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**METROPOLITAN ANDREY SHEPTYTSKYI
AND APOSTOLIC VISITOR PETRO VERHUN:
SOCIAL-CULTURAL PROJECTS IN THE INTERESTS
OF THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE¹**

Based on archival materials from Ukraine, Germany and Austria, periodicals, and achievements of Ukrainian and German historiography, creative heritage of Sheptytskyi the article analyzes the cooperation between Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi and Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Germany Petro Verhun, in particular, their joint projects; to show the role of Metropolitan Sheptytskyi in the pastoral activity of Fr. Petro Verhun and the spread of the Greek Catholic Church in Germany.

The role of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi and Visitor Petro Verhun in representing and defending the interests of Ukrainians in Germany is shown, in particular, in the social and cultural sphere. Furthermore, much attention is focused on the social and organizational mission of clergy, activities of Ukrainian public organizations in Germany. Andrei Sheptytskyi and Father Petro Verhun tried to find a point of understanding with the political emigration and unite them around the idea of statehood.

Despite the unfavorable social and political circumstances in the Ukrainian ethnic lands and Germany, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi and Apostolic Visitor Petro Verhun managed to implement important projects. For example, they published German-language books and articles in German magazines about the history of religious relations in Ukraine, analyzed the current position of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukrainian lands and abroad. They supported a student fund, founded schools, courses and also initiated the creation of scholarship for Ukrainian theologians in Germany. In addition, they organized a trip to Galicia for German theologians with the aim of getting acquainted with church life, Ukrainian traditions and customs.

Key words: Greek Catholic Church, Metropolitan Sheptytskyi, Apostolic Visitor Petro Verhun, cooperation, projects, Germany.

In the first half of the 20th century, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, led by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, took an active part in public life and suggested its own ways of resolving existing socio-political, socio-economic, cultural and educational

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issues. The church was a preacher of the spiritual, moral, cultural, educational, and social values of Ukrainians. Thanks to the Greek Catholic Church, Ukrainians managed to preserve their national identity not only in ethnic Ukrainian lands but also abroad. In the first half of the 20th century, emigration to America and European countries was a common phenomenon in Ukrainian society. Andrey Sheptytskyi tried to provide spiritual, material, and organizational support to Ukrainian emigrants. Metropolitan Andrey called for faith in God and daily prayer, gave relevant advice to Ukrainian emigrants, warning them against mistakes and reckless actions. The Metropolitan Ordinariate obliged the pastors to record the facts of the departure of Ukrainians, track the emigration destinations of the parishioners, and provide this information to the Ordinariate. Such information was necessary for the Metropolitan to monitor demographic changes, and communicate with the emigrants through pastoral letters and priests, whom he sent to Ukrainian communities abroad. The Metropolitan personally ordained and appointed priests for service abroad and maintained close contact with them. Andrey Sheptytskyi urged them to be active members of society. These priests were the intermedium between the Galician Metropolitan and Ukrainian emigrants abroad. They implemented the mission and promoted the activities of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) in the places they were located. Andrey Sheptytskyi entrusted this mission to priest Petro Verhun in Germany. Together they implemented important projects, took care of Ukrainians in Germany, contributed to their unity and development.



Apostolic Visitor Petro Verhun

In Ukrainian and foreign historiography, there are many research works about the role of the Church in preserving the national identity of Ukrainians, the connection with the national movement and national aspirations of Ukrainians (Сохацький, 1951; Качор, 1992; Гентош, 2015). Many works are dedicated to the head of the UGCC, Andrey Sheptytskyi, in particular, his attitudes toward the Nazi regime and the Holocaust (Himka, 2014; Stehle, 1989; Боляновський, 2016; Михалейко, 2023). Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, who determined the main directions of the UGCC's activities, wrote multiple works and messages about the social and political problems of that time (Кравчук, Гайова, 1995; Кравчук, Гайова, 1998; Кравчук, Гайова, 1999; Шептицький А., 1999). In historiography, in particular in the German language, there are works on the history of the UGCC in Germany, and the life path of Visitor Petro Verhun (Wojtowicz, 2000; Brychuk, 2020; Пошивак, 2018). P. Verhun's activity is well analyzed in the work of I. Brychuk. Father T. Poshyvak, who was personally involved in the search for Verhun's relics and the process of transporting them from Siberia to Ukraine, detailed the life of P. Verhun after his arrest in 1945 by NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) officers. Researcher Dmytro Burim published biographical documents of Father Petro Verhun found in the funds of the Department of the State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine, in

particular, the criminal cases of Petro Verhun and other representatives of the UGCC (Бупім, 2016). The administrative, social, and scientific activities of the Visitor are described in separate works (Бупім, 2011; Zlepko, 2009). Fr. Andriy Mykhaleyka made an attempt to characterize the pastoral ministry of Fr. Petro Verhun during the period of National Socialism and in the realities of the Second World War, however, his final work mainly described the position of the Catholic Church during this period (Mykhaleyko, 2024). Many works have been published about Ukrainian emigration, including political emigration in Germany (reports by Iryna Matiash, Vasyl Yarish, etc.), though, the authors tend to overlook the cooperation of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi with Apostolic Visitor Petro Verhun and research of their joint projects.

In 1927, Petro Verhun was appointed a priest for Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Berlin. Before becoming a priest, P. Verhun served in the Austrian army as well as the Ukrainian Galician Army and was a prisoner of war. Between 1921 and 1924, he studied at the Roman Catholic Theological Seminary in Prague, and later at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague, where he received a degree of Doctor of Philosophy. After that, he studied at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, majoring in Art History, and assisted a Greek-Catholic priest in Berlin. In 1937, Petro Verhun received the rank of prelate from Pope Pius XII for his pastoral and public work. Andrey Sheptytskyi personally appealed to the apostolic nuncio in Berlin with a request to petition the Vatican for the appointment of Petro Verhun as a papal prelate (Матеріали; Brychuk, 2020; Пошивак, 2018).

As of 1936, about 3,000 Ukrainians lived in Germany. With the help of special letters and messages, the Apostolic Visitor and the Metropolitan appealed to people who went to work in Germany: «Many of you will be working in the regions of ancient Austria, in Bavaria, Rhineland, Westphalia, or Alsapia and Lotharingia. You will get to know the German nation there, which adheres to the Catholic, that is, the universal faith. Of course, we need to be able to explain well to the Germans that you, like them, are also Catholics. There is only one difference between you and them: they adhere to the Latin rite, and we follow the Ukrainian rite, which is also called the Greek rite, in other words, the Byzantine or Eastern rite» (Шептицький, 1943, с. 2–4).

In the same pastoral letter, the Metropolitan addressed the representatives of political parties who were in Germany. Andrey Sheptytskyi warned them not to quarrel, not to divide anything, and to stop hating each other regardless of party affiliation (Шептицький, 1943, с. 4). After all, the Metropolitan considered these misunderstandings a great misfortune for the Ukrainian people. Following the thoughts and intentions of Metropolitan Sheptytskyi, Fr. Petro Verhun published special messages under the title «Message of the Apostolic Visitor to Ukrainian Catholics of the Byzantine-Slavic (Greek-Catholic) rite in Greater Germany». In his messages, the priest urged us to be faithful to the Holy Church, to help each other, and to cooperate in order to organize religious church life and contribute to the development of the Church: «Dear Brothers and Sisters, you found yourself in exile and benefit from the hospitality of the great German people. In all your work hours, fulfill your duties solidly and conscientiously, and do not give reasons for complaints, because they harm the good name of Ukraine» (Документ-1). A significant part of the Ukrainian emigration in Germany was made up of political emigrants. These were the «Hetmantsi», «Petliurivtsi», «Petrusheviliivtsi» and «pro-Moscows», between whom there was no understanding, but constant competition and struggle. Fr. Petro Verhun tried to find a point of understanding with the political emigration, to unite the warring organizations into a single front, but these

efforts were unsuccessful. He repeatedly mentioned the difficult relations in the Ukrainian emigration environment in his letters, in particular to the rector of the Lviv Theological Academy Yosyp Slipyi. In a letter dated May 31, 1933, Fr. P. Verhun wrote: «I have quite a lot of work, and even more troubles with our “politicians”» (ЦДІАЛЮ-6, арк. 16).

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi called for the unification of Ukrainians in social, cultural, and economic societies in ethnic Ukrainian lands and abroad. With the consent of the German government, Ukrainians united in the two largest public organizations: the Ukrainian National Association (UNA) and the «Ukrainian Community». P. Verhun fulfilled his mission in the organizational direction taking an active part in the undertakings of such Ukrainian associations in Berlin as the «Ukrainian Community» (as a chairman), and the «Union of Ukrainian Elders» (Управа, 1934, с. 6).

He supported the activities of Ukrainian organizations in Germany and made a number of attempts to create new associations. For example, Ukrainians in Hamburg united in the club «Ukraine», in Dermenthorst – «Progress» (ЦДІАЛЮ-4, арк. 75). On the initiative of the Society for the Protection of War Graves in Lviv, a committee for the care of the graves of Ukrainian figures, namely Dmytro Vitovskiy and Julian Chuchman, was created in Berlin (Могила Вітовського, 1928, с. 3). The deputy chairman of this committee was P. Verhun. On the initiative of Petro Verhun, Zenon Kuzelia, and other figures, the Committee for Ukrainian Refugees was created in Berlin. It defended the rights and interests of the Ukrainian refugees when dealing with the German authorities (ЦДІАЛЮ-4, арк. 141).

Father P. Verhun, as a priest and scientist, devoted a significant part of his life to popular scientific work and work at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, which was the center of Ukrainian cultural activity (Кузеля, 1934, с. 3–4). The Institute was founded in 1926 with the assistance of the «Ukrainian Refugee Aid Society», which was headed by the wife of the Hetman, Oleksandra Skoropadska, in agreement with the German government. The Institute was engaged in researching the history of the Ukrainian people (present and past), as well as establishing contacts between Ukrainian and Western European scientists. The opening of the Institute in Berlin testified that Germany paid close attention to the problems of Eastern Europe and was interested in studying the history of the region. At the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, P. Verhun was a member of the board of trustees. He presented a number of reports, among them «Church Union of Brest-Litovsk in 1596», «History of the Union in Ukraine» and «Cardinal Isydor and his activities in Ukraine in the 15th century» (3 культурного, 1934, с. 3). The Institute was under the influence of the supporters of the politics and rule of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskiy («Skoropadchyky»). Petro Verhun also presented several essays in German on church topics related to Ukrainian history (Український науковий Інститут, 1927, с. 12–15). He delivered speeches at the Philosophical and Theological Academy in Frankfurt am Main, in the Church History seminar of the Catholic Theological Faculty in Bonn and at the «Grail» in Berlin, the Spiritual Seminary in Münster, and the student society «Ascania» in Berlin (Наріжний, 1942, с. 216). At the Catholic Academic Society in Berlin, P. Verhun gave a course of lectures on the Orthodox and Greek Catholic religions. In German cities, reports and abstracts he presented were not only on religious-ecclesiastical and theological topics but also on socio-political ones, for instance, on the ecclesiastical, cultural, and social policy of Bolshevism (В Німеччині, 1927, с. 23).

Petro Verhun periodically wrote reports about his pastoral activities in Ukrainian and German to Metropolitan Sheptytskyi and representatives of the German clergy, in

particular to Cardinal Adolf Bertram of the Roman Catholic Church, Prelate Heinrich Wienken, and others. It is worth noting that the correspondence between the Father and the Metropolitan was official and unofficial. He sent official letters by post and unofficial ones he sent and received through priests or emigrants. In the reports, the Father provided detailed information about his visits to Ukrainian communities in Germany, the number of people who attended Divine Services, current problems and the situation of Ukrainian emigrants, misunderstandings between political emigrants, relations with the German clergy, etc. Often in such reports, Fr. P. Verhun asked for advice on how to deal with various situations. For example, whether to be on the holiday of the Resurrection of Christ in Dormenhorst with workers or in Berlin with the intelligentsia. It is worth mentioning that P. Verhun liked to visit Ukrainians in Dolmenhorst, Bremen, Hildesheim, etc. These were cities where the Ukrainian community lived in an organized and peaceful manner. Petro Verhun repeatedly wanted to come to Lviv and personally talk with Andrey Sheptytskyi, but it was not possible, because he had already had the experience of being detained by the Poles at the border. On the slide, we can see the first report sent to Andrey Sheptytskyi.

In 1938, the Polish authorities deprived Fr. Petro Verhun of Polish citizenship. This complicated the position of the priest. He could not receive fees from Lviv. In this regard, Metropolitan Andrey appealed to the Berlin bishop with a request to support Fr. Petro Verhun. It is worth saying that Metropolitan Andrey was well-known and enjoyed authority among the world clergy, including German clergy. For example, he periodically corresponded with the German Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church Adolf Bertram, Prelate Heinrich Wienken, Bishop Christian Schreiber, and Bishop Nicolaus Bares. In the letters, he thanked them for strengthening the religious ties, a friendly attitude towards the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic pastoral ministry, and Ukrainian emigration (ЦДІАЛЮ-1, арк. 1–5; ЦДІАЛЮ-3, арк. 1). Significant support in the pastoral and social activities of Fr. P. Verhun was also received from Osnabrück bishop Hermann Wilhelm Berning and the Catholic organization «Caritasverland».

The church organization of Ukrainians in Germany was part of their social and cultural life. For Ukrainians of the Greek-Catholic rite, until 1939 there were only 2 structural units in Germany – in Vienna (the church of St. Barbara, which served not only Ukrainians, but also other believers of the Greek-Catholic rite (Germans, Romanians, Croats, etc.) and therefore, was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Vienna, and the Apostolic Visitor in Berlin) and Berlin (at one of the Roman Catholic cathedrals) (Документ-2). With the onset of the Second World War, the number of Ukrainian emigrants in Germany had increased. The establishment of a central church organization had become urgent. In 1940, the Apostolic Capital named the Berlin pastor Fr. Prelate Dr. Petro Verhun as the Apostolic Visitor with the rights of the Apostolic Administrator for all the new Ukrainian emigrants. Thanks to the hard work of P. Verhun, the Greek Catholic Church expanded throughout Germany. In Berlin, as of mid-1941, in addition to the parish church, there were also two chapels. Fr. Petro Romanyshyn was Petro Verhun's colleague and Fr. Ivan Chorniak was the chancellor of the Apostolic Visitor (ЦДІАЛЮ-2, арк. 1). Apart from Berlin, the Divine Services were also held in Munich, Bamberg, Limburg, Bremen, Dresden, Beelitz, as well as Posen, Königsberg, Vienna, and other cities (Душпастирські станиці, 1941, с. 4). Petro Verhun also preached for Germans in German churches (Українська Служба Божя, 1936, с. 5).

Changes in the social and political life of Germany affected church life. Since the beginning of the 1940^s, Ukrainian religious services could only be served by Ukrainian priests, and then those who had special permission of the Reich from the Ministry of Church Affairs in Berlin. The police and other state institutions had to be notified in advance about the Divine Service. Poles and eastern workers, that is, Orthodox Ukrainians from the eastern regions, were especially strictly prohibited from coming to such services. As it happened, there were no Ukrainian priests in some locations, and even if there had been any, they could not have got permission to hold religious services from the German authorities, so the religious services did not take place. At the same time, many priests from Galicia preached in Roman Catholic churches, but it was not allowed to conduct services for Ukrainians without special permission from the German authorities (Mykhaleyko, 2024).

The administrative and pastoral activities of the Ukrainian priest were under the control of the German security service. Petro Verhun was summoned by the security services from time to time since they wanted to recruit him and force him to systematically inform the authorities about all the church affairs of Ukrainian Greek Catholics. Despite the unfavorable social and political circumstances in the Ukrainian ethnic lands and Germany, the two clergymen, in addition to the religious-social and public-organizational mission, managed to implement many other projects. One of the projects that Fr. Petro Verhun and Metropolitan Sheptytskyi had successfully rolled out was a publishing project.

«Ukraine und die kirchliche Union» is a book published in Berlin in 1930 with the aim of familiarizing foreigners with the history of religious relations in Ukraine. The initiators of the publication were Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi and Petro Verhun. At the beginning of the 20th century, the interest of the West in the ecclesiastical affairs of the East was becoming more and more noticeable. Rome paid a lot of attention to the affairs of the Church Union. With this in mind, representatives of the UGCC decided to publish a popular science book that answered these questions and clarified the situation of the Greek Catholic Church. This book is a kind of collective monograph, which includes the scientific articles of Fr. Petro Verhun, Dr. Ivan Mirchuk, Dr. Volodymyr Zalozetskyi, and Dr. Zenon Kuzelia. The introduction to the book was written by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, who gave a brief overview of church life in Ukraine from the earliest times and focused on the idea of church unification. In this book, Father P. Verhun provided a detailed analysis of church relations in Ukraine and analyzed the current position of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukrainian lands and abroad. The book includes a map of Ukraine and a confessional map of Europe, as well as a bibliography on the Union of the Eastern Church with Rome (Німчук, 1931, с. 2–3).

The second publishing project was the book «Leben und Wirken des Metropoliten Andreas Graf Scheptycky», published on the occasion of Sheptytskyi's anniversary in 1930 by Fr. Petro Verhun (Нові книжки, 1931, с. 6). Some articles from this book were also included in the jubilee issue of the Catholic magazine «Westöstlicher Weg», devoted to Eastern religious issues. These were articles by Prof. Dmytro Doroshenko «Metropolitan Sheptytskyi and Ukraine»; Father Petro Verhun «Metropolitan Sheptytskyi and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church»; Dr. Zenon Kuzelia «Cultural activity of Metropolitan Sheptytskyi». Petro Verhun also published books, prayer books, information guides, etc., for Ukrainians in Germany (До ювілею, 1931, с. 6).

In addition, P. Verhun and Ukrainian emigrants organized concerts on the occasion of Metropolitan Sheptytskyi's jubilee in Berlin (Концерт, 1930, с. 4).

One of the activities of the UGCC was charitable activity. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi and Fr. Petro Verhun made donations to the student fund (Пожертви, 1942, c. 8), the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society «Native School», and the National Museum in Lviv. In particular, P. Verhun helped replenish the funds of the National Museum with interesting documents that he discovered in foreign museums, for example, photos of documents of Hetmans Mazepa and Skoropadskyi, trade agreements of the city of Kyiv, a photo of Colonel Kryvonis and others dating back to the 18th century (ЦДІАЛТУ-5, арк. 21). Thanks to the efforts and funding of P. Verhun, a monument to the soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army was erected in Horodok.

Ukrainian schools and courses were opened in Delmenhorst, Bremen, Hemelingen, and Hamburg due to the joint efforts of Father Peter Verhun and Metropolitan Sheptytskyi. Andrey Sheptytskyi donated funds for the purchase of 80 primers and financed the activities of the schools on a monthly basis. All these schools had one name – «Ukrainian Catholic School named after Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi» (ЦДІАЛТУ-5, арк. 3). In addition, Andrey Sheptytskyi helped Ukrainian emigrants in Germany, as well as public and church organizations. For example, in Delmenhorst there was a Ukrainian Catholic Society named after St. Volodymyr the Great, which in the early 1930s was experiencing a crisis and unemployment. The society asked to give them church banners (ЦДІАЛТУ-4, арк. 183). Petro Verhun also helped Andrey Sheptytskyi and Ukrainian emigrants in buying and selling real estate in Germany.

Petro Verhun periodically gave lectures in the Spiritual Seminar in Münster about Eastern rites, liturgy, Union, and the Greek Catholic Church. He collaborated with the theological scholars of Münster, in particular with Father Dr. Krüger, who edited the bimonthly magazine «Die Kirche». The editor invited Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests and theologians to cooperate. Father Krüger wrote a letter to Metropolitan Andrey with a proposal to write an introduction to the first issue of the magazine (ЦДІАЛТУ-6, арк. 44).

In Münster, scholarships were also given to Ukrainian students to do theological studies. In addition, in August 1936, Fr. Petro Verhun, together with Yosyp Slipyi and Metropolitan Andrey, organized a trip to Galicia for German theologians with the aim of getting acquainted with church life, Ukrainian traditions and customs. 14 theologians from different cities of Germany took part in the trip (ЦДІАЛТУ-6, арк. 48).

Therefore, in the first half of the 20th century, the UGCC took an active part not only in religious, but also in cultural-educational, socio-political, and economic processes, and representatives of the clergy actively participated in the social life both in ethnic Ukrainian lands and abroad. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, who headed the Greek Catholic Church for 44 years, as a responsible pastor, worked for the good of the Church and the people, and took care of Ukrainian emigrants. Petro Verhun performed his pastoral activities for Ukrainian Catholics in Germany in accordance with the papal encyclicals and pastoral messages of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi during 1927–1945, a period of complex social and political processes, a strict control regime and political struggle in the environment of Ukrainian emigration. Petro Verhun, thanks to the support and cooperation with Metropolitan Sheptytskyi, embodied the social and organizational mission of the GCC for the Ukrainian community in Germany; he managed to implement a number of cultural, educational, publishing, and charitable projects in the interests of the church and the people.

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**МИТРОПОЛИТ АНДРЕЙ ШЕПТИЦЬКИЙ
ТА АПОСТОЛЬСЬКИЙ ВІЗИТАТОР ОТЕЦЬ ПЕТРО ВЕРГУН:
СОЦІАЛЬНО-КУЛЬТУРНІ ПРОЄКТИ
В ІНТЕРЕСАХ ЦЕРКВИ І НАРОДУ**

На основі архівних матеріалів України, Німеччини й Австрії, періодичних видань, досягнень української і німецької історіографій, творчої спадщини А. Шептицького проаналізовано співпрацю митрополита А. Шептицького та апостольського візитатора для українців греко-католиків у Німеччині о. П. Вергуна, зокрема їхні спільні проєкти в соціокультурній сфері. Простежено роль митрополита А. Шептицького в душпастирській діяльності о. П. Вергуна і поширенні ГКЦ у Німеччині.

Показано значимість митрополита Андрея та о. П. Вергуна у представленні й відстоюванні інтересів української громади в Німеччині. Акцентовано увагу на соціальній та організаційній місіях духовенства, діяльності українських громадських організацій. Зазначено, що оскільки в Німеччині чисельною була політична еміграція, представники духовенства намагалися об'єднати її навколо спільної ідеї української державності.

Зауважено, що, незважаючи на несприятливі соціальні й політичні обставини на українських етнічних землях та в Німеччині, митрополит А. Шептицький та апостольський візитатор о. П. Вергун реалізували чимало важливих проєктів, опублікували німецькомовні книжки і статті в німецьких журналах про історію України та Східної Європи, насамперед про релігійні відносини в Україні та становище ГКЦ на українських землях і за кордоном. Встановлено, що обидва церковні діячі підтримували студентський фонд, засновували школи, освітні курси в різних німецьких містах, а також ініціювали створення стипендій для українських богословів у Німеччині, а крім цього, греко-католицьке духовенство організувало візити німецьких богословів до Галичини для ознайомлення з церковним життям, українськими традиціями та звичаями.

Ключові слова: Греко-Католицька Церква, митрополит Андрей Шептицький, апостольський візитатор о. Петро Вергун, співпраця, проєкти, Німеччина.

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