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THE INTELLIGENTSIA AS A DRIVING FORCE OF UKRAINIAN NATION-BUILDING IN GALICIA IN THE LATE 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY (ACCORDING TO THE MATERIALS OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES OF METROPOLITAN ANDREY SHEPTYTSKY)

In the late 19th and early 20th century, in Galicia, under the influence of the modernization transformations of the Habsburgs, the processes of formation of national consciousness and identity of Ukrainians, as well as of Ukrainian nation-building were intensified. In the socio-political and cultural life of the region, a decisive role was played by the elite, represented by the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The development of education and science, the liberalization of political life have changed the social face of the elite. The clergy, which dominated the first half of the nineteenth century, were replaced by secular intellectuals: lawyers, teachers, doctors, writers, scholars, artists, etc. Gradually, it took a leading position in the public life of the region and became the engine of Ukrainian nation-building.

The role of the national elite in the socio-political transformations of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was given considerable attention in pastoral epistles by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. He considered the intelligentsia as moral and spiritual support of the people, the main organizer and promoter of national life, especially in the province. The Metropolitan gave the intellectual elite a central role in the process of becoming a Ukrainian nation. The key to the success of this social group, he considered the cohesion of the clergy and the secular elite, their awareness of the unity of goals and aspirations, the elimination of contradictions, conflicts and misunderstandings in relationships, working together for the benefit of the native people. A. Sheptytsky saw the main tasks of the intelligentsia in activating the educational work among the population, improving its economic knowledge, developing Ukrainian education, especially higher education, and forming the civic and political consciousness of Ukrainians.

Describing the elite, Metropolitan considered selflessness and patriotism as its inalienable and obligatory features of that time. At the same time, he strongly criticized the negative socio-psychological qualities of the intelligentsia, which prevented it from fulfilling its mission. A. Sheptytsky considered the greatest defects of the Ukrainian intellectual elite as unreasonable ambition, the struggle for influence in the community, the gradual loss of ethnic and cultural identity, the priority of financial well-being over the service of the people, and the over-enthusiasm for atheistic and socialist ideals.

Keywords: intelligentsia, nation-building, clergy, Galicia, Andrey Sheptytsky.

The 19th century was a period of turbulent revolutions, social transformations, intensification of nation-building processes in Europe, and the struggle of European peoples for the realization of their national rights. Deprived of their own state, the nation directed all its efforts to build it. Under the influence of European modernization processes and the liberalization of social and political life in the Habsburg Empire, the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia became more active, first in the socio-cultural plane and later in the political one. The politicization of the struggle, the formation of national consciousness and the identity of the general public have intensified the Ukrainian nation-building. At the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century in Galicia the final stage of formation

of the Ukrainian nation began. The Ukrainians, following other European peoples, realized themselves as the only national organism. The liberal circumstances of socio-political and cultural life in Austria-Hungary have largely contributed to this. Gradually, the people became involved in the struggle for the realization of their national rights. It is clear that all these transformations would not have been possible without the socio-political and cultural elite, whose function was taken over by the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The rapid development of education and science, the liberalization of political life have dramatically changed its social face. If the clergy dominated among the intellectual elite in the first half of the 19th century, from the second half of the 19th century the modern secular intelligentsia formed and increased in number, which began to play a leading role in the socio-political, economic, and cultural life of the region.

Outlined period was also marked by changes in the spiritual life of society and in the development of the church. Political pluralism, the priority of politics over religion, the spread of socialist ideas in Galicia all significantly influenced the authority of the Greek Catholic clergy. These changes forced the clergy to radically review the role of the priest in society, as well as his relationship with the secular intelligentsia.

All these problems were reflected in the writings of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. As a zealous Christian, a patriot and a sincere fighter for the national rights of the Ukrainian people, he did not realize the then social life without the intelligentsia as a spiritual and moral support of society. In new social and political conditions, the metropolitan took a new approach to the interpretation of the elite and its role in the national aspirations of Ukrainians in Galicia in the late 19th – early 20th century.

A lot of scientific research is devoted to the personality of A. Sheptytsky as well as to his contribution to the economic, social and political, including religious life, cultural transformations of Galician society¹. However, such an important aspect of his written heritage as the role of the intellectual elite in the formation of the Ukrainian nation remains

¹ Гладка Г. Л. Суспільно-політична діяльність митрополита Андрія Шептицького (1899–1939 рр.): автореф. дис. ... канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01 / Чернівецький державний університет ім. Ю. Федьковича. Чернівці, 2000. 18 с.; Яцишин У. Роль митрополита Андрія Шептицького у розвитку парламентаризму в Західній Україні. *Українська національна ідея: реалії та перспективи розвитку*. 2007. Вип. 19. С. 198–204; Кекош О. М. Просвітницька діяльність та педагогічні погляди Андрія Шептицького: автореф. дис. ... канд. пед. наук: 13.00.01 / Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка. Дрогобич, 2013. 19 с.; Августин Р. Р. Економічний персоналізм Митрополита Андрія Шептицького. *Науковий вісник Національного лісотехнічного університету України*: зб. наук.-техніч. пр. 2013. Вип. 23.4. С. 385–393; Гентош Л. Митрополит Шептицький. 1923–1939. Випробування ідеалів. Львів, 2015. 586 с.; Пасіцька О. Вплив митрополита Андрія Шептицького на господарське життя галицьких українців (кінець XIX – перша третина XX ст.). *Гілея: науковий вісник*. 2016. Вип. 105(2). С. 31–35; Її ж. «Львівський Манчестер» і «Галицька Каліфорнія»: соціально-економічна діяльність українців Галичини (20–30-ті роки XX ст.). Львів, 2019. 572 с.

poorly investigated. O. Volynets², T. Bilenko³, T. Ostafiv⁴, A. Pashuk⁵ indirectly touched on this problem.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the views of A. Sheptytsky on the role of the intelligentsia as a leading social group in the process of formation of the Ukrainian nation, its shortcomings and main tasks in the struggle of Ukrainians for their economic, political and social rights in Galicia in the late 19th – early 20th century.

A. Sheptytsky's considerable writing characterizes him as a highly educated person with a broad outlook, who understood very well the specifics of the economic, political and social processes that took place in Galicia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and could predict their consequences for the Ukrainian population of the region. The analysis of the metropolitan's creative heritage clearly outlines his social position, awareness of the main problems and the priority tasks of Ukrainians in the struggle for the realization of their national rights. Particularly noteworthy is the interpretation of the role in these processes of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which as a social strata was just forming at the end of the 19th century.

A. Sheptytsky highly praised the role of the intellectual elite in the life of any nation, including the Ukrainian. For him, the intellectuals, thanks to their higher scientific and cultural level, were «natural enlighteners»⁶, «praise and power of the nation»⁷. The Archbishop acknowledged that all the achievements of the Ukrainian people during the nineteenth century were the merit of a few intellectuals, the vast majority of whom were parish clergy⁸.

A. Sheptytsky considered the formation of the national intellectual elite a priority in the national revival of the people. It was to this elite that he entrusted the task of political, economic and cultural leadership of the people in the struggle for their rights, for the creation of the Ukrainian state. After all, the intelligentsia – professional engineers, economists, lawyers, teachers, writers, musicians, artists, etc. – was a peculiar face of a nation that by its achievements represented the nation in the international arena⁹.

The Metropolitan in his epistles distinguished the intellectuals secular and spiritual, emphasizing its differences, different conditions of formation, cultural and educational level, interests, tasks, and influence on the people. Important to him was the question of the priority

² Волинець О. О. Митрополит Андрей Шептицький про участь духовенства у суспільно-політичному житті. *Гілея: науковий вісник*. 2012. Вип. 65 (№ 10). С. 5–9.

³ Біленко Т. Митрополит Андрей Шептицький та Іван Франко: міркування про «квестію соціальної». *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: наукові записки Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка*. 2008. Вип. 21: Філософія. С. 95–107.

⁴ Остафіїв Т. Постаць священника у пастирських посланнях Митрополита Андрея Шептицького. Жовква: Місіонер, 2012. 83 с.

⁵ Пашук А. Українська церква і незалежність України: монографія. Львів: Львів. нац. ун-т ім. І. Франка, 2003. С. 225–260. URL: http://www.lnu.edu.ua/faculty/Phil/Kaf_filos/%90%AE%A7%A4%3F%AB%209.doc (дата звернення 15.02.2020).

⁶ Шептицький А. Пастирські послання: у 4 т. / редкол.: М. Гринчишин [та ін.]. Львів: Артос, 2007. Т. 1: 1899–1914. С. 14.

⁷ Там само. С. 785.

⁸ Там само. С. 785.

⁹ Там само. С. 645.

in relations between the two groups of intellectual elite in socio-political life. A. Sheptytsky well understood, what the figure of a priest meant in the past as well as for his contemporaries. After all, the pastor in the Ukrainian society was not just a representative of the Church, carrying out religious practices and rituals. For many decades, it was priests who were the true spiritual leaders of the Ukrainians. Until the early 20th century, especially in the countryside, the priest was a moral authority, advisor and assistant to the peasant. However, the rapid development of education and science, the liberalization of political life have dramatically changed the social structure of society and the nature of the elite. From the second half of the 19th century, a secular intelligentsia was rapidly forming and growing, gradually taking over the leadership of the political, economic and cultural life of the nation. «The times when only the priests represented the Ruthenian intelligentsia have passed irrevocably!», – stated Metropolitan Andrey in one of the pastoral epistles¹⁰. But the statement of this fact did not cause him a negative reaction. On the contrary, he regarded it as a natural development of events. Circumstances demanded a clear division of the competencies of the secular intelligentsia and the clergy, the elimination of any contradictions and the confrontation between them¹¹. However, the Archbishop noted that priests have the right and obligation to retain moral and spiritual influence on the development of various sections of society.

In a series of epistles, A. Sheptytsky clearly emphasized that the Church maintained a significant influence in society, given that the priests numbered far more than the secular intelligentsia¹², and the Church maintained a powerful influence on the minds of citizens¹³. Metropolitan's claim about the clergy's superiority over the secular intelligentsia is confirmed by statistics at the time. Thus, a comparative analysis of the quantitative composition of these two social groups shows that in Galicia as of 1900, out of the total number of intellectuals (about 8,000 people), no more than 3,000 were secular intellectuals, the remaining 5,000 were priests¹⁴.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky emphasized that the task of the intelligentsia – to achieve the general welfare of the people – is large-scale and very difficult¹⁵. Therefore, solidarity and cohesion should be a prerequisite for its successful implementation, both in the environment of the clergy divided by political views¹⁶, and between the clergy and the secular intelligentsia¹⁷. In his pastoral epistles, A. Sheptytsky outlined three main areas of activity of the intelligentsia for the consolidation of the Ukrainian people in the struggle for their rights: 1) education, development of the Ukrainian school, science, culture; 2) development

¹⁰ Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 1. С. 20–21.

¹¹ Там само. С. 21.

¹² Там само. С. 22.

¹³ Там само. С. 189.

¹⁴ Мисак Н. Ф. Українська інтелігенція Галичини наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст.: соціально-професійний аспект: дис. ... канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01 / Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка. Львів, 2005. С. 156.

¹⁵ Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 1. С. 197.

¹⁶ Там само. Львів: Артос, 2013. Т. 4: 1905–1944. С. 6; Колб Н. «З Богом за Церкву і вітчизну»: греко-католицьке парафіяльне духовенство в Галичині у 90-х роках ХІХ століття. Жовква, 2015. С. 148–164.

¹⁷ Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 1. С. 14.

of economic knowledge of the people; 3) promoting the formation of political and civic consciousness of the Ukrainians.

Considering raising the educational level of the population as the main condition for the well-being of the people, A. Sheptytsky called this area a priority in the activities of secular and spiritual intelligentsia. Because through enlightenment it is possible to form a clear and conscious social and political position of the people, their resistance to the «harmful» slogans of different political forces. In a series of epistles, the Metropolitan urged priests to promote the enlightenment of the peasants in every possible way: «Lay, my brethren, in the countryside reading rooms, kindergartens (“zakhoronky”) for children, take care, that children go to school»¹⁸. At the same time, he emphasized that education should be based on the principles of faith and Christian morality, because only then would it benefit the person and not impede his spiritual development¹⁹.

An important condition of enlightenment, according to A. Sheptytsky, was the growth of the intellectual level of the intelligentsia itself, in particular through self-education. In a special way, the Archbishop emphasized the importance of constant work on their intellectual level for the pastors. After all, the parish priest had to be competent in public matters so that he could interpret them correctly to his parishioners. Among other things, A. Sheptytsky urged pastors to join scientific studies as a driving force for progress²⁰.

One of the priorities of the intelligentsia metropolitan considered the development of national education²¹. The Archbishop called education and science an important prerequisite for the formation of the national intelligentsia as a leading social strata and for the formation of the Ukrainian political nation. In the pastoral epistle to the clergy «Our program» (1899) A. Sheptytsky wrote: «Because science for the upper classes of society is a force in more than one form greater than wealth. A nation that has scholars receives recognition and honor from others, and people with it should be reckoned with»²².

The Metropolitan was also aware that the new social system, in particular the transition from the class to the social and professional stratification system, in which education became one of the main channels of vertical social movements, placed new demands on citizens – to be socially active, purposeful, able to respond quickly to circumstances, make decisions and rely on their own capabilities. A. Sheptytsky emphasized that in these conditions the task of school and teachers should be to form in youth such traits as independence, individuality, confidence, purposefulness, initiative²³. At the same time, education in a new environment was to acquire practical direction, giving a person the knowledge and skills that he can apply in everyday life, through which he will improve his well-being and promote the development of his people.

Another important area of work of the intelligentsia Metropolitan Andrey called improvement of economic well-being of the population. The Archbishop was aware that

¹⁸ Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 1. С. 12.

¹⁹ Там само. С. 542–543.

²⁰ Там само. С. 646.

²¹ Детальніше про підтримку А. Шептицьким української освіти див.: Рощина Л. О. Меценатська діяльність митрополита Андрея Шептицького. *Наука. Релігія. Суспільство*. 2008. № 1. С. 178–180.

²² Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 1. С. 22.

²³ Там само. С. 13.

the economic independence of both the individual and the whole people is the key to political stability and, ultimately, independence²⁴. Therefore, he called economic education of the future intellectual elite one of the primary tasks of the school²⁵, and considered the priority task of the intelligentsia the formation of economic consciousness and culture of the population, as well as support its economic activities. Thus, A. Sheptytsky repeatedly called on the clergy to help their parishioners to create various cooperatives, shops, granaries, economic and craft unions, loan offices, etc.²⁶ A. Sheptytsky's great attention to the problem of economic development of Ukrainians is evidenced by the fact that the Archbishop created the socio-economic doctrine of the so-called economic personalism²⁷.

Extremely important task of the intelligentsia in the conviction of Metropolitan Andrey was to promote the development of political culture, consciousness and awareness of the people. This was especially true of the electoral issue, because for Ukrainians, elections to the legislature were perhaps the only legal way to seek to exercise their national rights. A. Sheptytsky urged priests and secular intelligentsia to do public outreach, to prevent electoral violations and to elect to Galician Seim (The Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, and of the Grand Duchy of Cracow) and the Austrian Parliament such deputies who would selflessly defend the national rights of Ukrainians²⁸.

An important feature of the new elite A. Sheptytsky called sincere patriotism, under which he understood the love for the Fatherland and for neighbour. The love for the Metropolitan is a selfless, sacrificial work for the benefit of every person and people²⁹. He stressed that a true patriot is one who «in his position, acting conscientiously in his duty, works for the good of the people»³⁰. Therefore, the priority for Ukrainian society should be the formation of a patriotic elite who will selflessly work for the sake of the future welfare of the nation³¹.

At the same time, the Metropolitan paid considerable attention to criticizing the defects of the contemporary intelligentsia. Characterizing the secular elite, A. Sheptytsky called its greatest disadvantages a gradual loss of ethnic identity, a cultural distance from the people, a fascination with international European culture, and an attempt to impose it on the peasantry³². The Metropolitan was also very concerned about the proliferation of «fashionable» at the time socialist and atheistic views among the secular elite. A. Sheptytsky considered the Church's active activity to convert the intellectual elite to Christian positions as an effective mechanism for combating such negative phenomena³³.

In turn, one of the defects of the spiritual circles A. Sheptytsky called distance from the people, its problems and way of life onversion of the priestly ministry into the usual

²⁴ Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 1. С. 197.

²⁵ Там само. С. 13.

²⁶ Там само. С. 173, 197, 547; До духовенства. Вибрані листи-послання Митрополита Андрея Шептицького та Патріярха Йосифа Сліпого. Львів: Артос, 2009. С. 14.

²⁷ Августин Р. Р. Економічний персоналізм... С. 385–386.

²⁸ Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 4. С. 116–117.

²⁹ Пашук А. Українська церква і незалежність України... С. 232.

³⁰ Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 1. С. 16.

³¹ Там само. С. 283.

³² Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 4. С. 422.

³³ До духовенства... С. 14.

source of material enrichment³⁴. Another major drawback of the priesthood in the conviction of the Archbishop was the inability of priests to separate their political views and beliefs from spiritual ministry. As a result, the Church has often turned into an arena of political struggle, election and party propaganda, which has caused an irreparable blow to its authority in society. Therefore, A. Sheptytsky urged the clergy to clearly differentiate the duties of pastor and citizen: «A priest cannot be a politician in the church, nor can he mix politics to preach or to any relationship with him as a pastor with the parishioners», – he noted³⁵. The Metropolitan noticed that, outside the church, the parish priest can and should, as a citizen, be interested in politics, have any political convictions, if they would not contradict Christian ideology. Moreover, outside the temple, the priest should be the initiator and leader of secular and public affairs. I. Franko praised this opinion at one time as «very intelligent and human»³⁶.

The greatest obstacle in the activities of the secular and spiritual intelligentsia was the lack of coordinated work, the mutual contradictions in their environment, unreasonable criticism, ambition and the struggle for primacy.

Thus, A. Sheptytsky was aware of the exceptional role of the new social strata – the intelligentsia – in the socio-political and nation-building processes in Galicia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In his pastoral epistles, he sought to identify its social characteristics, and outlined the major shortcomings that impeded the effective accomplishment of its mission. A. Sheptytsky described the main tasks that the intelligentsia need to realize in the three most important spheres of public life: education, economy and politics for the growth of the national consciousness of Ukrainians, their further consolidation in the struggle for their national rights. The Metropolitan considered solidarity and joint work for the benefit of the Ukrainian nation, asserting its rights and freedoms, independence as the main guarantee of success in the activities of this social group.

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³⁴ Шептицький А. Пастирські послання... Т. 1. С. 172.

³⁵ Там само. С. 545.

³⁶ Біленко Т. Митрополит Андрей Шептицький ... С. 101–102.

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Наталія КОЛБ, Наталія МИСАК. Інтелігенція як рушійна сила українського державотворення в Галичині наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. (за матеріалами пастирських послань митрополита Андрея Шептицького)

Схарактеризовано погляди митрополита Андрея Шептицького на роль української світської і духовної інтелігенції у процесах становлення української нації в Галичині наприкінці XIX – початку XX ст. Зокрема, акцентовано увагу на трактуванні інтелектуальної еліти як головного промотора й організатора національного життя, особливо на провінції, як морально-духовної опори народу в його боротьбі за свої національні права. Проаналізовано розуміння митрополитом Шептицьким основних завдань інтелігенції в економічній, політичній та соціальній сферах, спрямованих на згуртування українства як національного організму, формування національної ідентичності широкого загалу населення.

Окреслено пріоритетні напрями діяльності суспільної еліти – просвітницька робота, освіта, формування економічної, політичної й громадянської свідомості українців. Схарактеризовано психічні риси та соціальні якості, які архиерей вважав невід’ємними й обов’язковими атрибутами інтелігенції для належного виконання її місії. Також висвітлено основні недоліки суспільної еліти, що, на думку Андрея Шептицького, гальмували процес націєтворення.

Ключові слова: Галичина, Андрей Шептицький, інтелігенція, націєтворення, духовенство.