perspective, small matters are important, whereas the truly essential ones - do not remain in the memory.”⁹⁴⁷ Thus, the version about late fall 1942 is the most believable.

The reason that the Studites agreed to hide Adam Daniel Rotfeld was that his father Dr. Leon Rotfeld was well known to the leadership of the Lavra.

He had been their lawyer before the beginning of WWII. Adam Daniel Rotfeld remembers the actions organized by the German administration against the Jews in Peremyshliany,⁹⁴⁸ the hiding and the killings. The leadership of the Lavra suggested to Dr. Leon Rotfeld that he place some of the boys in his family under their care. These children came to the orphanage at the monastery, but apparently could not tolerate the conditions, so after a week they were returned to Peremyshliany.⁹⁴⁹ What happened when they were brought back, Adam Daniel Rotfeld remembers very well: "The monk, who brought those boys, before saying goodbye in the doorway, turned to my father (this instance I remember very well, because I've gone back to it hundreds of times in my thoughts) with the question: 'Doctor, maybe you'd like to leave your son in our care?' I was three and a half then. I realized that everyone was looking at me with anticipation. I sat up. Suddenly the whole family hurried to dress me, hug me and kiss me. They took me outside, where a harnessed wagon awaited. That was the last time I saw my parents."⁹⁵⁰ Adam Daniel Rotfeld's family remained in Peremyshliany, where they perished in the winter of 1942.⁹⁵¹ He ended up in the orphanage at Holy Dormition Lavra, where he met two other Jewish boys.

The decision to hide three children at the same time shows a certain evolution in the organization of this process. From the children known today, the first who arrived in this orphanage was Herbert Chameides. He was brought there by Brother Sylvester (Boiarskyi). That same night he learned that a number of Jews from Peremyshliany were taken by the Germans to be liquidated, therefore, they would be conducting more searches for runaways. Since the institution was already hiding a Jewish child, the Univ Studites announced that they could not accept one more. The problem was that Herbert Chameides became ill at that time. So, as soon as he got better, they immediately transferred him from Univ to the orphanage in Briukhovychi, where he met up with Leonid Chameides and Oded Amarant.⁹⁵² In the following months, the monks changed their tactics. They agreed to hide three children at the same time, and when the Germans came, they took them from the orphanage to inner places in the Lavra.⁹⁵³ However, it was not always like that. Once, when a German delegation came to the monastery, the Studites presented their wards to them, including Adam Daniel Rotfeld. The officers patted him on the head and even gave him a gift, as they did to all the other children.⁹⁵⁴

The tactic of not attracting undue attention from the German authorities was justified because of the distrust of the Germans. Here is an example of this, as told by Vasyl Kravchyshyn. In the autumn of 1942, the Germans came by car to the monastery for firewood. Local boys helped them to load the wood. It so happened that the car got stuck in the mud, and it was left there overnite, and the next day the Germans came with another car to pull it out. A local boy named Marian Partyka, who was there, looked like a Jew. One of the Germans noticed this feature and accused him of being one. The translator, the Germans

and the detained Marian Partyka went to the Village Council, where the local village head - Pavlo Kazymyra - proved with the help of the village register that the boy was a Ukrainian. The translator advised Marian Partyka to flee at once, which the boy did.⁹⁵⁵

On the other hand, the Studites had to also be careful with the local residents. Polls showed that most Univ residents knew that Jewish children were being hidden in the monastery.⁹⁵⁶ The same situation existed in Yaktoriv village, as well.⁹⁵⁷ As testified by a local Univ woman, Lukiia Lesitska, Jewish children were anthropologically different from Ukrainian ones, and the villagers guessed their ethnic origin.⁹⁵⁸ During periodic denunciations, the Studites always managed to transfer the children into a safe place and they were never caught.

The next question concerns the stay of these three children in the orphanage. The one who wrote the most about this in his memoirs was Leon Chameides. The most important principle of their stay in the Lavra was keeping the secret of their persons from both strangers and from their children-roommates. Hierodeacon Danyil (Tymchyna), who was the prefect of the orphanage, instructed them how to behave in the company of other children, according to the memoirs of Oded Amarant.⁹⁵⁹ They were forbidden to use the toilet when others were nearby.⁹⁶⁰ To wash the children always went in pairs, that is why one of them always washed with a guardian.⁹⁶¹ These children had to remember to never speak about their past, their parents, or their traditions.⁹⁶² Now they became: Leon Chameides - Levko Khaminsky, Oded Amarant - Dorko Borovetsky, Adam Daniel Rotfeld - Danylo Chervinskyi. The peculiarity of these new names and surnames was that they forced them to speak Ukrainian or Polish.⁹⁶³ In conversation among themselves, the Studites called the Jewish children "Our priests."⁹⁶⁴

In keeping with hygiene, the heads of all orphans were shaved. Leon Chameides recalls that this for him was internally traumatic, for he lost a part of his identity.⁹⁶⁵ However, this was necessary, since according to the memoirs of Adam Daniel Rotfeld, skin diseases erupted in the orphanage.⁹⁶⁶ They were treated with an ointment.⁹⁶⁷ All of this adaptation process was conducted under the pedagogical control of Hieromonk Danyil (Tymchyna). Leon Chameides remembers him as a good person who knew how to keep strict discipline with the help of a switch.⁹⁶⁸ When circumstances warranted it, he took it to hand with no hesitation.⁹⁶⁹ Adam Daniel Rotfeld remembers this: "For violations, they used corporal punishment. They put you in a corner and ordered you to kneel on spilled dry peas. The highest form of punishment was a whipping with switches, which was executed with a whole ceremony".⁹⁷⁰

As to food, the Lavra did not feel a sharp shortage of it until the end of 1943 - to the beginning of 1944.⁹⁷¹ That is when the German authorities confiscated the cattle.⁹⁷² The Sheptytsky brothers reacted quite quickly when they

found out about this situation. An example may be the convent of the Holy Trinity of the Basilian Sisters in Pidmykhailivtsi village. Mother Monika (Polianska), OSBM, who was hiding Jewish children entrusted to her by the metropolitan, was corresponding with Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). From the testimony of Brother Lavrentii (Kuzyk), one time she wrote that the children had no milk. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky gave the order to the Studites to take their best cow from Lviv to Pidmykhailivtsi. Two Studite monks took it. One of them had a beard, thus the Ukrainian police stopped them four times on suspicion that he was a Jew. But, they had a letter from Ihumen Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) and were let go each time.⁹⁷³ This is how they got to the monastery in Pidmykhailivtsi and handed over the cow for the needs of the orphans.

Thus, the Holy Dormition Lavra began having problems with food at the turn of the years 1943/44. In the records/schematism of the Lviv Archeparchy dated January 1, 1944, it is recorded that in this monastery there lived two hieromonks, three hiero-deacons, thirty-five monks, and thirty boys in the orphanage.⁹⁷⁴ Leon Chameides writes that in his first year at the orphanage there was plenty of food, but in time a deficit was felt and even rotten potatoes became desirable.⁹⁷⁵ In this context, it is worth mentioning that in monasteries and later in the orphanages in rural areas it was a lot easier with food, than in similar establishments in the cities. Therefore, there existed among them a system of mutual aid, without which the inhabitants of the city would not have survived during the war. An example of this is the orphanage of the Studite Sisters at 55 Tabорова St in Lviv. Sister Khryzantiia (Hnativ), who was raised there together with ten Jewish children, whom the nuns were hiding, testifies that the food ration was very modest. The food from the Holy Protection Monastery in Yaktoriv and donations from the National Central Committee saved the situation.⁹⁷⁶ That is how they survived in the city space, devoid of a stable food supply.

Confiscation of the cattle in the Holy Dormition Lavra not only started the problem with food, but also disrupted the normal way of life for the children in the orphanage. Up to this time, caring for the animals was one of the main occupations of the wards. For them these animals had a particular meaning. Adam Daniel Rotfeld writes that the only creature with whom he shared his thoughts was a mare, which he grazed and who behaved towards him like a caregiver. In addition, he grazed thirteen cows and thirty sheep with bells.⁹⁷⁷ Leon Chameides, who was sent to work in a building with the cattle, had problems at first, because he grew up in the city and had never been so close to these animals before. However, gradually, he got used to them.⁹⁷⁸ With the disappearance of the animals the duties of the wards became lesser, for one of the daily routines of life at the monastery was lost.

Speaking of the daily life of the children, it is worth noting that it was rigorously defined by rules. Each morning a monk woke them up with a knock and a call to prayer.⁹⁷⁹ The children washed up and headed to the orphanage

chapel for Divine Liturgy. They only went to the church of the Dormition of the Blessed Mother on Sundays and on important Holy Days. The children slept in a long room.⁹⁸⁰ One of Leon Chameides' friends once told him that he talks in his sleep. He became very afraid that someone would hear what language he was speaking in and would guess that he was a Jew. Thus, before going to sleep, he prayed to Jesus Christ and the Mother of God begging them that it not be revealed who he really is. In the opinion of Leon Chameides, this incident shows a strange fusion of religious feelings in the head of a Jewish child, who was hiding in a church orphanage.⁹⁸¹

A feeling of the end of this type of life began in the spring of 1944, when the frontline began to approach. It became very difficult with food in the Lavra, and from hunger the children began eating all sorts of plants that could be adapted. Many refugees began arriving from the frontline vicinities. Wounded were being brought to the monastery.⁹⁸² The wards of the orphanage were put to work with them. Leon Chameides' task was to wash the bandages, and take them off the dead.⁹⁸³ The time when the Germans retreated and the Soviet armies came into Univ, was the most dangerous for all the inhabitants of the village. People would seek refuge in the Lavra, and the newly-arrived power in its turn began an immediate mobilization of men, which sometimes was brutal. That is when they shot Ivan Nahuliak, a resident of Univ, near the Holy Dormition church, when he was staying there with other local people.⁹⁸⁴

It was even more dangerous in Lviv than in Univ, since there was an increased Ukrainian-Polish confrontation against the background of the "Storm" operation of the Polish Armia Krajowa.⁹⁸⁵ In the region where the St. John Lavra and its orphanage were located, there began ethnic cleansings, provoked and executed by Polish partisans.⁹⁸⁶ Hieromonk Hedeon (Hryhoriy Syroiid) took care of the building where the Jewish children were hiding.⁹⁸⁷ He recalls that at this time soldiers of the Armia Krajowa came to 3 Pavliniv Horishnykh St. to do a search, and they were very hostile. They announced that they were doing a search and asked who is in the building. Hieromonk Hedeon (Syroiid) answered "No one." Then one of the partisans started knocking on the floor with his rifle, and it went off. The Studite screamed. About a hundred meters from the orphanage there was stationed a Soviet air defense guard. There were fifteen soldiers there and their commander was Captain Pylyp Nedohoda. Hieromonk Hedeon (Syroiid) knew him from before. When he heard the shot and the scream, the commander sent two of his armed soldier. They came and stood on either side of the priest, while the Polish partisans asked their questions and then left.⁹⁸⁸ This was a tense moment, which in different circumstances could have ended fatally for the Ukrainian and Jewish residents of the shelter.

After it became evident that the danger of Germans returning was over, and the situation in the region came under the control of the Soviets, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky decided to return the children to the Jewish Committee,

which was headed by Rabbi David Kahane. Brother Lavrentii (Kuzyk), who was a direct participant in the operation of saving Jews, names the number of saved children in Lviv and its environs - as close to two hundred.⁹⁸⁹ It was then that Leon Chameides and Oded Amarant were brought to Lviv,⁹⁹⁰ while Adam Daniel Rotfeld remained in the Holy Dormition Orphanage until its liquidation in 1947.⁹⁹¹

However, the care of the Jewish children by the Head of the UGCC did not end there. During the transfer of the children to the members of the Jewish Committee, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky declared that all the children had been baptized, and asked the delegation for their word of honor that the children would be given the freedom to choose their religion in the future.⁹⁹² Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) then stated: "For me the children are a guarantee, which was left to me by deceased parents. I will only turn them over into the hands of responsible people."⁹⁹³ Every child received new clothes and a pair of shoes. In Kurt Levin's opinion, this was an extremely noble gesture, given the conditions of wartime deficit.⁹⁹⁴ Later, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky continued to send food and clothing to the Jewish Committee, until all the children had left Lviv or had been adopted by new parents.⁹⁹⁵

In conclusion, it is worth noting that the Coordinating Group in Lviv managed to create a ~~safe~~/reliable system of hiding Jewish children in the monastery orphanages. Methods of transportation and adaptation to new conditions of life were developed, and suitable people were chosen for the realization of the project. This resulted in a network of institutions, in which aid was provided to persecuted children of all ages.

The orphanage at the Holy Dormition Lavra in Univ village has a special place because it is the best represented in the sources. Three Jewish boys who lived there throughout 1942-1944, left their testimonies and memoirs. Also, their experiences and stay there have been confirmed and completed by the materials from interviews with the monks and old-timers from Univ. In total, that gives one the opportunity to recreate a complete picture of the life, dangers and challenges, with which the Univ Studites and the children entrusted to them had to deal with.

This institution, compared to others, was not a reliable refuge. The denunciations by the local population, the periodic searches and vigilance of the German administration made it susceptible, and only the alertness and the resourcefulness of the monks saved the doers and the residents of the orphanage from discovery and arrest. An important element in this was the atmosphere of discipline. It became the guarantee, that in contrast to the orphanage at St. John's Lavra, never once were the children discovered as Jews with all the additional problems and consequences. The credit for this belongs to Hieromonk Danyil (Tymchyna), who kept the situation under his pedagogical control.

In the beginning phase of this rescue operation, this orphanage played more of a transit role, but from the end of 1942, it turned into a permanent place of residence for three Jewish boys. Until the end of 1943, Univ Studites were able to provide normal food rations for the Jews whom they were helping. During the next period, which lasted until the coming of the Soviet powers in July 1944, there was constant hunger in the Lavra due to the confiscation of the cattle. Nevertheless, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the monks were able to carry out the task given to them by the archimandrite - to save three children. In August 1944 two were given back to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. They were among the two hundred children, who managed to survive the Holocaust with the help of the decisions of the coordinating group in Lviv and the readiness of the monks of different orders to carry out the request of the Head of UGCC.

CONCLUSIONS

During the writing of this monograph, it was established that the issue of participation of the monks of the Studite Order in saving Jews on the territory of the Lviv Archeparchy has basically not been researched, or when there was an attempt to shed light on it, the character of the study was fragmentary. Prior to Ukraine's independence, diaspora researchers did not have the possibility of working with archives which were found on the territory of the USSR. Thus, in the second half of the 20th c. there was no scholarly approach formulated among the scholars of the Ukrainian Diaspora to study this topic. When they examined it - it was only in the light of objection to the theme of Soviet and certain Israelite historiography about the collaboration of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, and his indifference to the fate of the Jewish population of Galicia in the years of WWII. Therefore, discussions acquired a polemic character and were not interesting to the wider circle of world scholars. As a result, the question became politicized and there was prejudice in the assessments. This changed only during the last two decades, when this problem began to be examined in the context of research of the Holocaust by contemporary Ukrainian historiography. Today there is an urgent need to provide an answer to specific basic questions in this area. Access to the source base allows the opportunity to fill the voids, and today's research is called upon to accomplish this.

It has been established that the rescue of the Jews by the metropolitan and monks of the Studite Order was not the result of a spontaneous reaction to a genocide. It was preceded by long years of contact between the two sides. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky took an interest in the life of the Jewish population of Galicia from the very first years of his ~~bishopric~~ ministry. He provided material assistance to Jewish institutions, and in the 1930s he kept up tight contacts with individual representatives of the Jewish religious and cultural environment. At the same time, he looked upon the Jews with the view of a pastor, trying to turn them towards Christianity. Through his active support in the second half of the 1930s a Christian-Jewish community was established in Lviv, whose development was interrupted by the events of the Second World War. However, during the Holocaust, the metropolitan and his followers categorically and out of principle held to the position of not converting the Jews hidden by them to Christianity. With the persecuted people they never had any discussions of this kind. The only exception was Fayina Liacher, who herself asked for spiritual lessons, since, while living in the convent of the Studite nuns, she felt a calling to monastic life. In the interwar period, the head of the UGCC was an open opponent of antisemitic manifestations in the social-cultural life of his congregation, and tried to support a tolerant position towards the Jewish nation in the situation of international tension and aggression, which kept getting stronger and resulted in the catastrophe of September 1, 1939.

With the onset of the German occupation, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky took the position of protecting justice and respect for the life of any person. He paid particular attention to the Jewish question because of the growing brutal terror. His main task then was to save Ukrainian youth from participating in killings, persecutions and robbing of Jews. Such acts were propagated by the German administration, but the metropolitan published pastoral letters in opposition to this, calling on people to adhere to Christian principles in their behavior. When it became apparent that this wasn't enough, and in the conditions of genocide one needs to save whomever one can, the metropolitan began this work in August 1942.

The Studite monasteries became the foundation for Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's rescue operation, since they were able to renew their normal rhythm of life and their number relatively quickly after the first Soviet occupation, compared to other monastic communities. This book raises the question about the internal readiness of the Studite monks to take mortal risks in the name of saving a life of a person of another nationality and faith. It has been established that in the interwar period the Sheptytsky brothers made it their goal to prepare the Studite monks for the challenges of totalitarianism. Certain monks already had the experience of surviving in wartime conditions. The first Soviet occupation became an element of sifting through the unreliable people in their environment. Therefore, by 1942, only the most reliable people remained in the monasteries, those who could knowingly put into action the rescue plans of the Sheptytsky brothers.

For the realization of his plan, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky created a coordinating group which consisted of the secretaries of the head of the Church and of Studite monks. The leading role in all this was played by the Ihumen of the Holy Dormition Univ Lavra of the Studite Order, Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). This group coordinated all the actions of the network of monasteries/convents, daughter homes, orphanages, and parishes to which they directed the hiding of Jewish adults and children. How well the mechanism of this rescue worked is shown by the fact that the Nazis were never able to reveal and arrest either the rescuers or those hidden.

Among the main Studite shelters for Jews in Lviv were: the Monastery of the priest-martyr St. Yosafat on P. Skarha St., the St. John Lavra, and the "Solid" Footwear Factory at 16 Trybunal St. Also, the Studites in the St. George complex took care of the Jews who were given refuge there by the metropolitan. As we found out, often the Jews who came to the metropolitan to ask for shelter were not local and did not even know anyone from the circle of the head of the UGCC. They just heard somewhere that they could turn to him. The Metropolitan received them, not worrying that they might be sent by Gestapo agents. On the other hand, it was a difficult choice for the Jews, since almost all of them worried that their children might be converted to Christianity and become assimilated. However, the metropolitan in personal conversations with

the parents guaranteed that this would not happen. After the end of the German occupation, he turned all of the children over to the Jewish Committee in Lviv for future adoption into Jewish families and helped this institution with food, clothing and money.

In the shelters, the Studites made sure that the people were not only fed and safe, but that they would also keep their mental sanity. For this they gave them various not difficult jobs, which were meant to distract them from constant thoughts about what was going on around them. At the first sign that they might be discovered, the people were moved into safer places. Nothing illustrates this process better than the fate of Jewish children. Due to various failures of adaptation into the Ukrainian children's environment in the orphanages, the monks were forced to transfer them from one place to another. The Univ orphanage has been the one best described in memoirs. The reason that three Jewish boys remained there for a prolonged time is the discipline held there by the Studite caregiver. In this monograph this institution was shown within the network of similar ones and it was discovered that it was because of this element in the beginning phase that Jewish children often could not remain in other establishments.

The book also researched the dangers which threatened the rescuers. This was foremost the denunciations by neighbors. A special accent was made on the village of Univ. A heretofore unknown page was uncovered of giving aid to Jewish families which hid at first on the territory of the Holy Dormition Lavra, and later in the local forests. Life was also shown in the Holy Dormition Lavra and the daughter home of Studite Sisters, where refuge was given to Jews, and in the surrounding world of the villages and vicinities of that time. This makes it possible to understand how the Studite monks executed the plan of their archimandrite in the conditions of their daily vision of the Holocaust manifestations.

EPILOGUE

A Memory

August 20, 2005. A cortege of black automobiles is approaching the Holy Dormition Lavra. In one of the vehicles sits the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs - Adam Daniel Rotfeld. A man who was brought here in the fall of 1942 by a Studite monk, in a horse-drawn wagon. Today is an extraordinary event for him - as an honored guest of the monastery, he will uncover a Memorial Plaque, dedicated to the memory of the saving of Jewish children by the Sheptytsky brothers.

Before this, the last of the surviving Studites who took part in this operation, Velykoskymnyk Pavlo (Syroiid) passed away in 2004. History allowed the rescuers to meet with the rescued. Throughout all of the Soviet period, these children and adults tried to establish a correspondence with the people who became dear to them. They testified in written form for them during court proceedings, and sent money which allowed people returning from exile/~~depor-~~
~~tation~~, who had nothing, to buy homes.

Slowly even this generation is leaving us. Only the memory remains, which needs to be immortalized. In stone, in books, and particularly in the form of a museum, which would transmit a feeling of that time and would portray the dangers and the courage, to which faith and calling (~~vocation~~) leads. This would be the best expression of respect and memory about people, who despite the abyss of evil, did everything to save Man.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Every book has its own history of writing. The path which my monograph took is a good segment of the road between realizing that such research cannot just be done and written in Lviv, and the culminating stroke, which occurred when the edited dissertation lay on my desk, ready for its defense. During all of this time, I felt the special protection of the Blessed Priest-Martyr (Bishop, *trans.*) Vasylii Velychkovsky (1903-1973) and the miraculous icon of the Terebovlia Mother of God.

The beginnings of this research go back to the time when I studied in the Master's program at the Ukrainian Catholic University. Already then I became interested in the history of saving Jews in the years of the Holocaust. At first I wanted to write my Master's thesis on this aspect of the activity of Blessed Priest-Martyr Klymentiy (Sheptytsky). But, upon the advice of Dr. Yaroslav Kot from the Institute of Religions and Society at UCU, I decided to take a wider theme and chose The Monastic Communities of the ~~(Ukrainian, *trans.*)~~ Greek Catholic Church. I wrote my graduate thesis and this became a great intro for my understanding of this particular issue. The next step was post-graduate/doctoral studies. I had an idea and I did not want it to get changed from the outside, but to remain the way I saw it. In other words, I was looking for academic freedom for the implementation of my project. And found it. My grandfather Volodymyr Skira, who had worked for almost half a century in Lviv Polytechnic, introduced me to Ivan Khoma, who agreed to be my future academic advisor and to give me this freedom to implement my plan. This was a significant moment, which enabled others in the future and for this I am very grateful to Ivan Khoma. Soon after, I became a ~~post-graduate/~~doctoral candidate in the Institute of Humanities and Social Studies at the Lviv Polytechnic National University and came out into open waters with my work.

In the next three months, I understood that this work was impossible to write. And I experienced a certain despair. I went to the Cathedral of St. George and asked for help from the miraculous icon of the Terebovlia Mother of God. In two days, I received a phone call from a **methodologist** at the Institute of Church History at UCU Nina Polishchuk, who said that they had received a call from a monk from the Holy Dormition Univ Lavra of the Studite Order, who was interested in the rescue of Jews by the Studites and was asking if there was any historian who was working on this topic. This was a miracle. Not wasting any time, I traveled to Univ. At the bus stop I was met by **Riasofor Leontiy (Vykshta)**, and this was the real beginning of my research. Later, he told me that he was expecting the arrival of some venerable esteemed professor. Instead, I came off the bus.

Riasofor Leontiy (Vykshta) immediately chose a good strategy of work. He suggested that I become familiar with the area. So, we started walking around all the places connected with the life of Jews in Univ village, taking testimonies from old-timers, and reconstructing the order of events. I owe the spirit of this book to

Brother Leontiy (Vykshta), for without his enthusiasm and self-dedicated work, my monogram would have never materialized.

In the process of our mutual work, a picture was being slowly revealed, and it needed a more and more expansive source base. In this area, the decisive factor was the decision of the Ighumen of the Holy Dormition Lavra, Hieromonk Illia (Mamchak), to allow me - under the supervision of Riasofor Leontiy (Vykshta) - to familiarize myself with the monastery archive. The Ighumen also gave his blessing for our automobile trips around the surrounding villages to collect interviews. I am sincerely grateful to Fr. Illia (Mamchak) for this opportunity, and also for the hospitality with which I was met at the Holy Dormition Lavra in Univ.

The work was slowly being written, and I was fortunate to have good advisors. I would like to thank Mr. Myroslav Marynovych, Oleh Turiy, Liliana Hentosh, Natalia Lazar, Ihor Smolsky, Svitliana Hurkina, Uliana Fedorovych, Khrystyna Kutniv, Fr. Petro (Hladiy), Fr. Vasyliy (Zakharus), Fr. Makariy (Dutka), Fr. Yosafat (Voitek), Fr. Polikarp Martseliuk OSBM, Fr. Yustyn (Boiko), and especially my friend Ihor Moshenets from The National Institute of Strategic Research, who gave me valuable advice and provided materials from historiography. I also want to thank Ihor Medvid from the Institute of Religion and Society at UCU for the great trips, the summer schools and conferences to which he constantly invited me and provided me with pleasant company.

All this work would've been impossible without the support of my family. Several generations saw the process of its writing. Particularly anxious for me were my Great grandmother Mariya Rodyk and Great grandfather Vasyl Skira, and my Grandfather Volodymyr Skira and Grandmother Mariya Skira. Fernand Braudel in the dedication to his three-volume work "The Identity of France" writes about his Grandma Emily Korno as "the torch of my childhood." Perhaps the guarantee of a good future historian is the physical presence in childhood of a good Granny. I was fortunate, just as Fernand Braudel. My Granny Nina Rodyk, thus far, is the only person who has read all my articles from the moment of my entry into LNU. That is why I thank her for all the discussions, textual corrections, and, in general, for her presence in my life.

My parents also had the not-so-easy fate of knowing all about my work. I thank my Dad Roman and Mom Iryna for their patience, help and belief that something would come of it. And finally, I wish to thank my wife Zlatoslava, with whom I became acquainted in the middle of my research: Zlata provided me with high quality presentations at my public lectures and became an inquisitive listener and friendly critic, prompting me to write texts that would be understood by the public.

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65. Testimony by Kurt Levin about Ihumen Klymentiy (Sheptytsky) from June 11, 1987. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V. 1. Sh. 5.

66. Oral interview with Dariia Sokolyk, born 1947. Recorded on 24.06.2017 by Yuriy Skira in Borshev/Borshiv? v., Peremyshliany dist., Lviv obl. AHDL. F 15. Op.1. Case 28. V.1. Sh.1.
67. Interview with Hieromonk Petro (Pavlo Hladii), Studite, dated 8.06.2016, Lviv. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V.1. DVDL001.
68. Interview with Hieromonk Sebastian (Stepan Dmytrukh), Studite, dated 19.07.2016, Lviv. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F. 15. Op.1. Case 28. V. 1. DVDL002.
69. Interview with Anna Kanych, born 1928, from 15.06.2016, Lviv. No. I. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. V. 1. DVDL004.
70. Interview with Anna Kanych, born 1928, from 15.06.2016, Lviv. No. II. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. Op.1. Case 28. V. 1. DVDL005.
71. Interview with Anna Kanych, born 1928, from 15.06.2016, Lviv. No. III. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1 Case 28. V.1. DVDL006.
72. Interview with Bohdan Hnativ, born 1929, from 5.10.2016, Yaktoriv vil., Zolochiv, district, Lviv Oblast. No. I. Interviewers: Yu. Skira, Riasofor Leontii (Viroslav Vykshta). AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V.1. DVDL007.
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74. Interview with Vasyl Kravchyshyn, born 1932, from 12.10.2016, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dist., Lviv Obl. No. I. Interviewers: Yu. Skira, Riasofor Leontii Vykshta). AHDL. F.5. Op, 1. Case 28. V. 1 DVDL009.
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76. Interview with Dmytro-Petro Baran, b. 1934, from 12.10.2016, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dist., Lviv Obl. Interviewers: Yu. Skira, Riasofor Leontii (Viroslav Vykshta). AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V.1 DVDL011.
77. Interview with Bohdan Zinyk, b. 1936, from 7.11.2016, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dist., Lviv Obl. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. CASE 28. V. 1. DVDL012.
78. Interview with Ostap Kazymyr, b. 1936, from 7.11.2016, Univ v., Pere-myshlainy dist., Lviv Obl. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V. 1. DVDL013.
79. Interview with Paraskeviia Baran, b. 1939, from 7.11.2016, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dist., Lviv Obl. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V.1. DVDL014.
80. Interview with Olha Stashchyshyn, b. 1937, from 7.11.2016, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dis., Lviv Obl. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V.1. DVDL016.
81. Interview with Ihor Diuk, b. 1938, from 01.06.2016, Univ v., Peremyshliany dis., Lviv Obl. Interviewer: Rasophore Leontii (Viroslav Vykshta). AHDL. F.15, Op.1. Case 28. V. 1. DVDL017.

82. Interview with Oleksander Kitsera, b. 1931, from 24.01.2017, Lviv. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V.1. DVDL018.
83. Interview with Yaroslav Ostiuk, b. 1936, from 15.03.2017, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dis., Lviv Obl. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V.1. DVDL021.
84. Interview with Ihor Demkovych, b. 1944, from 06.04.2017, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dis., Lviv Obl. Interviewer: Yu. Skira. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 28. V.1. DVDL022.
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88. Testimony of Yaroslava Chaban from March 12, 2016. AHDL. F.15. Op.1. Case 43. V.1. Sh.1.
89. Interview with Leon Chameides, b. 1935, from 17.10.2007, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dis., Lviv Obl. AHDL. Archival collection 017. Description 1. Case 010. DVD. 46-14.
90. Interview with Leon Chameides, b. 1935, from 17.10.2007, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dis., Lviv Obl. AHDL. Arch. col. 017. Desc. 1. Case 010. DVD. 47-01.
91. Interview with Leon Chameides, b. 1935, from 17.10.2007, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dis., Lviv Obl. AHDL. arch.co. 017. Desc.1. Case 010. DVD. 49-01.
92. Interview with Sister Khryzantiia (Mariia Hnativ). AHDL. Arc.col.017. Des.1. Case 010. DVD 54-01.
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94. Testimony of Mark Weintraub. AHDL. Arc. Col. 017. Des.1. Case 010. DVD. 372-002.
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98. Interview with Hieromonk Hedeon (Hryhorii Syroiid), Studite, b.1925, from 13.09.1997, Univ v., Peremyshliany dis, Lviv Obl. AHDL. Arc.col. 017. Des.1. Case 010. DVD. 403-007-010.
99. Interview with Lukiia Lesitska, b.1932, from 20.08.1998, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dis., Lviv Obl. AHDL. Arc.col.017. Des. 1. Case 010. DVD 406-001.
100. Interview with Lukiia Lesitska, b. 1932, from 02.08.1998, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dis., Lviv Obl. AHDL. Arc.col.017. Des.1. Case 010. DVD. 406-002.

101. Interview with Ivan Bilyk, b. 1927, from 07.09.1998, Univ v., Peremyshliany dis., Lviv Obl. AHDL. ARC.col.017. Des.1. Use 010. DVD. 406-003.

102. Interview with Yuliia Chuchman, b.1925, from 03.08.1998, Univ v., Peremyshliany dis., Lviv Obl. AHDL. Arc.col.017. Des.1. Case 010. DVD. 406-004.

103. Interview with Olha Zaverukha, b. 1919, from 16.08.1998, Univ v., Pere-myshliany dis., Lviv Obl. AHDL. Arc.col.017. Des.1. Case 010. DVD. 406-005.

104. Interview with Sister Mariia (Faiina-Anna Liakher). AHDL. Arc. col.017. Desc.1. Case 010. DVD.406-006.

105. Interview with Yevheniia Zhemchuk, b. 1926, from 21.08.2001, Univ v., Peremyshliany dis., Lviv Obl. Interviewer: Skhym. Irynei (Ivan Voloshyn). AHDL. Arc.col. 017. Des.1 Case 011. DVD. 406-012.

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106. Personal case No 376 against Matkovskyi, Volodymyr Yosyfovych. AM SSU in Lviv Oblast. Arc.col. "Terminated." Desc. 62. Case P-10343. Sh. 38.

107. Criminal case No 3019 against Shestiuk, Ivan Teodorovych. AM SSU in Lviv Obl. Arc.col. "Terminated." Des. 62. Case P-30153. Sh. 171.

108. Criminal case No 9733 against Lutsyshyn, Ivan Stepanovych. AM SSU in Lviv Oblast. Arc.col. "Terminated." Des. 62. Case P-32607. Sh.110.

SECTORAL STATE ARCHIVE OF THE SECURITY SERVICE OF UKRAINE (SSA SSU)

109. Criminal case No 11039 against Viter, Olena Vasylivna. Vol. I. BNA SSU. Arc.col. 6. Case 74895 fp? Sh. 216.

110. Criminal case No 11039 against Viter, Olena Vasylivna. V. II. SSA SSU. Arc.col. 6. Case 74895 fp? Sh. 484.

111. Criminal case No.11039 against Viter, Olena Vasylivna. V. III. SSA SSU. Arch.col. 6. Case 74895 fp? Sh. 103.

112. Criminal case No.11082 against Budzinsky, Hryhorii Antonovych, V. I. SSA SSU. Arc.col. 6. 75184 fp? Sh.234.

113. Criminal case No.11089 against Budzinsky, Hryhorii Antonovych, V. I. SSA SSU. Arch.col. 6. Case 75184 fp? Sh. 251.

114. Criminal case No.11089 against Budzinsky, Hryhorii Antonovych, V. II. SSA SSU. Arc.col. 6. 75184 fp? Sh. 250.

115. Criminal case No.148913 against Klymentiy Ivanovych Sheptytsky. V. I. SSA SSU. Arc.col.6. Case 74978 fp? Sh. 357.

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117. Lists of businesses in the city of Lviv as of May 31, 1942, SALO. Arc.col. R-35. Descr. 9. Case 655. Sh. 4.

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121. The Statute of the Studite Monasteries. 1936. CSHAL. Arch. col. 408. Desc. 1. Case 237. Sh. 228.

122. Regulations of Studite Monasteries. 1920. CSHAL. Arch. Col. 408. Desc. 1. Case 238. Sh. 26.

123. Letters of Studite nuns from the convent and institution for infant-orphans in Briukhovychi to A. Sheptytsky about giving them aid. 1935-1942. CSHAL. Arch.col. 408. Desc. 1. Case 239. Sh 30.

124. Letters from Studite nuns from the convent in Hadiach to Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky in personal matters. 1936-1937. CSHAL. Arch. col. 408. Desc. 1. Case 240. 22 sheets? Or sheet 22?

125. Letters of Studite nuns from the convent in Haii Velyki to Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky asking for help and in personal matters. 1933-1938. CSHAL. Arc. col. 408. Desc. 1. Case 241. 53 sheets?

126. Letters of monks from the Studite monastery in the villages of Zarvanytsia and Kamianets to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky asking for help and also in personal matters. 1917-1938. CSHAL. Arc. col. 408. Desc. 1. Case 242. 38 sheets?

127. Letters of nuns from the Studite convent in Lviv to A. Sheptytsky about religious-organizational matters. 1931-1938. CSHAL. F. 408. Des. 1. Case 243. 42 sheets?

128. Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky's document/charter about the founding of the Monastery of St. Andrii the First-Called in the village of Perehinsko. 1937. CSHAL. Arc. col. 408. Desc. 1. Case 247. 4 sh.

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130. Letters of priests and employees of the metropolitan estate, and the monastic council of the Studite convent in Yaktoriv concerning the building of a church and monastery, in business and church-organizational matters. 1924-1942. CSHAL. Arc. col. 408. Des. 1. Case 252. 13 sh.

131. Record of a Donation by Metropolitan Andrey Shepytytsky of real estate to St. John Lavra in Lviv. December 10, 1927. CSHAL. Arc. col. 408. Des. 1. Case 252. Sh. 2.

132. Text of a conversation between A. Sheptytsky and a representative of a Zionist organization about his position on Zionism. 1939. CSHAL. Arc.col. .408. Des. 1. Case 626. Sh.1.

133. A contract for land ownership in Univ village between Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Studite Dormition Lavra. January 1, 1930. CSHAL. F. 409. Des. 1. Case 630. Sh. 2.

134. A letter by regional attorney Yevhenii Hvozdetyskyi to the Central Administration of Stolovi Properties of the Greek-Catholic Metropolia in Lviv dated February 7, 1930. CSHAL. Arc.col. 408. Des. 1. Case 630. Sh. 1.

135. Deed of Donation by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky for the maintenance of boy orphans in the Univ Lavra. January 1, 1930. CSHAL. Arc.col. 408. Des.1. Case 630. Sh. 1.

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Appendix 1

A List of the Identified Monks of the Studite Order, Who Participated in Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's Operation of Saving Jews During the Holocaust

Hieromonk Klymentiy (Sheptytsky),
Ihumen of the Studite Order's Univ Holy Dormition Lavra

Hieromonk Yosyf (Shestiuk), Prior/Superior
of the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra

Hieromonk Hedeon (Syroyid)

Hieromonk Herman (Budzinsky)

Hieromonk Yoan (Peters)

Hieromonk Kyprian (Shulhan)

Hieromonk Marko (Stek)

Hieromonk Martyn (Martyniuk)

Hieromonk Nykanor (Deyneha)

Hieromonk Nykon (Tsiusniak)

Hieromonk Platon (Budzinsky)

Hieromonk Tyt (Protsiuk)

Hieromonk Yuriy (Makar)

Hierodeacon Danyil (Tymcnhyna)

Hierodeacon Teofan (Shevaha)

Skhymonk Antoniy (Benkalovych)

Skhymonk Atanasiy (Kolbenko)

Skhymonk Varnava (Mykytiuk)

Skhymonk Veniamyn (Zaplatynsky)

Shymonk Volodymyr (Pobereyko)

Skhymonk Vitaliy (Matkovsky)

Skhymonk Hervasiy (Ivasiv)

Skymonk Lavrentiy (Kuzyk)

Skhymonk Lazar (Shyan)

Skhymonk Modest (Voronchak)

Skhymonk Sevastian (Ben)

Skymonk Sylvestr (Boyarsky)

Skhymonk Teodoziy (Tsybrivsky)

Skhymonk Teodor (Yaskiv)

Appendix 2

A List of the Identified Jewish Men Whom the Monks of the Studite Order Hid in the Years of the Holocaust

Abraham Fink

Adam Daniel Rotfeld

Anna Fink

Volf Liam

Herbert Chameides (Tsvi Barnea)

Dania Heller

Kurt Levin

Leon Chameides

Ludvig Podoshyn

Mark Weintraub

Natan Levin

Oded Amarant

Perli Liam

Rabin David Kahane

Solomon Hilfer

Feyha Fink

Haskel Heller

Yusef Podoshyn

Yakob Heller

Appendix 3

A List of the Identified Jewish Women Who Were Hidden By the Nuns of the Studite Order In the Years of the Holocaust

Anna Podoshyn

Iryna Shpunar

Lili Polman (Shtern)

Nekhama Kahane

Ruf Kahane

Fayina Liacher

Tsytsylia Shtern

Appendix 4

About the Author

Yuriy Skira is a Ukrainian historian. He was born June 18, 1992 in Lviv. His scholarly interests include: the history of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the 20th c.; the rescue of Galician Jews by clergy and monks of the UGCC during the Holocaust; society and totalitarianism.

Education

2009-2014 - studied at the history department/faculty of the Ivan Franko Lviv National University. Master's degree in history.

2014-2016 - studied in the Master's program of Ecumenical Studies at the Ukrainian Catholic University. Master's in Theology.

2015-2018 - graduate student at the Institute of Humanitarian and Social Studies at the Lviv National Polytechnic University. Dissertation thesis "The Participation of Studite Monks in the Rescue of Jews on the Territory of the Lviv Archeparchy of the Greek-Catholic Church in 1942-1944." Academic advisor - Doctoral candidate in History (or PhD), Associate Professor of the History Department, Museology and Cultural Heritage at the Lviv National Polytechnic University - I. Ya. Khoma.

May 8, 2018 - dissertation defense and acquisition of academic degree of Doctoral Candidate of History in the area of "History of Ukraine" in the specialized scholarly council D 35.222.01 of the Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the I. Kryp'ak-ivych National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Institute of Ethnology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Scholarships

Scholarship of the President of Ukraine as winner of the All-Ukrainian Student Olympics of basic educational subjects and the All-Ukrainian competition-defense of scholarly-research works by student members of the Junior Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

The M. S. Hrushevsky Academic Scholarship.

Employment

Director of projects and programs at the Center for Research of the Ukrainian-Polish-Slovak Borderland at the Ukrainian Catholic University.

Civic work

Vice-Chairman of the Board of the Community/Public Organization "Center for Support and Assistance for the Protection of Human Rights."

Member of the Lviv Oblast/Regional Social and Cultural Organization "Kholmshchyna."

Main Publications

Professional Ukrainian editions:

Skira, Yu. R. The interrelationship between the monks of the Studite Holy Dormition Lavra and the Jews of Univ village before the Holocaust. Academic works of the History Department of the Zaporizhzhia National University. Zaporizhzhia, 2017. Edition 47. Pp. 142-146.

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Skira, Yu. The Holocaust in Urban Space: The Stages of Implementation of the "Final Solution" of the Jewish Problem Using the Lviv Ghetto as an Example. Scientific Notes of the Volodymyr Hnatiuk Ternopil Pedagogical University. Ternopil, 2018. Ed. 2. No. 1. Pp. 68-72.

Professional Foreign Publications:

Skira, Yu. The Activity of Hieromonk Herman (Budzinsky) in Saving Jews during the Holocaust in the Village of Univ and in Lviv. Scientific Journal of Academic Research "The Caucasus." Baku, 2016. Vol. 16. Pp. 38-42.

Skira, Yu. The Beginning of the Action of Saving Jews by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in August 1942. Evropsky filozoficky a historicky diskurz. Praha, 2017. V. 3, Sv. 3. Pp. 14-18.

Arrangement:

Materials for the International Scholarly Conference Honoring the 100th Anniversary of Ordination to the Priesthood of Yosyf Slipyi/ Arrang. by Yu. Skira - Lviv: KOLESO, 2018. 208 pp.

Main Conferences, Seminars, Summer Schools

Second International Scholarly Conference "Ukrainian-Polish Relations in the Context of Socio-Political and Ethno-Cultural Processes in Central- Eastern Europe (XX -beg. XXI c)."Lviv, I. Krypiakevyc Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. May 25, 2016, Speaker.

Summer School "History of the Holocaust in Europe and Ukraine." Kyiv, Taras Shevchenko National University. July 3-13, 2016. Participant.

Ukrainian-German Youth Seminar "Learning from History: Rights of Ethnic and Religious Minorities Nowadays." Lviv, Ukrainian Catholic . August 6-19, 2016. Participant.

Ars Vivendi Central European Summer School "Virtuous Leadership: From Personal Growth to Culture Renewal." Kalwaria Zebrzydowska - Wadowice - Krakow. August 21-27, 2016. Participant.

International Youth Project "Babyn Yar: Memory and the Contemporary World." Kyiv. September 23-29, 2016. Participant.

International Conference "Are We Learning Lessons from History? The Culture of Memory as a Way to European Understanding." Warsaw. October 27-30, 2016. Participant.

XIX International Scholarly-Practical Conference for Students and Young Scholars "Religion and Global Challenges of This Era: Historical Experience, the Realities of Today, and Perspectives for the Future." Lviv, Institute of Religion and Society at UCU. April 28-29, 2017. Speaker.

Third International Scholarly Conference "Ukrainian-Polish Relations in the Context of Socio-Political and Ethno-Cultural Processes in Central Eastern Europe (XX - beg. XXI c)." Lviv, I. Krypiakevyc Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. May 24, 2016. Speaker.

Entrance Learning Seminar for the Educational Course "Genocide of Jews in Europe: Historical Perspective and Approaches to Study." Kyiv. May 26-28, 2017. Participant.

International Scholarly Conference dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of the Ordination of Yosyf Slipyi to the Priesthood. Univ, Holy Dormition Studite Lavra, September 30, 2017. Presenter.

International Scholarly Conference "The Founders and Monks of the St. John Studite Lavra of the UGCC, 1927-1946."Lviv, K. Sheptytsky {Did you mean T. Shevchenko? translator} Museum of Folk Architecture and Life in Lviv. November 17-19, 2017. Presenter.

XX International Scientific and Practical Conference "Culture of Dialog and Dialog of Cultures: Religious factors in the Conditions of Searching for Understanding." Lviv. Institute of Religion and Society at UCU. April 27-28, 2018. Presenter.

REVIEWS

The description by Yuriy Skira of the activities of the Studite Monks of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the horrible years of WWII - is a remarkable achievement. First of all, this is an excellent work by a professional historian, who used primary sources from the Church archives, as well as personal testimonies, which reveal new aspects of the Church's and the monks' actions to shorten the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis, and to reduce the incidents of collaboration (unfortunately, also by Ukrainians). Skira is an exceedingly masterful writer, who tells us a fascinating detailed story of courageous people in difficult times.

Roald Hoffman
Nobel Prize Laureate
Professor of Chemistry at Cornell University, USA

REVIEWS

The Talmud claims that he who saves one life, saves the world, but actually he who saves one life saves many worlds. When Metropolitan Sheptytsky and the brothers of the Studite Order saved the life of a seven-year-old boy in the horrific days of WWII, they not only saved my world, but also the worlds of my three children, seven grandchildren, and also the worlds of an unknown number of future generations. Yuriy Skira wrote the most complete and document-supported history of the role which the Sheptytsky brothers and the Studites played in saving several Jews during that tragic time. The book shows many details in the life of those who were being hidden, but also gives an understanding of the huge risks of the actions of their rescuers. This is truly important research, which will be a contribution into the international dialog about Ukrainian-Jewish relations. The Ukrainian nation should feel a justified pride for the heroic acts of the Sheptytsky brothers and the Studites, who were the solitary ray of light in the darkness.

Leon Chameides
Doctor of Medical Sciences
Honorary Director of the Division of Pediatric Cardiology
Of the Children's Medical Center of the State of Connecticut Practicing Professor
Of the School of Medicine at the University of Connecticut

REVIEWS

In the summer of 1942 the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek- Catholic Church Andrey Sheptytsky and his brother, Ihumen Klymentiy, shocked by the fascist crimes against Jews, decided to save the lives of numerous members of Jewish families, both adults and children. Such actions were punishable by death. For help with this difficult and dangerous matter they picked a group of prominent priests, monks and nuns of the Studite Order, whose courageous and successful deeds were researched by Yuriy Skira and described in a fascinating manner.

Tsvi Barnea
Lecturer in the Physics Department
Melbourne University

REVIEWS

Yuriy Skira, Doctor at the Ukrainian Catholic University, researched a truly unique episode in the tragic history of WWII - the role of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (particularly the monks of the Studite Order) in saving Jews of Galicia in the times of the Holocaust. Parishes of the UGCC were the only part of the Catholic Church, who made every effort of organized aid for the "older brothers" in the times of Shoah. Dr. Yuriy Skira depicts the position of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church towards the Jews prior to and during WWII, analyzing in detail how some of them survived in Lviv and in the Studite Monastery in Univ thanks to the UGCC, and establishing a list of 26 names of those who were saved. The source base of his book are the national archives of Ukraine, the former archives of NKVS/NKVD?, as well as the archives of the Studite monks. Dr. Yuriy Skira has also demonstrated an extensive knowledge of already existing research, done in Ukraine and in the West. Without a doubt, his research deserves to be published by the Publisher "Dukh i Litera."

Andrzej Szeptycki
PhD

Institute of International Relations
Faculty of Political Science and International Studies
University of Warsaw

REVIEWS

A historian who attempts to research difficult historical events, which for various reasons were not documented, is similar to a brave alpinist, who is ready to conquer the hardest-to-reach summits. Lviv historian Mr. Yuriy Skira is such a researcher, who bravely took on an extremely difficult task: to research the matter of rescue of Galician Jews by Studite monks. This was kept in great secrecy by the monks. Keeping any records or documents in those terrible times was out of the question, since the saving of Jews could cost the lives of over two hundred monks and all those who helped them. And in the underground days of Communist terror no-one even dared mention the rescue of Jewish children. Thus, the monograph by Mr. Skira is of particular value, because he managed to not only collect all possible materials, but thoroughly analyzed them from all sides, applying the appropriate scholarly method. This given research reveals the particulars of the monastic service of the Studite monks, for after all, the matter of rescue in the years of the Holocaust flowed from their calling to serve their neighbor in the most difficult inhuman life situations. This book will be useful not only for those who are interested in history, but every person can find in it an understanding of values such as the dignity of human life and its preservation.

Bishop Teodor Martyniuk
Auxiliary Bishop
Ternopil-Zboriv Archeparchy of the UGCC

REVIEWS

Dr. Yuriy Skira's work "Called Upon: The Monks of the Studite Order and the Holocaust" reveals the known, but inadequately studied, rescue of Jewish children and adults in the times of the German occupation of Galicia - and the pre-history of this action, which was a period of spiritual and moral preparation. From every page bursts forth the greatness of the righteous Metropolitan Andrey and his brother the blessed Klymentiy and the monks and nuns of the Studite Order, who heroically risked their lives to save those of others.

The author went to a lot of trouble to pick out isolated fragments, in order to stitch together a picture of people's experiences, sufferings, sacrifices and dedication, but also fear and helplessness, and unfortunately, people's vileness.

Bishop Hlib Lonchyna
Eparchy of the Holy Family of the UGCC, London