

The Lemkos of Poland Articles and Essays

Edited by
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Crow — New Haven

The Lemkos of Poland

Articles and Essays

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On front cover — Church in Tylicz

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The editors would like to dedicate this book to the memories of Ryszard Luzny (1927–1998), Roman Reinfuss (1910–1998), and Bohdan Struminski (1930–1998) leading authorities in the field of East Slavic and Lemko Studies all of who passed away within months of each other in 1998.

Doctor Luzny was a member of the International Association of Ukrainianists and Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in New York. He wrote a monograph about the Kyiv — Mohyla Academy *The Kyiv — Mohyla Academy and Polish Literature: from the history of Polish-East Slavic cultural connections in the 17th and 18th centuries* as well as *Old Rus Literature*.

Ryszard Luzny was Professor of Slavic studies at the Jagiellonian University of Cracow and the Catholic University of Lublin where he taught East Slavic studies.

Doctor Reinfuss, Professor of Ethnography at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, was one of the first to do detailed scientific examination of the Lemko Region. His doctoral dissertation, written in the 1930s, *Lemkowie jako grupa etnograficzna* (The Lemkos as an Ethnographic Group) is a classic and fundamental work about the special case of the Lemko people.

Doctor Bohdan Struminski completed his doctoral and habilitation studies at the University of Warsaw in the field of Slavic linguistics. He was for many years a scholarly worker at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. Besides the article in this volume about the Lemko Language, he edited the two-volume work, *Lemkivshchyna: Zemlya, Liudi, Istoriya, Kultura* (The Lemko Region: Land, People, History, Culture). He finished volume 7 of the Hrushevsky translation project just before he died.

Acknowledgments

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We also wish to express our gratitude to Prof. Michal Chorosnicki of the Institute of Political Sciences of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow for taking care of the local arrangements for the 1992 conference and to the Institute itself for allowing us to use its facilities.

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PREFACE

The following articles (papers with full scholarly apparatus, that is, notes) and essays (opinion pieces without extensive citations) are the results of over ten years of discussions held among scholars who are interested in that area of the Carpathian Mountains now or formerly inhabited by East Slavs. In this case, East Slavic is defined as those people whose religious foundation was Byzantine rite Christianity and who used the Cyrillic alphabet to write their language, people whose culture was part of East Europe as opposed to Western European people of a Roman Christian background (whether Roman Catholic or in protest against it — Protestant) and who used the Roman alphabet. The Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment were basically West European movements, to be sure there were echoes in the Carpathians, but they were not East European in origin.

The following materials are not arranged thematically but rather by the occasion when they were first presented to the scholarly community at conferences. Some of them may have also later been published in other venues.

How did Carpatho-Slavic Studies start?

In November 1988 at the 20th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies meeting in Honolulu, Hawaii, a group of scholars met to exchange views about the East Slavic inhabitants of the Carpathian mountains of Poland. The session, chaired by Prof. Michal Chorosnicki of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow, was entitled "Ethnocultural Survival in Borderland Regions." Papers included: "The Lemko Question at the Beginning of the 20th Century" by Prof. Paul J. Best of Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.; "National awareness as a political tool of the State: the problem of the Carpatho-Rusyns in the domestic and foreign policy of Poland, 1919–1939" by Dr. Andrzej A. Zieba of the Polonia Research Institute of the Jagiellonian University; "The Lemkos in the Ukrainian National Movement During and After WWII" by Prof. Peter J. Potichnyi, Political Science Department, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada and "Nation Building or Nation Destroying? Poles, Lemkos and Ukrainians in present-day Poland," by Prof. Paul R. Magocsi, Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. Prof. Oksana Grabowicz of Harvard's Ukrainian Research Institute (Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.) was the discussant.

To the surprise of the panel discussion organizers, despite the obvious pleasures of Hawaiian beaches and the hour of the day (Sunday evening), a rather large audience turned out to hear the papers and to take part in the debate after the formal presentations.

Afterwards, several academicians decided to stay in contact through an informal Carpatho-“Rusyn” (now “Slavic”) Studies Group with a “Secretary” who would keep an address list, produce an occasional newsletter and organize meetings.

At the IV World Congress for “Soviet” (now “Central”) and East European Studies several panels met which dealt with Carpathian questions and some papers were published as *Carpatho-Rusyn Studies (Volume 1): Contributions of the Carpatho-Rusyn Studies Group to the IV World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies* with six articles.

In summer 1992 a four-day conference (20-24 July) was held at the Institute of Political Sciences of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow, Poland dealing with various aspects of the Lemkos of Poland. At this meeting nine papers were delivered which form the contents of volume 2 of *Carpatho-Slavic Studies*.

The papers of the scholars of the “Carpatho-Slavic Studies Group” at the V World Congress for Central and East European Studies (Warsaw, Poland, August 1995) form Volume 3 of *Carpatho-Slavic Studies*.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

The *Carpatho-Slavic Studies Group* is an informal collection of scholars and other individuals who are interested in that part of the Carpathian mountain range inhabited by East Slavs.

There are *no* political, religious or other requirements necessary to take part in this activity beyond, of course, a sincere interest in the Carpathian region. The *Studies Group* does not and cannot take any stand regarding national, ethnic, religious or other questions concerning the Carpatho-Slavic area. Any and all viewpoints are welcome as long as they are defended in a scholarly manner and in a polite way. If you are interested in our activities, please copy and fill out the sheet at the end of this book and send it to the address indicated and you will thereby become a member.

A Note About Terminology and Transliteration

Many readers of this volume may be aware that there is much acrimonious controversy about the proper terminology for a East Slavic population that has at various times, in various circumstances, and using several alphabets, been called: Lemkos, Boikos, Hutsuls, Lemaki, Rusnaks, Rusins, Rusyns, Carpatho-Rusyns, Carpatho-Ukrainians, and Carpatho-Russians (and other terms). Thus, we use as neutral a term as possible, “Carpatho-Slavic”, in our group’s name and in our publications.

For the sake of convenience we pluralize Lemko as Lemkos rather than Lemki, Lemkowie, etc., and we’ve settled on the use of the Lemko Region, in

stead of Lemkovyna, or the more cumbersome Lemkivscyna (German), Lemkowszczyzna (Polish) or Lemkivshchyna (Ukrainian). According to standard scholarly usage, we use Lviv (Ukrainian), the current name of that city, rather than Lwow (Polish), Lvov (Russian) or Lemberg (German).

As the reader may be aware, there are several versions of the Cyrillic alphabet in use in and around the area discussed in this text and even these have evolved over the years. Transliterating the variations of Cyrillic into the Roman alphabet presents some real difficulties since there may already be a transliteration in use in the Polish version of the Roman as is true for a German variant or a Slovak one. Since adherents to one or another transliteration can never be satisfied if the alternate is selected for use (for example, should it be Rusyn or Rusin), we will do the best we can and make transliterations according to the current Library of Congress and Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute usages as rendered for standard English pronunciation, thus Kyiv instead of Kiev for the capital of Ukraine. If a standard Roman spelling already exists for a place, then that was selected, thus Gorlice (Poland) instead of transliterated Ukrainian Horlyci or Przemyśl instead Peremyshl or if for a name Sheptytsky instead of Szeptycki or Kotsyl-ovsky instead of Kocylowski or Mastsiukh instead of Masciuch, *et al.*

This book, containing three volumes of *Carpatho-Slavic Studies*, was compiled, translated and edited for the sole purpose of disseminating information about Carpatho-Slavs. Material appearing in square brackets [] was added by the translators.

Any comments, remarks, additional information, etc., would be gratefully received.

*Paul J. Best, Secretary
Carpatho-Slavic Studies Group*



Paul J. Best

An Introduction to Lemko Studies^{*}

Anthropologists state that the direct line of descent of the human can be traced backward some 1,000,000 years to *homo erectus*. We can be much more precise, however, when we deal with the present type of humans because there is evidence to show that modern man (*homo sapiens*) existed in a rock cave shelter at Cro-Magnon near Les Eyzies (Dordogne Department), France some 30,000 years ago. These “Cro-Magnon Man” remains included skeletons which are indistinguishable from modern ones.

While modern humans have been around for at least 30 millennia, the “history” of human beings can be said to be only about 5,000 years old, if we mean written records of human development and change which give us the chronological order of events. Moreover, if we wish to discuss the critical, scholarly study of the human past we discover that, with few exceptions, human studies about themselves, which make some attempt at accuracy, are not more than 500 years old, dating from the Renaissance, and precise objective study that is now acceptable as scholarly work, is not more than 200 years old. Up until the beginning of the 19th century the study of past human behavior (history) was considered to be part of the very broad field of philosophy, which, as we know, is speculative in nature not necessarily needing “facts” in order to be formulated.

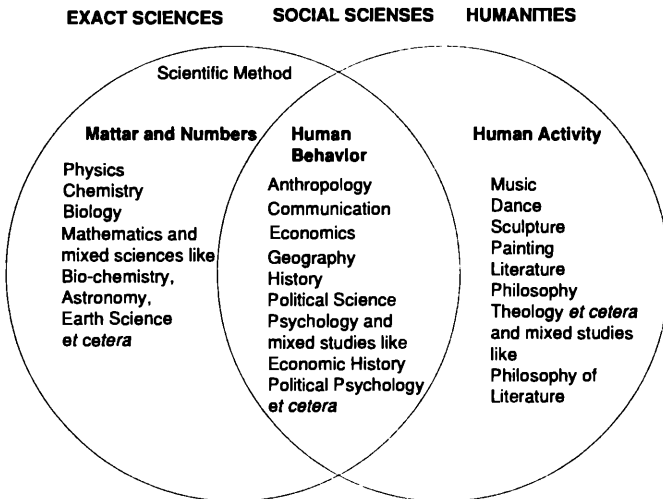
Two centuries ago German historians began to see that there was a connection between exact science and good scholarship and thus began the slow emergence of the study of human behavior (the social sciences) from under the shadow of philosophy and the arts (the humanities).

The point is this: within the last two hundred years scholars have come to recognize that three broad fields of study exist, one of which, “Social Science”, is relatively new to scholarship and to a certain extent of product of the two (see the following illustration). The Exact Sciences, those studying matter and numbers (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and combinations thereof), developed out of Renaissance research and since they did not deal with human behavior *per se*, one could, if conditions were right,

* A paper delivered at the II Congress of Ukrainian Studies, Lviv, Ukraine August 1993.

reach provable, replicable results. The use of the scientific method is the foundation of modern Exact Science, that is, a physical phenomenon is observed, a hypothesis is formulated and continuous experimentation takes place until results are obtained that can be duplicated by other exact scientists. Eventually an explanation of the phenomenon is reached and the exact scientists move on to other questions.

Observing human behavior, since it does not deal with matter and numbers, has until relatively recently been considered a “humanity”. Humanities (literature, the arts, philosophy) deal with or study about what humans think or do in relation to, say, sculpture or a supernatural authority (God, gods) without attempting a scientific explanation or trying to reach a replicable conclusion. Theology, for example, cannot be an exact science since it deals with something that is considered to exist outside time and space, materials and numbers. The nature of “God” is a speculative activity that humans do. Thus “Theology” is a Humanity, not a topic of experimentation.



NOTE: Of course these are not sharp distinctions. Much overlapping occurs between the three broad areas of study, such as Art History, quantification of data (Mathematics) and the Social Sciences, Human Biology of hearing and music, *et cetera*.

The reader will notice that the modifier “exact” has been used nearly every time the word “science” has appeared so far. This is because there can be used another modifier, “social”, which indicates another variant of science. The necessity to be precise and use modifiers is caused by the way “science” is used in the English language, the language in which upwards of 80% of scholarly research is published today. “Science” is popularly thought of as the work of the physicist or the chemist, the hard scientist, and not of other scholars. This problem does not occur in exactly the same way in, say the Slavic languages where the word “Nauka”, normally translated into English as “science”, really means organized activity, — arts and sciences —

and not just mathematics or nuclear research. However, the imprecision of the term leaves too broad an area for misunderstanding.

Thus what has happened is philosophy, “love of wisdom”, which for thousands of years encompassed not only the humanities and, in fact, what there was of science, divided into two major fields during the Renaissance. Then exact science, with its use of the scientific method and scientific objectivity, influenced other portions of Humanities to create the study of Social Science—the field of study where human behavior is studied using scientific methods and scholarly/scientific objectivity. Eventually by the first quarter of the 20th century the “scientific” study of human behavior was carried on in eight disciplines: Anthropology, Communications, Economics, Geography, History, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology.¹

Thus, today we use the term “social sciences” to mean organized bodies of knowledge, which are added to constantly by the research that social scientists do, concerning the theory, structure, and process of human activities whether a person is acting alone or as part of a group.

The obvious problem with social science is the fact that one’s personal biases can have an effect on results, something which is impossible if correct exact science is carried out (while personal creativity is even encouraged in the humanities). Because of problems and difficulties with data collection and with observation of phenomena, the social sciences are often referred to as “soft” sciences. In hard sciences it matters not one whit whether one is religious or not in solving mathematical formulas, “Nazi” and “Marxist” exact science have proven to be failures, while if one had strong feelings of nationalism in regard to Russian history, for example, it might influence interpretation of historical data about Russia. Nevertheless a true modern social scientists must strive to conduct value free research, to not let personal feelings or outside pressures cause a deviation from the truth, as much as one can discover the truth. The role of the scientist is to examine with a skeptical eye all the data gathered. Once he or she is convinced of the correct path to follow in research that path *must* be followed. To distort or direct data toward some preconceived notion is a perversion of science at its worst.²

To sum up this part of our discussion of what social science is and how one does it, we may quote Aaron Wildavsky, former president of the American Political Science Association and one of the most revered contemporary political scientists, who wrote in the periodical *Society* that:

Subjectivism is a necessary aspect of [exact] science, social science, and the humanities: it is also a snare if it becomes a substitute for seeking truth. Hypotheses may be proposed in all our subjectivity, but test-

1 Paul J. Best, Kul B. Rai, David F. Walsh, *Politics in Three Worlds: An Introduction to Political Science* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1986), pp. 12–15.

2 See Chapter 2 “Social Sciences and the Scientific Method” of Thomas R. Dye *Power and Society: An Introduction to the Social Sciences*. (6th Edition) (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1993).

ing and tentative acceptance followed by retesting, requires institutions that are plural, independent, and competitive...members [of these institutions] must share criteria requiring continuous resort to evidence. The proper use of subjectivity, in sum, depends on widespread commitment to objectivity.

As Martin Landau summarized this position so succinctly in his *Political Theory and Political Science*:

Science does not require that observers exhibit the precise purity of total detachment. No one, save perhaps a tyro, suggests that a scientist be chaste, or that 'scientific habits of mind' are incompatible with 'passionate advocacy, strong faith, intuitive conjecture, and imaginative speculation.' All of us, scientist included, are subject to countless influences so well hidden as to be uncoverable either by socio- or psychoanalysis. To transform a scientist into that fully aseptic and thoroughly neutral observer of legend is a virtual impossibility. There is no doubt that 'there is more to seeing than meets the eyeball;' that what we see is 'theory-laden' or 'field-determined.' We can admit out of hand that there is no such process as immaculate perception. Arguments, therefore, which seek to sustain objectivity by predicating neutrality are doomed to fail. They are also irrelevant... The crux of this concept rests on the fact that men, even scientific men, are not angels. Indeed, the entire system of science is based on a variation of Murphys Law — the prime assumption that any scientist, no matter how careful he may be, is a risky actor; that he is prone to error, that he is not perfectible; that there are no algorithms which he can apply so perfectly as to expunge any and all biasing effects. Accordingly, all his proposals must be subject to error-correcting procedures. The goals of the enterprise demand a network of highly redundant and visible public checks to protect against the inclusion of erroneous items in the corpus of knowledge. Such networks are institutionalized control procedures which continually subject 'all scientific statements to the test of independent and impartial criteria': not men, but criteria, for science recognizes 'no authority of persons in the realm of cognition.' This is the decision ruled that is called objectivity.³

Social Science can not only also suffer from internal failures but it also can succumb to external pressures. Obviously it is not always in the interest of interested parties to have something examined in a "disinterested, nonpartisan, apolitical" way since the end result may not be that sought by those parties. This pressure to conform to some externally imposed framework touches on the "Academic Freedom", question. The freedom to pursue a line of enquiry, without outside pressure to achieve certain results which might be required by a political or other authority is the heart and sole of contemporary scientific enquiry.⁴ The problem of academic freedom has come up in

3 Aaron Wildavsky, "Has Modernity Killed Objectivity": *Society*. November/December 1991, p. 36.

4 Louis Menard "The Future of Academic Freedom," *Academe: Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*. May/June 1993, pp. 11-17.

all societies, those of the “Western” variety have, at least officially, upheld the idea while the rest of the world has less so. In the communist ruled areas, all knowledge was seen as having political content and thus could not be free of bias and in the West unpleasant news from social scientists has often been met with a “blame the messenger” attitude.

The point of this little essay on science, social science, humanities, objectivity and academic freedom, is an appeal to the scientific community to try to approach the subject of the present enquiry, *The Lemkos of Poland*, with as much detachment and objectivity, *sine ira et studio* (without anger or partiality), or/if I may use another Latin term, *Plus ration quam vis* (better by rationality than by force) meaning, let us reason together. Thus, we cannot pretend to be objective social scientists if we already know the answer before we start research or if a particular line of enquiry is forbidden at the outset. With this in mind let us begin our enquiry, an enquiry which will *not* be *quantitative* (dealing with large masses of mathematically expressed and mathematically analyzable data) because we do not have the data but rather *qualitative*. We will try to analyze the record in order to create a reasonably accurate and truthful report about the phenomenon we are examining.

The present writer only asks the reader to respond to the statements that follow in the spirit in which they are written, in the spirit of another translation of *plus ratio quam vis*, “come let us reason together.”

Since this author is claiming to be trying to write an objective study of *The Lemkos of Poland* it perhaps would be wise to warn the reader about the intellectual baggage this writer carries to the task. He was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in the New England area of the USA and was raised in a mono-lingual American middle-class home in the immediate post-WWII era. He attended a college preparatory school in his home town of Fairfield, Connecticut, and took his undergraduate degree in Government and Philosophy at Fairfield University in 1961. He holds two Masters degrees from Fordham University, in Russian Studies and Modern European History, and a doctors degree (Ph.D) in Political Science from New York University. While it is true that New York University is an old, private, secular school dating from 1835 this writer confesses to 10 years of Jesuit education (preparatory school, Fairfield and Fordham Universities). His entire academic career, from undergraduate studies to the present has been in the social sciences, specializing in what was, until recently, called Soviet and East European Studies, and today may be referred to as Central and East European Studies.

The specific impulse to study to Lemko people came by way of the indirect influence of his maternal grandparents. This old couple lived and farmed in the rolling hills of west-central Connecticut, an area not unlike the Beskid Niski hills of the Carpathians. Ivan Perun and Iustina Pidbe-rezniak came from neighboring villages, Petna and Bartne (using the Roman alphabet Polish spelling), in the central part of the Lemko Region.

They immigrated to the USA in the early 1890s, met in Connecticut, married, bought a farm, raised four children, died and had a Byzantine Catholic Panegyric sung at their funerals. They spoke between themselves a language that only later did this writer recognize as Slavic.

Iustina Pidbereznik-Perun could read her prayers in Old Church Slavonic and Rusyn. She fondly remembered Emperor Franz Josef not only the ruler of Austria-Hungary but also of her home "Galicia" Region and she knew that a great Slavonic Christian Tsar had lived in Moscow.

Thus, with this as a basis, some 30 years ago this author began collecting Lemko materials.

The Soviet Empire has collapsed, it has collapsed in good part because of nationalism. On the ruins of this last great empire there have emerged a number of new or renewed states. In contrast to North America where the United States and Canada take pride in being multi-ethnic, multi-cultural countries which allow for the maximum of freedom within the constraints of civilized society, these new states are striving towards geographical, political and cultural unity. This striving has led to bitter strife in the case of the former Yugoslavia while in the Russian Federation smaller national units have been declaring their sovereignty.

The notion of nationalism, the idea of the unity of a particular group of people based on linguistic, physical, cultural, religious, and historical similarities, is one of the most powerful ideas of the 20th century, perhaps exceeding the power of both Fascism and Communism combined. Three recent scholarly works have gone into some detail in researching this phenomenon of nationalism.

E. J. Hobsbawm, in his *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (2nd edition) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 200 pages), believes that the last two centuries of human development have been defined by the concept and perceived meaning of nation and nationalism.

Paul R. Bass, in *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1991, 300 pages), examines the genesis of nationalism in ethnic identity and applies this to a study of India and the USSR. Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities – Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (New York: Verso Press, 1991, 220 pages), on the other hand, researches the cultural roots and the development of the idea of (the imagined) nation.

In the present work, while we will draw upon works such as the above, we will examine the phenomenon of a small East Slavic people, the Lemko people, who have existed for perhaps 1,000 years within the borders of the West Slavic-Polish national area.

For some there is no question to examine, these people are clearly Ukrainians, albeit the most westerly situated portion of the Ukrainian nation, they are "hill tribes" speaking a Ukrainian dialect, but Ukrainians

none-the-less. To attempt to objectively study Lemkos, as group which stands on its own, for people of this persuasion, is “another attempt at splitting the Ukrainian nation into opposing groups.”

For others, Lemkos are just Lemkos, that is, a regional ethnic group, nothing more, nothing less. For others, still, Lemkos are part of a Rusyn or Carpatho-Rusyn nation and any view to the contrary is an example of Ukrainian chauvinism.

Certainly the two extremes have generated a lot of written material and oral and written mutual recriminations. The fact of the occurrence of two world congresses of Rusyns [five in the year 2000] in which some Lemkos took part (1991, 1993), [1995, 1997, 1999] and the “First All Ukrainian Congress of Lemkos” in 1992 in which other Lemkos took part shows that two sides do exist to the question. Further, in Poland two of the largest opposing Lemko organizations, the “Society of Lemkos” (Stovarishinia Lemkiv) [Rusyn orientation] has held 12 annual meetings (Vatras) and the “Union of Lemkos” (Obyednannia Lemkiv) [Ukrainian orientation] has been involved in organizing ten other Vatras. The violent personal attacks on some researchers, including this one, by other so-called scientific researchers leads this author to believe that there is certainly an observable phenomena occurring in the field of ethnic identity and nationalism in the very heart of Europe, a phenomena which can be seen not only throughout the Slavic Carpathian region, (including Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine, but also in Romania, and beyond in the province Voivodina of the former Yugoslavia and in Hungary, too. Also the Carpathian Slavic Diaspora in Germany, USA, and Canada has become involved (or perhaps better to say “renewed involvement”). This phenomenon is worth examining with the tools of Social Science and thus the following intends to accomplish at least part of the labor of writing about the Lemkos, a people who originated in the Carpathian mountains of what is now Southeast Poland, whether they are still living in their native area, in exile elsewhere in Poland, or even outside of that country.

Some may say, why study this at all, you will stir up too much trouble, too much bad blood will be created, isnt it better to ignore it all?

It seems the answer to this is found in human nature. Leaving aside arguments about whether we learn anything of value, any moral lessons, from history, humans will nevertheless study their past because it is there, it is a very human intellectual activity and memory is central to human culture and society.⁵

Thus, let us begin.

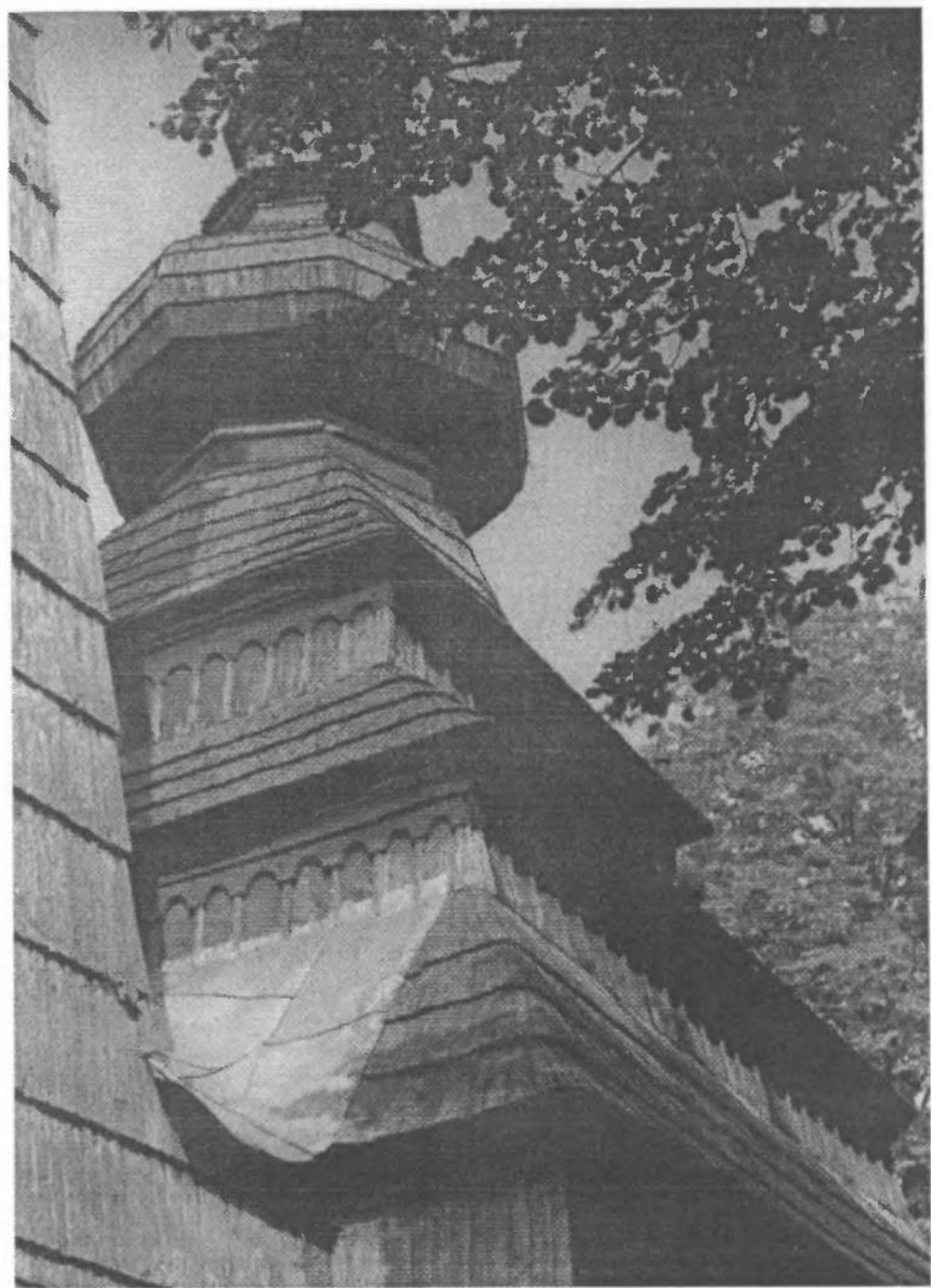
5 My thanks to Prof. Edward Keenan for this last paragraph which I paraphrase from a lecture he gave in a course on “Ukraine in the family of Rus”, Harvard University, June 29, 1993.



SECTION I

Volume I of Carpatho-Slavic Studies

**papers delivered at the
IV World Congress for Central and East European Studies
Harrogate, England
21-26 July 1990
and related materials**



Zdzislaw Konieczny

Materials in the Polish State Archives in Przemysl Concerning the Lemkos

The State Archive in Przemysl has its origins as a modern archive, in the year 1874. Being an autonomous municipal archive it gathered materials only about the city of Przemysl and only after the end of World War II (in the year 1951) was it made over into the "Provincial State Archive of Rzeszow with its seat in Przemysl." Further changes were made in 1975 when the archive's out-reach territory was enlarged to cover the area of the newly formed Przemysl province.

The establishment of the "Provincial State Archive of Rzeszow with its seat in Przemysl" precipitated the gathering in of the most valuable historical materials from the terrain of the Rzeszow Province. Later changes in the archival structure in Poland had no influence on collections already established.

The majority of archival materials have many gaps in chronology due to losses during World War II but nevertheless these materials are extremely valuable for research into the history of Southeast Poland and the national minorities living there.

The Lemko territory included, up to 1947, parts of the counties of Gorlice, Jaslo, Krosno, Sanok, Lesko and Nowy Sacz. County government documents from these counties, with the exception of the last one, are preserved in the Przemysl archive. These are the records of the Austrian regime in the counties of Gorlice (1901–1918), Jaslo (1853–1918), Sanok (1873–1918); from interwar Poland: Gorlice (1918–1939), Jaslo (1918–1939), and Sanok (1918–1939), and from the Nazi Occupied Sanok County (Der Kreis Hauptmann-Sanok) from the years 1939–1944.

In the preserved Austrian records there is a lack of mention of the Lemko population. On the other hand the most valuable records which deal with the Lemko question come from the Second Polish republic (1918–1939). The richest materials are those of Sanok county. Here we find information touching upon relations between Ukrainians and Lemkos, activities of the Greek Catholic clergy attempting to Ukrainianize the Lemkos, information

about the "Kachkovsky" reading rooms and relations with Ukrainian organizations for example the "Prosvita" reading rooms, attempts to establish Lemko economic organizations and counter-moves by similar Ukrainian organizations. We find here too a list of Lemko activists in Sanok County, information about attempts to bring into the elementary schools a Lemko grammar, the relationship of the Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region to the Old Rus (Starorusin) movement, conversion of Lemko activists to a Ukrainophil position, questions revolving around Lemko publications, etc.

The records of the county Government [Starostwo] of Jaslo include materials touching upon relations between the Greek Catholic clergy with Orthodoxy, the conversion of Greek Catholics to Orthodoxy, opinions among the Lemkos, activities of Ukrainians hoping to obtain influence among the Lemkos leading to their Ukrainization. The Lemko question also appears in Starostwo records together with problems of other more organized national minorities, for example Jews and Ukrainians. Much space is given over to reports concerning Polish political, cultural-educational and economic organizations. Materials available indicate the weakness of Lemko organizations and the low level of national awareness of Lemkos and Ukrainians as well as the great role of the Greek Catholic clergy in formulating the national awareness of Ukrainians.

The records of the County Government in Sanok (Der Kreishauptmann-Sanok) 1939–1944 contain internal administrative records (Amt für Innere Verwaltung), reports of the German police in Sanok relating to political and economic relations and the populace's feelings, etc.

Noteworthy source material is found in notary records. In the collections of the State Archive in Przemysl are retained notarial records which refer to the territory inhabited, among others, by Lemkos. These materials include those of the city of Biecz (1927–1934), Dukla (1924–1934), Gorlice (1922–1950), Krosno (1928–1934), Rymanow (1928–1933) and Sanok (1900–1934).

In these notarial records one finds rich sources of research in many areas, for example: economic history, demography and ethnography. These records are firstly connected with sale of movable and immovable property. Contracts are connected in great part with small farms and farming and to a lesser degree agreements with companies and social organizations of economic or a social-cultural nature. Contracts also refer to sale and purchase and to gifts. A meaningful portion of notarial records are last wills and testaments, protection for children, inheritance of property, traditional dowries for sons and daughters, and also fiancés and fiancées under the condition that marriage takes place within a defined period of time.

The notarial materials, unfortunately incomplete, show that the Lemko population was relatively poor and lived most frequently in places with the worst soil.

Court records of County Courts from Dukla (1919–1937) and Krosno (1898–1938), and the city Courts of Sanok (1870–1936) and Zmigrod (1884–1947) are available. Court records are made up mainly of materials concern-

ing inheritance and recognition of personal ownership, regulation of property rights, and mortgages. Records concern the population within the territorial limits of a given court and thus also refer to Lemko cases.

The Geodetic collection (1848–1953) has maps of particular villages inhabited by Lemkos, protocols about parcelization, and size and classification of land. This collection can, among other things, be used for topomastic studies.

The collection containing source materials touching upon the liquidation of Lemko communities in the counties of Gorlice, Jaslo, Krosno, Lesko, Nowy Sacz and Sanok is that of the “the Government Plenipotentiary for Evacuation.” This person was attached to the Headquarters of the “Operational Group for the Vistula Action” [Akcja Wisla]. The Plenipotentiary dealt with the resettlement of the Ukrainian and Lemko population by the “County Government Repatriation Units,” and with assistance from the military, state public safety [National Police – UB] units and the People’s Police [Milicja]. The resettlement of the Ukrainian and Lemko population to the USSR began at the end of December 1944 and lasted through 1945. This resettlement was “voluntary” but was not without elements of pressure. The resettlement was based on an agreement between the governments of Poland and the USSR. On the other hand the resettlement in 1947 was forcible and on a wide scale. It included not only Ukrainians but also Lemkos and mixed families. Records included in this collection are complete and contain: lists of concentration points to which resettlers were sent, organization of these points, food supplies, medicines, disinfection, and medical personnel. In the process of sending resettlers to the northern and western lands of Poland information was collected about the health of the resettlers, distribution of food, feed for cattle, transportation facilities (mainly covered railroad wagons), and what the people brought with themselves, like cattle and other domestic farm animals. In the resettlement lists, next to the surname and given name is indicated the place of recent inhabitation, the community name [Gmina] and the county [Powiat]. Additionally, the resettlement cards indicate the age, the size of abandoned immovable property, descriptions of the farmhouses and associated buildings and inventory and the size of the individuals farm fields. This source material is a complete illustration of the numbers of resettlers from Lemko villages as well as their property situation. Very clearly one can see in what conditions these people lived. The resettlement of Lemkos lasted, in a few instances, until the Spring of 1948.

Very valuable resources are available concerning religious faith, in which one finds materials touching upon the Lemkos. These are: the Archive of the Greek Catholic Bishopric in Przemyśl (1291–1946), the Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region (1934–1945), and also the church registry books from the following Greek-Catholic parishes [and affiliated sub-parishes]: Besko (1784–1853), Cisna (1784–1883), Gładyszow (1776–1845), Grab (1914–1931), Jawornik (1842–1866), Karlikow (1784–1850),

Komanca (1764–1938), Krolik Woloski (1928), Lipowiec (1770–1859), Lukawe (1784–1852), Lupkow (1784–1872), Nowosielce–Gniewosz (1777–1943), Olchowce (1785–1846), Plonna (1784–1888), Szczawne (1913–1944), Szklary (1930–1942), Turzansk (1784–1896), Uscie Ruskie (1821–1852), Wislok Wielki (1784–1867), Wola Nizna (1784–1863), Wolkowyja (1784–1855).

The Greek Catholic Bishopric collection contains, among others, records of Deanery visitations, reports by priests about the religious and moral situation of their parishes, correspondence between the parishes and the bishop and the consistory in Przemyśl, and correspondence between the faithful and diocese authorities in Przemyśl. Very interesting are materials from the conference of the Greek-Catholic episcopate in Rome in 1932. Here one finds the views of the Greek Catholic Episcopate in regard to the occurrences in Lemko Region and Orthodox propaganda.

The above-mentioned records shed some light on the struggles connected with the Russophil movement in Lemko Region, conflicts between parish priests and parish priests, and parish priests and parishioners. There are accusations by the Orthodox population against Greek Catholic priests and by Greek Catholics against priests supporting Orthodoxy in Lemko Region. In connection with the establishment of the Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region (AAL) appear complaints by priests accusing the church authorities of eliminating priests with Ukrainian national feelings. Records also provide materials touching upon pro-Ukrainian propaganda carried on by Greek Catholic priests along the border between the Przemyśl diocese and the Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region (AAL).

The AAL collection (1934–1944), not a very large one, is an important source for the history of Lemko Region. The AAL was established in 1934 when nine Western deaneries [Dekanat=group of parishes] in the mountains were separated from the Przemyśl Greek Catholic diocese [and made over into a separate church quasi-diocese or unit directly dependent on Rome]. At first the seat of the unit was Rymanów Zdroj near Krosno [later moved to Sanok]. Records touch upon the organization of administration, cooperation with different Roman and Greek Catholic institutions, protocols of Deanery meetings [minutes and decisions], parish and parish priests records, statistical materials and census reports of each parish according to the situation in 1935 and 1936, reports for each parish for 1935, reports of deanery visits, deanery meetings of priests, materials about Orthodoxy in Lemko Region, materials about struggles with the Ukrainian nationalist press, arguments between Greek Catholics and Orthodox about money obtained from the USA for church purposes, material about AAL publications, single copies of various Polish and Ukrainian publications and many other valuable materials. There are also records from 1939–1944 (WWII). A large group of materials consist of copies of church record books from the deaneries of Dukla, Dynów, Gorlice, Grybów, Muszyna, Rymanów and Sanok. This collection is a valuable resource for studies concerning religious and nationality relations

in Lemko Region. There are sources dealing with political tendencies among the Greek Catholic clergy and activities of the Polish state administration which attempted to limit the influence of Ukrainian nationalist groups.

Materials found in the State Archive in Przemysl are an important basis for research about the history of the Lemko territory. Material found in the above-indicated collections have a varied character because of how they were acquired and they require skill and understanding when used by competent researchers. Next to these large collections, the Przemysl archive also has other collections in which fragmentary materials about Lemkos might be found but they are only single documents which would only support information found in the collections mentioned specifically above.

Translated from the Polish text by Paul J. Best



Jaroslav Moklak

Political Orientations Among the Lemkos in the Inter-War Period (1918–1938): An Outline

During the inter-war period there were four rival political orientations to be found in the Lemko population: Ukrainian, Moscophil, Old Rus, and government (pro-Polish regime).

As a result of World War I, specifically because of Austrian terror in the years 1914–1917, the Moscophil movement fell in popularity and the Ukrainian one gained. After the collapse of the Western-Ukrainian People's Republic a number of Eastern Galicians resettled onto Lemko territory and the Greek Catholic Church strengthened its position. Vacant parishes were taken over by a new generation of young priests who politically were directly influenced by Ukrainians and the national-liberation war of 1917–1921. Also rural schoolhouses began to be run by teachers of Ukrainian national identity.

On the other side a counter-movement started. Lemkos returning from the war were decidedly Moscophil activists. These returnees came with the Thalerhof Internment camp legend and a strong feeling for the orthodox religion and viewed Thalerhof and Orthodoxy as symbols of Lemko Region for which they had suffered. Their view was decidedly anti-Ukrainian because they had blamed their sufferings on the Ukrainian movement. A large part of these people identified themselves with the Russian political emigration in Poland. Others because of an evolution in Moscophilism [caused by the Bolshevik revolution] were to become loyal to the new Polish state.

The Ukrainian Orientation

In the inter-war period the Polish state administrative apparatus attempted to slow down the development of a Ukrainian movement in Lemko Region. As far as possible, the Polish state tried to remove Ukrainian intellectuals from the Lemko territory. In the 1930's, the consistory of the Catholic Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region, based on a close cooperation with state authorities, carried out the removal of pro-Ukrainian priests from Lemko parishes and the state closed Ukrainian cultural-education institu-

tions, especially the Prosvita reading rooms. Also, the development of Ridna Shkola and Silskyi-Hospodar was hindered.

Despite these difficulties there was a step by step development of Ukrainian national life in Lemko Region. In 1932 a special Ukrainian Commission for Lemko Region was established in Lviv. Literature in Ukrainian was sent to the Lemko territory—mainly the booklet series *The Lemko Library* and periodicals, especially the weekly newspaper *Our Lemko* (*Nasz Lemko*) whose first editor was Petro Smerekanych from the Lemko village of Swierzowa Ruska. This commission also assisted selected school pupils in obtaining a secondary and a higher education. To encourage economic development, a Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives was also established.

The Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO in Ukrainian initials)

Among Ukrainian political parties UNDO had the strongest influence on Lemko Region. This did not mean that the UNDO party itself had units in the Lemko land but rather that its influence was felt through Greek Catholic priests and Ukrainian-oriented teachers. The best organization was in Sanok county (the priests P. Andreichyk, V. Blavatsky and S. Vanchynsky). In the county of Krosno UNDO influence was found in the so-called Lemko enclaves in the northern part of the county. In the western Lemko territory Ukrainophilism was fostered by the priests I. Kachmar, I. Pleshkevych, S. Dmytryshyn and others. An organization with great symbolic meaning was *Building the Ukraine*, founded by the priest Julian Pleshkevych from Malastow, which functioned in the 1930s. The most active teachers were H. Kostiuk from Kunkowa, V. Zviryk from Swiatkowa Wielka, and A. Nishchota from Snietnica.

The UNDO program in regard to Lemko Region was outlined in the resolutions voted by a general-Lemko meeting in Sanok on May 14, 1936. One hundred and eighty four delegates from the whole of Lemko Region and Ukrainian representatives in the Polish parliament met to resolve that:

The General Lemko meeting in Sanok declares that Lemko Region is an undivided part of the Ukrainian territory and no attempts to separate her from the Ukraine can be countenanced.

. . . this meeting recognizes that the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representative Organization is the only legitimate representative of Lemko Region to the [Polish] state.

. . . this meeting sends greetings to the Bishop of Przemyśl, and declares that the Greek Catholic clergy have a special duty in the national and religious resurrection of Lemko Region.

. . . the meeting demands the dissolution of the Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region and if this is not possible the placement of a Greek Catholic priest of Ukrainian national identity at its head.

. . . the meeting demands the teaching of Ukrainian language in schools, the use of Ukrainian textbooks, and the employment of Ukrainian teachers.

. . . the meeting underlines that the Lemkos have the right of first refusal in the purchase of land during the reorganization of land holdings and that Ukrainian workers be employed in local factories.

. . . the meeting encourages all Lemkos to take part in the Ukrainian cultural-educational institutions, in the struggle for national honor, under the leadership of UNDO and asks the Ukrainian nation for an intensification of assistance for Lemko Region.

A marked influence on the development of Ukrainian national identity among the Lemko was the Ukrainian press which was distributed to the intellectuals. These publications were:

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	DATES	NOTES
<i>Our Lemko</i> (Nash Lemko)	Lviv	1934–1939	connected with the Lemko commission
<i>New Dawn</i> (Nova Zoria)	Lviv, Stanyslaviv	1926–1938 1938–1939	organ of the Ukrainian Christian Organization (U.Ch.O.)
<i>Action</i> (Dilo)	Lviv	1918–1939	connected with UNDO
<i>Mountain</i> (Beskyd)	Przemysl	1931–1933	connected with U.Ch.O.
<i>Ukrainian Mountain</i> (Ukrainskyi Beskyd)	Przemysl	1933–1939	connected with U.Ch.O.
<i>Harvest</i> (Nyva)	Lviv	1918–1939	a Greek Catholic social religious periodical
<i>Goal</i> (Meta)	Lviv	1931–1939	a Greek Catholic social religious periodical

The Moscophil Orientation

The Moscophil movement in Lemko Region in the inter-war period was a continuation of the pre-war Galician movement. In the second half of the 1920s it divided into two rivalry factions, one pro-Russian and the other pro-Polish.

The Russian Peasant Organization (Russka Selanska Organizaciia—RSO)

RSO was founded in June 1926 and was later attached to the Russian National Union in Poland as an autonomous unit. RSO was the best organized political party in Lemko Region. Its main administrative organ was the Central Council on which sat Russian activists from the Lemko land, T. Vojtovych from Uscie Ruskie, I. Basalyga from Kunkowa, V. Dubec from Florynka and the priest K. Chaikovsky from Mszana. On the county level there were regional councils and on the local level village committees.

The ideology of RSO was weakly understood by the ordinary Lemkos but the organization had a strong influence in Lemko Region. The ideology stated that there was only one Russian nation divided into three peoples—Russian, Ukrainian and Bielorrussian—and there was only one language of the nation—Russian. Accordingly Ukrainian was a regional version of Russian for that part of Russia and the Ukraine could have local self-rule but sovereignty lay in the Russian Gosudarstvo.

RSO controlled the Kachkovsky Society, which was a cultural-educational organization existing since 1874 and the Union of Russian Cooperatives. RSO ran the lowest level units of these two organizations, that is the Kachkovsky reading rooms and the trade cooperatives plus the volunteer fire departments called zaporozec.

The political goals of RSO were articulated at two general meetings (Gorlice — Oct. 15, 1932; Sanok — Feb. 18, 1933). RSO activists at these meetings established two separate East Lemko Region and West Lemko Region subcommittees and a general coordinating committee for the whole region. The subcommittee had financial, cooperative and cultural-educational sections while in Gorlice a separate section which was directed by M. Trokhanovsky (Trochanowski) and I. Rusenko.

RSO had two periodicals. The official one was *The Russian Voice* (Russkii Golos) published in Lviv (1928–1939) in the Russian language. This periodical was also the voice of the Russian National Union in Poland. The other was the popular *Land and Freedom* (Zemlia i Wolia) published in Lviv (1928–1939) and printed in Ukrainian. A periodical with much less popularity was *Science* (Nauka) published by the Kachkovsky Society in Lviv, from 1927–1939.

The Old Rus Orientation

The Old Rus movement, during the inter-war period, was based on the notion of a universal East slavic identity. They did not accept either a Russian or a Ukrainian identity. A condition for this movement's existence was a close cooperation with Polish national interests.

The Rus Agrarian Organization (Ruska Agrarna Organizacia—RAO)

The RAO was established in 1927 as the Rus Agrarian Party and from the beginning was a puppet in the hands of the Polish government officials, playing a narrowly limited role in Polish nationality politics in relation to Ukrainians. The main activists of this party were M. Bachynsky (Baczynski) and the priest J. Iavorsky (Jaworski), both parliamentary representatives elected on the slate of the Non-Party Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (BBWR). RAO was active in economic, cultural and educational affairs but not on a large scale. It controlled the Central Cooperative Union and the Lviv National Home (which was in existence since 1848). Because of the elite nature of this party its influence on the masses was minimal. The

Ukrainian press, in fact, called the whole operation a fiction. The periodical of RAO, *Voice of the People* (Holos Naroda) published in Lviv (1925–1931) attacked both the Ukrainians and the RSO.

The Lemko Union (Lemko Soyuz—LS)

In the 1930s Lemko Region was the last bastion of the Old Rus Movement in Poland. The Lemkos recognized a Rus national feeling while other territories which were inhabited by Ukrainians were rapidly Ukrainianized. In this situation Lemko Region was the territorial base for RAO and for Mos-cophilism. On the other hand Lemko Region was the farthest Western extension of Ukrainian territory, a narrow wedge bordered by Polish settlements and it was identified by Polish authorities for polonization. According to Polish nationality policy it was necessary to cut-off Lemko Region from all Ukrainian and Russian influences and the next step was to establish a Lemko organization loyal to the Polish state.

The Lemko Soyuz was founded in 1933 at a meeting in Sanok. The initiator was M. Bachynsky, the RAO leader, who acted in agreement with state authorities. The program of LS was to be the following.

- the immediate establishment of a separate Lemko Bishopric
- the removal of Ukrainian priests and teachers who carried on nationalistic agitation in churches and schools.
- loyalty to the Polish State and to the President of the Polish Republic and to Marshall Pilsudski.
- approbation for the activities of parliamentary representatives Bachynsky and Iavorsky.

LS also established a weekly, *Lemko*, which was first published in Nowy Sacz (1934), later in Krynica (1934–1936) and still later in Lviv (1936–1939) [based on a substantial government subsidy].

The board of directors of the Lemko Union was made up of, among others, Iaroslav Siokalo and Orest Hnatyshak, activists in RSO, which was to show LS' independence politically. These people hoped for a chance to run an independent Lemko program.

These hopes received a theoretical foundation in a study prepared by Wladyslaw Wiehorski, a government official. In his report to the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of Poland in 1933, he wrote, however, that from the point of view of geography the Lemkos must come to terms with the existence of the Polish State.

The realization of an independent Lemko policy was not in the cards, however. First of all because the Polish government wished to conduct a pro-Polish propaganda campaign among the Lemkos and saw LS only as a tool to that end. LS, obviously, soon became the object of Ukrainian and Russian attacks. RSO thus appeared to be a government instrument and lost credibility with the Lemkos. The Lemko Soyuz was left without a popular base and its leadership, under polonizing pressures from the government, attempted to maneuver between RSO and the state.

The outbreak of World War II fundamentally changed the nature of politics in Lemko Region. RSO which existed only structurally (it's hard to conceive of Russian state structure for Lemkos) disappeared, the Old Rus remained loyal and the Ukrainian movement took advantage of the development of the Ukrainian Central Committee. The resettlement of the Lemkos (1945–47) dispersed them [to Western and Northern Poland and the Soviet Ukraine] and this opened a whole new chapter in Lemko history.

Translated from the Polish text by Paul J. Best

Andrzej Zieba

Poland and Political Life in Carpatho-Rus and Among Carpatho-Rusyns in Emigration in North America: 1918–1939

The first unofficial contacts between Carpatho-Rusyns and the resurrected Polish state took place at the Paris Peace Conference. The Polish delegation noticed the activities of American Rusyns who were attempting to assure a place for their homeland in a post-war Europe. To a certain extent these activities were suspicious since the Rusyns were concerned with some territory to which the Poles also had aspirations.¹

During the so-called plebiscite in December 1918 among Rusyns in the USA, which dealt with the future of Carpatho-Rus, there appeared a few voices which called for the establishment of an independent Verchovina Republic to be made up of the former Hungarian Rus and Lemko Region.² At the same time there appeared in Presov a Carpatho-Rus National Council which also had Lemko representatives. Also, among the demands of the so-called Lemko Republic in Florynka one could find a call for union with Czechoslovakia.³ The Polish local press noted, too, with unease, the trip of Antony Beskid (one of the most well known Carpatho-Rus political activists) to Spisz, which was understood to mean an interest in the southern border regions of Poland.⁴ Polish politicians took steps to lessen the threat of an independent Lemko Region or one attached to Czechoslovakia (or under Prague influence) by suggesting, for example, that the Rusyns of the Spisz district wished to be attached to Poland.⁵ One should note, however, that

- 1 Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN) in Wasaw, collection Delegacja polska na Konferencje Pokojowa w Paryżu (The Polish Delegation for the Peace Conference in Paris), sign. 207, pp. 2–20, Opracowanie o Rusi Karpackiej (On the subject of Carpathian Rus from July 16, 1920).
- 2 Zawadowski Zydmunt, *Rus Podkarpacka i jej stanowisko prawno-polityczne* (Subcarpathian Rus and its political-legal stand), Warsaw, 1931, p. 11.
- 3 Paul Robert Magocsi, "The Lemko Rusyns: Their Past and Present", *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, X, 1 (Madison, Ohio, 1987), pp. 7–8.
- 4 *Gazeta Podhalanska* (The Podhalanska Gazette), Nowy Targ, 1918.
- 5 *Rusini z lubowelskiego chca do Polski* (The Rusyns from Lubovla region want to come back to Poland), *The Podhalanska Gazette*, 47 (1918, p. 5; P. R. Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus, 1848–1948*, Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1978, p. 95.

certain Czech politicians, especially Edward Benes, were approached in July 1918 in order to determine the extent of Czech ambitions to that part of the Carpathians.⁶ In any case, Antony Beskid, articulating the desires of Lemkos involved with the Presov Council, and supported by the Czech premier Kramarz, sent a memorial to the Paris Peace Conference about attachment of Lemko Region to Czechoslovakia (20 April 1919). Benes strongly supported this action. The Presov Council also sent a protest on the 1st of May to President Wilson against "the Polish occupation of Lemko Region. An identical line was followed by the Central Rus Council in Uzhorod even though its leaders, the priest August (Voloshyn) Woloszyn and Grzegorz Zatkowicz, realized that the attachment of Lemko Region to a Subcarpathian Rus was not yet possible. The results of all this were zero and there remained only a brochure about the Lemkos, authored by Beskid and Sobin. However, for the first time the Lemko question was put on the European stage.⁷

Polish authorities turned their attention to the tendencies toward a unity of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and the Central Ukrainian Council (RADA) in Khust. These activities had no direct effect on Carpatho-Rus, however the pro-Hungarian sympathies of Poland did appear in the press, in the unofficial reception in Poland of a Hungarian military mission which was to prepare an uprising in Subcarpathian Rus and in the giving of asylum to a pro-Hungarian Rusyn activist, Agostoni Stefanow.⁸

At the end of 1919 one of the members of the American-Rusyn delegation to Paris, Victor Hladick, armed with a list of Rusyn charitable organizations in the USA, came to Poland. The official reason was to visit his family in the village of Kuzzkowa and to distribute clothing from America. Hladnick also made contact with Lemko political leaders. One of them, Dr. Iaroslav Kachmarchyk (Kaczmarczyk), accompanied him, on February 20, 1920, to Warsaw. They attempted to convince Colonel Rybak of the Ministry of Military Affairs to stop the draft of Lemko youth into the Polish army. They thought they had received a positive reply, which they communicated to those interested in the village of Florynka. In the presence of the American emissary a meeting in Florynka established, according to the words of Hladick himself, an "Organization of Carpatho-Rusyns in Poland" headed by a president, M.

6 St. Radost in an article *Rus Podkarpacza* (Subcarpathian Rus) in a conservative magazine "Nasza Przyszlosc" (Our Future), XVII (Warsaw, 1932), pp. 9–19, mentions the talks of m. Seyda and E. Piltz with Benes from July 8, 1918.

7 P. R. Magocsi, *The Shaping...*, pp. 97–99, 395–9; A. Beskid, D. Sobin, "The Origin of the Lems, Slavs of Danubian Province; Memorandum to the Peace Conference concerning Their National Claims" (no date or place of publication). Let us mention here also the Carpathorusyn operation in Siberia. In 1919 in Omsk the *Centralnyj Karpatoruskyj Soviet* was formed which represented the pro-Russian and pro-Czech orientation. Its members, A. Kopystiansky and a man called Skicko, were in touch with Dr. Girska, a Czech representative in Siberia. In June 1919 the Soviet, referring to the decision of the Carpathorusyn committee in Paris, summoned all the refugees from Galician, Bukovina and Hungarian provinces from the age of 18 to 40 years to enroll in the Carpathorusyn army. See: *Prawitelstwennyj Wietsnik* (Omsk), No. 205 of June 8, 1919; AAN in Warsaw, collection *The Legation of the Polish Republic in Tokyo*, sig. 1, pp. 1–8.

8 Radost, Rus, p. 11; Magocsi, *The Shaping...*, p. 327; Wieslaw Balcerak, *Powstanie panstw narodowych w Europie srodkowo-wschodniej* (The Rise of National States in Central and Eastern Europe), Warsaw, 1974, p. 237.

Gromosiak and a secretary, Kopystiansky. Two days later Hladick left for Czechoslovakia and the USA. This episode had its consequences. As we know, Florynka was the center of political activity, the so-called Lemko.

Republic, which was ended by the arrest and trial of its leaders. Hladick only heard of this in the USA and wishing to assist those accused of, among other things, attempting to organize a boycott of the Polish army draft, visited the Polish representative in Washington, D.C., Prince Kazimierz Lubomirski, and presented him with a letter declaring that the accused acted in good faith, based upon the declaration of Polish military authorities and that Carpatho-Rusyns do not wish a struggle with Poland and they stand for respect for the law.⁹

The meeting of Hladick with Lubomirski was certainly the first official contact of a Polish diplomat with the idea of an independent Carpatho-Rus and of the separate nationality of its inhabitants. It was not, of course, a confrontation with Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants in North America. A different event occurred in Canada where the president of the Carpatho-Russian League, a Mr. Samilo, sent letters to Lloyd George, the Ottawa authorities and Washington, D.C. attacking Poland as well as condemning the visit to Canada of the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv, Andrei Sheptytsky (Andrzej Szeptycki). Samilo, as a representative of Moscophilism could stand neither Poles nor Ukrainians. Canadian Polonia counter-attacked and the Polish language Winnipeg paper, *Czas*, insinuated that Samilo "the great president of an even greater Carpatho-Russian League, living in the back of a local orthodox Church, was connected with Trotsky." "We wouldn't even touch this great man if he weren't spreading around the stupidity, in the English language press, of Polish repression of the Carpatho-Rus people."¹⁰ Samilo tried again to start anti-Polish action the day before a Canadian delegation was to leave for a conference in Geneva. Received by Premier MacKenzie King he gave him a copy of the demands of his organization. This was an empty gesture from the side of King who also heard the protests of Canadian Polonia. The Polish Consul in Winnipeg judged Samilo to be a "young fellow without Political meaning," which probably was the case.¹¹

Even though the controversy died out in Europe, it remained a subject of discussion among Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants in North America. In the Canadian-Ukrainian paper *Ukrainian Workers News* (Ukrainski Robotniczi Visti) we find information that in the second half of August 1922 one of the Carpatho-Rusyn organizations in the USA, the Carpatho-Rusyn Soviet, had asked the League of Nations about the status of the former Austrian Galician lands. Concretely they were interested in the Curzon Line and the relationship of the League to the division of Galicia which would be caused by use of such a proposed border line.¹² Probably such a question dealt with the fate of Lemko Region [which is West of that famous line].

9 AAN, dossier Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych (The Ministry for Foreign Affairs, abbreviated as MSZ) sign. 3294, K. Lubomirski to MSZ, Washington, June 22, 1921.

10 "Jeden przyjaciel wiecej", *Czas* ("One more friend", *Time*), Winnipeg, September 1921.

11 *Gazette* (Montreal), March 15, 1922; AAN, Dossier MSZ, sign. 3295, leaf 11-15, Raport "Sprawa ruska w Kanadzie" (Report "The Russian Cause in Canada"), of March 30, 1922.

It was not by chance, too, that remarks were written about Polish and Carpatho-Rusyn relations. North America, especially the USA, was the place in which Poland played out part of its political games against its southern neighbor. These games were played on two fields-political and religious. By the end of the inter-war period the Polish diplomat in Pittsburgh, Helidor Sztark, stated that based on his observations on the life of Carpatho-Rusyns in the USA, "he carried away the impression of complete chaos which would not allow for any notion of a unified national idea, much less a single concern about the fate of the motherland in Europe."¹³ However, Polish diplomats were far from writing off these groups and they worked to block anti-Polish activity in the USA and in the Carpathians. The peculiar characteristics of American Carpatho-Rusyns —wide geographic distribution, the Americanization of the younger generation, a small intelligentsia, religious fractures, and lack of a tradition of one's own country — created an ideal terrain for behind the scenes manipulations. The Hungarians followed this tradition, their man was Aleksy Gerowski. The Czechs were also active in this field. Polish diplomats, first of all at the Consulate in Pittsburgh, kept the Carpatho-Rusyns under observation and after 1937 the New York consulate specialized in this.¹⁴ Partners were sought mainly among the Greek Catholic clergy who from one side represented a strong influence and on the other were joined with Poles in a common Catholic faith as opposed to the Orthodoxy clergy.¹⁵ Polish contacts were based on the Hungarophil (Madiaron) priests who agreed with Poland's Carpathian Politics (see below). The goal of this activity was to find out as much as possible about the political and religious feelings of Rusyns and also to start a kind of pro-Polish lobby which would counter the anti-Polish Ukrainian campaign.

The first contacts of Polish diplomats were not the best. In 1920 the first recruit was a Greek Catholic priest Konstantyn Auroroff who afterwards cooperated with the consulate in Chicago and who was forseen as an editor of a Polonophil newspaper. But nothing came of this because Warsaw never sent the necessary funds despite Lubomirskils intervention. Auroroff afterwards carried on anti-Sheptytsky propaganda during Sheptytsky's visit to the USA but later he came into conflict with his bishop and converted to orthodoxy. There are no traces of him in the 1930s records of Polish consulates.¹⁶

In 1935 a new person of that type appeared. He was the priest Jerzy Berzinec who appeared at the Consulate in New York with a view to signing a declaration of loyalty. The Consul characterized him as an intelligent man

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- 12 *Ukraiński Robotniczy Wisti*, Oct. 7, 1922: see AAN, dossier The Embassy of the Polish Republic in Paris, sign. 159, leaf 259–260, I. Skarbek to MSZ, Winnipeg, Oct. 20, 1922.
- 13 AAN in Warsaw, dossier MSZ sign. 114888, p. 27, raport "Emigracja karpatoruska w Stanach Zjednoczonych" (Report "Carpathorusyn emigration in the United States"), Pittsburgh, Feb. 7, 1939.
- 14 AAN in Warsaw, dossier Consulate General of the Polish Republic in New York, sign. 486, pp. 87–89. Ripa to the Consulate in New York, Sept. 27, 1938.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.
- 16 AAN in Warsaw, dossier The Legation of the Polish Republic in Washington; Oleg Latyszonek, manuscript, Cracow, 1989.

who wished to play an important role in Carpatho-Rusyn life in America but who was an opportunist without permanent convictions. Berziniec first of all wanted to eliminate Gerowski because Gerowski took money from the Hungarians. Berziniec wanted under-the-table payments from Poland. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs authorized discrete use of his services.¹⁷

The other of the two main areas of Polish policy towards the Rusyns was that of religious faith. In the 1920s one could observe a strengthening of activities of the clergy from Eastern Galicia, especially the Bazylian monks. The consuls in Uzhorod thought that their aim was to Ukrainianize Subcarpathian-Rus and that this would injure Polish interests. Because of the existence of the Ukrainian emigration in Czechoslovakia and the support they received from that government, there was concern about influence from that quarter on Ukrainians in Poland. The Consul in Uzhorod, Zygmunt Zawadowski, proposed that no exchange of theological students be allowed between Lviv and Subcarpathian Rus and passports and visas be refused. Also exchange of ordained clergy would not be allowed. The Vatican should be notified so that the Bazylians would be recalled. People involved, however, were able to circumvent these restrictions by use of other routes.¹⁸

Equally unprofitable for Poland were the conversions to Orthodoxy from Greek Catholicism which occurred after World War I. In Ladoimirow, on the Czechoslovak side of the Czech-Polish frontier, a center for the orthodox faith was established by the Archimandrite Vitalii, once a monk in Poczaiv, who was expelled from Poland for pro-Russian propaganda. This mission carried on wide-scale smuggling of literature into Poland and maintained close contacts with Polish Orthodox organizations and especially influenced the religious situation in Lemko Region. Witalii was an enemy of Poland but the Polish authorities did not resist his activities but on the opposite eased in certain ways the manypilgrimages from Lemko Region. to Czechoslovakia and vice versa.¹⁹ This came from the desire to weaken the Greek Catholic Church which Polish authorities found too much under the influence of Ukrainian Lviv. The orthodox in Carpatho-Rus were viewed as possible allies. Consul Swierzbinski wrote in 1932:

We more easily find a feeling of slavic brotherhood for the Polish nation among the orthodox than among the Greek Catholics who are infected to the

17 AAN in Warsaw, dossier MSZ, sign. 5458, pp. 2-3, The Consulate in New York to MSZ, Dec. 17, 1935.

18 AAN in Warsaw, dossier The Consulate of the Polish Republic in Uzhorod, sign. 30, Consul K. Galas to MSZ, Uzhorod, August 6, 1925; Z. Zawadowski to MSZ, Uzhorod, Sept. 3, 1926; Z. Zawadowski, Koszyce, Nov. 25, 1926; Zawadowski, Koszyce, Dec. 23, 1926; Zawadowski, Uzhorod, May 6, 1927; Zawadowski to The Legation of the Polish Republic in Prague, Sept. 1929 ...

19 AAN in Warsaw, collection The Consulate of the Polish Republic in Uzhorod, sign. 30, W. Kozlowski, a note about the organization of the Orthodox Church in the countries of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the transformations in the organization in the new national states, 1929; the Consulate in Uzhorod to the Legation of the Polish Republic in Prague, May 23, 1923; Uczastnik, Krestnyj chod iz Slowakij w Galiczynu, *Prawoslawna-jia Karpatskaja Rus* (Ladymirowa), No. 14 of July 15, 1931; Prawoslawnyj odpust wo Wladyimirowej pry Swydneyku, *ibid.*, No. 18 of Sept. 15, 1931.

worst degree by the ideology of UWÓ and deprived additionally by President Rozsypal and his regime.²⁰

But already at the moment of the writing of those words Polish policy was changing. The influence for this was the acquisition of the cooperation of the leader of the Carpatho-Rusyn party, the Greek Catholic priest Stefan Fencik. Fencik made several visits to the local Polish Consul in 1931 in order to get Polish assistance in Fencik's planned visit to the Vatican and these were sufficient to change Polish policy. "The main reason for the failure of the Unia in Subcarpathian Rus, wrote the consul, "was bad church policy based on an ignorance of the spirit of the Carpatho-Rusyn people. They did not respect that holy national treasure-national feelings, traditions and customs, on the opposite, they attacked them as occurrence of schism."

Further the report stated that "Poland's interests do not lie with the Moscovite uniates of Carpatho-Rus because the Greek Catholic Church stands as a protective wall against the Russian spirit and Eurasian civilization, and this is proved by the fact that the large Russian emigration does not maintain contacts with Carpatho-Rusyn institutions. On the other hand the Orthodox not only are united with the emigration but also stand for the idea of a Greater Russia. An Orthodox majority in Carpatho-Rus would not be, from every point of view, a good neighbor for Poland."²¹

The notion of setting up a diversionary action in the Orthodox camp by establishing a branch of the Pochaiv Monastery in Uzhorod was looked into in 1935. A certain Ivan Fedorow, a Polish immigrant from Kyiv, came up with just such an idea. His offer was not used mainly because the idea of extending the activities of the Warsaw Orthodox metropolitan beyond the borders of Poland was seen as counterproductive.²²

A more ambitious plan for interference in Orthodox affairs came in 1934-1936 when, without result, there were attempts to place a former Polish military chaplain, Hilary Brendzan, as an orthodox bishop for the Ukrainians and Carpatho-Rusyns in the USA. Prague also supported his candidacy. It was not brought-off despite pressure in the USA and Constantinople. Both the Phanar and Archbishop Athenogoras who controlled the Orthodox diocese of North and South America were against the proposition.²³ In 1936, taking advantage of the occasion of the transfer of the remains of some Thalerhof victims to Lviv, several visits of the Orthodox bishop, Adam Fylypovsky (Filipowski), of the Carpatho-Russian Greek Orthodox Catholic Church of America to the Polish Embassy in Washington D.C. took place. The bishop indicated his unease about the situation of his co-believers under Polish control. The Polish side explained the Polish point of view in contradistinction to information that Archimandrite Vitalii had furnished during his earlier visit to the USA. The Ministry of Foreign Af-

20 AAN in Warsaw, collection The Consulate of the Polish Republic in Uzhorod, sign. 30, the Consulate to the Legation of the Polish Republic in Prague, Uzhorod, May 23, 1932.

21 AAN in Warsaw, collection The Consulate of the Polish Republic in Uzhorod, sign. 30, Report on the situation, No. 4, 1932.

22 AAN in Warsaw, collection The Consulate of the Polish Republic in Uzhorod, sign. 29.

23 AAN in Warsaw, collection MSZ, sign. 2877, pp. 66-80.

fairs ordered that such type of counter propaganda be energetically put forth.²⁴

However accusations against Poland became stronger and stronger. In 1937–1938 there were demonstrations by Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants against the destruction of churches in the Chelm land, the Ukrainization of the orthodox in Wolynia, the repossessing of former Uniate property, and other questions, which were seen by the immigrants as religious persecution in Poland.²⁵ The practical possibilities of counter-propaganda were little. The publication *Viestnik* edited by Berziniec had little influence among the Rusyns. The problem of Subcarpathian Rus also had its echoes in the USA. Poland carried on anti-Czech activities with the help of the priest Fencik. From the beginning of the 1930s Fencik received money from Poland to support his party apparatus and press. In fear of exposure by the Czechs the money for Fencik came via Polish representatives in the USA. The irregular arrival of these funds caused a “nervous crisis” for Fencik who was always in debt and constantly suing his political rivals. The Warsaw Ministry of Foreign Affairs constantly reminded the Polish representatives to pay the indicated amount to Fencik, which amount was initially promised at 20,000 crowns a month but which ended up at 15,000.

Contacts were also maintained with Gerowski who a few times offered memorials to the Polish Consulate regarding the situation in Subcarpathian Rus and urged the promotion of Fencik while also asking for help for his activities in the USA. Poland did not want, however, to resign from its trump card in place in Subcarpathian-Rus. Nevertheless a trip for Fencik to the USA was prepared which was to serve both to propagandize the Rusyn immigration and as a form of help for Fencik who was on the verge of being deprived of his parliamentary immunity in Czechoslovakia. There was even the notion to find a bishopric for Fencik if he could not return home. At the end of 1938 the anti-Polish mood among the Ukrainian and Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants got worse because of the Polish-Hungarian informal alliance. In October demonstrations against Poland occurred, organized by a “Committee for the Defense of the Carpathian Ukraine.”

Ukrainian activists also organized a petition drive to the governments of Britain and France. In such a situation Berziniec and his brother-in-law the priest Jozef Olas represented very weak support. In November Polish diplomats in the USA paid for telegrams to the Polish Foreign Minister Beck sent by the Carpatho-Rusyn activists asking for assistance against persecution by the Ukrainian government of Father Voloshyn, but in the next year the Carpatho-Rusyn Congress in Pittsburgh condemned Polish imperialism in regard to Subcarpathian Rus.

24 AAN in Warsaw, collection The Embassy of the Polish Republic in Washington, sign. 2523, pp. 3–21.

25 AAN in Warsaw, collection The Consulate General of the Polish Republic in New York, sign. 486, pp. 51–53, 194.

Future actions of Poland in Subcarpathian Rus or among immigrants became limited due to cooperation with the Hungarians. Thus the services of Berziniec were dispensed with because of his aversion to the Hungarophil Gerowski. In Subcarpatho Rus Fencik, on advice from Poland, united his party with the pro-Hungarian one led by Brodyja with a view to a common front against the pro-Ukrainian forces of Woloszyn. However, the international play of forces took place entirely above the head of these people and decisions were made without them.

The above discussion indicates the sad state of the political life of Rus — dependent as it was on external forces, orientations, plans, and concepts of Carpatho-Rusyn activists based on the best patriotic motives were objects of political games of foreign powers — Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the USSR, and Germany. The two main reasons for this were the general economic and cultural weakness of the Carpatho-Rus area and, of course, the geopolitical situation of that territory.

Polish actions in regard to the Rusyns were accidents of Polish policy toward Hungary and Czechoslovakia and were related to the Ukrainian question. During the whole of Poland's "political realism" the Carpatho-Rusyns were taken advantage of especially in regard to their murky religious and political life. There were a few Polish diplomats who occasionally showed some sympathy to the people who were the objects of their political maneuvers.

Today when history shows the failure of those "realistic" calculations we can cite the conclusion of one of the most active persons in the Carpatho-Rus question, the Polish Consul in Uzhorod, Michal Swierzbinski, who wrote in October 1933 that:

If we take under consideration that that nation, despite terrible conditions of 1,000 years of captivity, in the last 14 years has shown a strange ability for progress in all areas of life, a pessimistic judgement about its future is seen as incorrect and not proved . . . Presently it is in the stage of national development and it battles with Ukrainianization and Czechization. In every case the Carpatho-Rusyn nation has struggled for independence and by that action shows that it has the right to independence and that in the end it will obtain it.²⁶

Was that a judgment of idealism of cold calculation, a measured judgement or simply a wish. Even in the perspective of the last half century it is difficult to answer that question.

Translated from the Polish text by Paul J. Best

Leszek Mnich

The Secrets of the Village of Wolosate

While I am not an historian as such, my obligations as a guide require me to take up the history of the Village of Wolosate. Certainly there are still facts to be uncovered and views to be changed in regard to the past. Many volumes of documents in the Ministries of National Defense and Internal affairs are now covered by dust and buried with other materials, await the light of day, but I will take up the story based on what I know now.

Until 1946 Wolosate was one of the largest and most heavily populated Bojko villages [of the Bieszczady Mountains, in the present-day South-East Poland]. Today all that is left are a few fruit trees, lonely roadside crosses and shrines and, in Kepa, some tall trees that surrounded the former church structure and its associated graveyard. Up to now it is possible to find reminders of the past — water dippers from old wells can be found in a few cellar holes, the land in the valley of the Wolosadka River is littered with the shards of old dishes, old tools and other artifacts. Someone might find a bayonet, another a hoe which served the former populace. Wolosate met the same fate which touched nearly every village in the Bieszczady. The same fate, only differentiated by place and exact time of occurrence.

The theme of Wolosate first appeared in the 1970s when local guides started to tell various versions of the fate of the inhabitants of the village. One version was that the Germans, due to developments on the Eastern Front, decided to fortify the mountain passes and that they proposed that the locals resettle to territory in the Zamosc region. Further, it was said, the village leaders went to inspect the proposed land and when they returned everybody packed up their belongings, put them on carts and left and nothing further was ever heard of them.

Another version propagated by Eugeniusz Lenart, a very old inhabitant of the town of Leszko, is that Wolosate was pacified by the Germans because its people had been recruited into “the Szlachta Zagrodowa” movement [a pre-war organization that forwarded the idea that certain border dwellers, Wolosate was on the border with Hungary-Czechoslovakia, were really Poles who had been settled there by Polish kings for defense purposes and who later had become Rusified] and that they did not want to accept a Ger-

man issued identity card with the letter “U” (or “Ukrainian”) on it. Yet another version was that the pacification occurred because of denunciations in regard to smuggling Polish officers and soldiers across the nearby “Green Border” into Hungary. In each of these versions there may be some element of the truth but based on documents found in the archive of the former county government in Lesko as well as interviews with Michal Szymczyszyn, former inhabitant of the neighboring village of Berezka, and the veterinarian, Mr. Huzarski from Ustrzyki Dolne, one discovers a completely different version of the story. Let us begin with the oldest information.

Wolosate...Wolosatka Village — this village is situated in the meadows before the mountains, 12 miles from Sanok, in which the Prince himself in the year 1557 settled two people, with freedom from taxes for 20 years, but both of them are thieves and have done very little there as God knows...

Thus reads the first mention of Wolosate in the *Survey of 1565* [Lustracja] and its history begins with a couple of thieves.

The oldest mention of settlements based on Pastoral Law [Prawo Woloskie] in the Sanok region dates from the second half of the 14th century. Later these settlements were made deeper and deeper into the mountains and in the 15th and 16th centuries they take on a mass character and during these times nearly every Bieszczady village first appeared in the records.

The *Geographic Dictionary of the Polish Kingdom* (Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego) of the year 1893 states:

Wolosate — a village on the stream Wolosatka, a left bank tributary to the San River. This mountain village on the Hungarian border, is built along the stream. At its lowest it is 705 meters above sea-level and on both sides of the village are forested mountains. In the village is a wooden Eastern-Rite church, 104 homes and 706 Greek-Catholic inhabitants plus 30 Israelites.

The dictionary also mentions that there were 943 morga of agricultural fields, meadows and gardens consist of 542 morga and pasture of 1206 morga [a “morg” is approximately 5,600 square meters].

Thus we learn how many inhabitants were Greek Catholics and how many Israelites (hence, where does the Lenart from Lesko find the Polish szlachta Zagrodowa?).

Wolosate was settled, in the second half of the 16th century by pastoralists [“osadnicy pochodzenia woloskiego” — Wallachians or Slavic pastoralists? a problem that we cannot resolve here] and it lay along the ancient trade route to Hungary. Along this route came wine “which was placed in towns having the right to maintain cellars for maturing the wine.” It was said about these wines that they were “in Hungaria natum, in Pollonia Educatum” (born in Hungary and matured in Poland). Many mountain bandits were said to come from Wolosate. They attacked and looted travelers and rich merchants who traversed the Carpathian passes. Well-known in the

Bieszczady were the famous characters Janosik and Ondraszek. These bandits when caught were destroyed by the authorities without mercy. Their activities were justified by W. Lozinski who wrote in this work about mountain banditry that

“the guilt of these people is mitigated by those times when factually the burden of the peasant was not light...and often they took to the bandit road not being certain either to the day or the hour when they might be attacked by war, deserters, thieves and other groups and lose their whole lives work and even life itself...”

It was popularly said that Kuba Dobosz was a brave, cunning bandit but just. The presence of bandits was discovered directly in 1639 by the Lady Wislocka who, when returning from Bardejov [on the Hungarian side of the border] through the Beskid pass, was stopped by the bandits and robbed of everything. We can thus think of just what elements occupied Wolosate, especially when we find out that the village had the right to protect runaway serfs. During the period of the Polish partitions the Austrians systematically repressed banditry and it disappeared around 1848, that is, during the “Springtime of Nations.”

The Bieszczady, like the rest of Poland, suffered during the tragic “Flood” (Potop) of the Swedes and the forces of the Colonel Douglas got as far as Przemyśl but the army of the Hungarian Prince Rakoczy came to the relief of the Swedes, crossing through the Carpathian passes and leaving a wide swath of destruction. This defeat did not spare Wolosate. The *Royal Survey* (Lustracja) of 1665 records that many villages were burned and deserted, in a few places — including Wolosate — only a small part was cultivated. The village only very slowly returned to life. This history of Wolosate continued to be stormy. Part of the inhabitants took part, in example, in the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky (Chmielnicki).

The main activity of the villagers was the pasturage of cattle frequently brought from the Hungarian steppe and fattened during the summer on the mountain meadows and in the Fall sold at the famous Fair in Lutowiska. The largest area of the pasturage was on the high meadows in the area of the Ustrzyki Górne and Wolosate. At the trade fairs these “Bojko” people were noted by their style of dress and dialect and were popularly known as the “Hyrniaki.”

Their clothing was made of raw flax and sheep wool and was produced in the fall and winter in home workshops. In the summer clothing was very simple, a shirt or blouse and pants or a skirt of homemade flax. Men wore linen pants with straight legs, a flax shirt outside the pants tied in by a belt and, depending on the weather, a vest and if necessary a cape or jacket. The head was covered by a straw hat and on their feet were homemade leather boots (chodaki). Winterwear was simply thicker material. Women in the summer wore short blouses with embroidery on sleeves and breast, white skirts of flax with added ornaments of a handmade variety. Over the blouse might be worn a corset or vest interwoven with colored wool and in colder

days thicker clothing. On the feet were also worn chodaki of domestic production. In the winter the women wore kerchiefs.

At the beginning of the 20th century, according to ethnographic research, these people were universally called Bojkos, a name which apparently stemmed from their frequent use, in their local dialect, of the term "Boj."

We should mention here, though, that the pasturage of cattle was not the only means of support. Many inhabitants of Bieszczady villages left in the summer to work in the harvests of Hungary. The younger and stronger village youths left at the beginning of June in groups of 10 and 20 in the pursuit of work. They worked until the end of July, returning with wheat and rye as payment. In August they worked their own harvest because in the mountain climate growth is delayed 3–4 weeks.

In 1939 the village of Wolosate numbered 464 individual farms and one can judge that about 2,000 people inhabited the valley of the Wolosatka River. According to information obtained from Michal Szymczyszyn, who had family in Wolosate, the village was rich. In the middle was a school and an inn and not far away was a wooden church with a tin roof. On the river was a water mill which ground flour not only for the village itself but for the surrounding area too. In 1940 the Germans came into the village and assembled everyone on the area near the inn and selected the youngest and strongest for work in Germany. How many were taken is difficult to say but the selection started from the age of 12. Otherwise the occupation for Wolosate, as for other Bieszczady villages, was relatively quiet. However, at the beginning of 1944 the Germans started to build fortifications and to lay out mine fields in the area of the Beskid and Rawka passes. In October 1944 the situation was the following: October 14 the 18th Infantry Corps of the 18th Soviet Army appeared in the area of Ustrzyki Gorne and Wolosate. The next day this unit was ordered to seize the mountains to the northeast of Wolosate, Tarnica and Halicz and to continue in a generally southerly direction breaking the enemys resistance. The assault along the road through Wolosate took place on October 16th, after a 30 minute artillery preparation. By the end of the day the Soviets had penetrated 10 km through mine fields and barbed wire. In Wolosate and Ustrzyki Gorne a few buildings were burned but otherwise the villagers did not suffer much and as the front moved on south the village returned to normal. Still in existence were 182 farms and in the school were 6 teachers and 240 pupils. However, the quiet did not last for long. After the establishment of the new Polish frontier on the river Bug — more or less the famous Curzon Line — units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) crossed into Poland. Only at the end of the war, however, was the 8th Infantry Division of the Polish Army sent to guard this new frontier and in the late Fall 1945 the first battle with a unit of the UPA took place — the 34th Rifle unit of Budzisyński. This was part of the dramatic events which brought about the fall of Wolosate.

But stepping back a bit, on September 9, 1944 the new Polish communist regime and the Soviet Union signed an agreement concerning an ex-

change of Polish and Ukrainian populations. This “voluntary exchange” ran into some difficulty. Units of the UPA attempted to prevent by force the transfer out of, as they saw it, Ukrainian farmers while at the same time the new Polish Administration was not yet working well. However, by June 30, 1946 the evacuation was definitively completed. From Wolosate 1,128 were resettled. However, there was a difference for Wolosate. Other villages were evacuated through “Repatriation Points” while the villagers of Wolosate were simply driven by force to the border and handed over to the Soviet authorities. Buildings were burnt by the army and the village ceased to exist.

From April 4 to April 31, 1947 during the so-called “Vistula Action” (Akcja Wisla) which came after the death of the Polish General Karol Swierczewski at the hands of the UPA [but was not caused by it], all inhabitants of territories in which the UPA operated were resettled to Western and Northern Poland. Two hundred and seventy three places disappeared from the face of the earth and owners were deprived of 300,000 hectares of land. The Bieszczady were completely emptied of inhabitants. Only border protection troops were left and in Wolosate and Ustrzyki Gorne units of Internal Security forces were also based. Normal human life returned to Wolosate only at the end of the 1950s. It was at this time the strangest and most secret period of the village began, all connected with financial manipulations of the new owners of the valley. From 1959 to 1973 the Tatra National Park based in Zakopane controlled the land and mountaineers (Gorale) from the Tatra region were allowed to pasture sheep there. For the next 4 years the land belonged to the “State Land Fund.” In March 1977, however, 397 hectares, from 543 belonging to the Fund, were handed over to a cattle raising operation in Arlamowa which belonged to the Council of Ministers of the national government. At that time the first buildings of a future sheep farm were built at a cost of more than 400 million zloties. The head of this new investment was the chief of the “State Protection Service” Colonel Doskoczynski. However, this investment yielded no profits to the state.

In 1981 this farm passed into the hands of the local State Forests unit. It was simply handed over without formalities. In July 1982 the land was further passed onto the Agricultural-Industrial Combine “Igloopol” whose local agriculture directorate was situated in Smolnik and the head of the whole firm was (and is) the (now former) Minister of Agriculture Edward Brzostowski [currently under parliamentary investigation for suspicion of manipulation of public property for private gain].

The land of Wolosate was to be recultivated and to this end the army was called in to prepare the fields for drainage and leveling by use of explosives. Unfortunately, as a result, the beautiful valley was reduced to a desert. Three hundred seventy seven hectares were designated for recultivation and an additional 200 hundred for drainage. After two years only 139 hectares were put back into use however another 100 hectares which were used allowed to return to the wild. In the meantime, because of the changes

rapidly taking place in Poland "Igloopol" was privatized and the head of the new company became none other than Edward Brzostowski, at that time the Vice Minister of Agriculture. Of course this raised some interesting issues in the newly free press. Especially interesting was the balance sheet of profit and loss, environmental protection, etc. and the Supreme Control Chamber became interested in the problem of Brzostowski and Igloopol. Brzostowski quickly changed tactics and passed the Wolosate land to a company called "Karpaty" wholly owned by Igloopol. The result was a protest by the Igloopol workers in Smolnik.

On June 22, 1990, in the Polish Senate, Vice-Marshall Jozef Slisz,

Asked for an investigation of Igloopol. He stated that based on an agreement. Of July 27, 1989 between the Polish Treasury, represented by the Minister of Forests and Food Industry, and the stock company Igloopol an important piece of property of the State Agricultural-Industrial Unit Igloopol — then undergoing liquidation — was handed over illegally because of the extremely low valuation placed on the property. Further, this property was then passed over to a private stock company controlled by public officials — which resulted in considerable losses to the state. (*Dziennik Polski* — Cracow, June 23–24, 1990).

As was noted, the history of Wolosate began with thieves !

From January 1, 1990, the territory of the former village of Wolosate was attached to the nearby Bieszczady National Park but the directors of the park hardly know what to do with the land. The Wolosate Valley is a natural bowl for water. From its sides flow many streams and springs abound. This kind of territory ought to be treated with particular solicitude to increase water resources. Because of recultivation and drainage many springs have disappeared without a trace. The drainage of the damp meadows and high mountain peatbogs resulted in the lessening of water available for the "wild plant reserve" in the area. The dried out peat has been reduced to dust thus the many peatbog plants, unique in some cases in Europe, have been lost. High mountain peatbogs have much to offer for scientific research.

The above is but a sketch of the history of Wolosate. Much, much more work needs to be done to illuminate Wolosate's history. It is an example of the fate of the Bojko villages of the Carpatho-Rus area of Europe.

Translated from the Polish text by Paul J. Best

Wieslaw Wojcik

The Lemko Question on the Pages of Polish “Country Knowledge” [Krajoznawstwo] Publications

At the very beginning a few remarks of a methodological nature are in order to make very clear the type of periodicals that will be discussed below. The word “Krajoznawstwo,” meaning knowledge about one’s country (country-knowledge) does not have a single English equivalent. Polish-English dictionaries translate Krajoznawstwo as “touring,” “sightseeing,” or “hiking with observation and study of the terrain.” In Poland the term is understood in various ways and is the subject of disputes between theoreticians and practitioners of “Krajoznawstwo” as to its definition. While not going into the particulars of these quarrels, one should note that all definitions of “Krajoznawstwo” boil down to three.¹

The first defines “Krajoznawstwo” as a social movement [meaning activities of organized societies] seeking to gather and popularize all types of information (geographic, ethnographic, historical and other) about an area or region. We may call this the “institutional” approach. The second, coming directly out of the roots of the Polish term, understands krajoznawstwo to mean becoming acquainted with an area or region by means of the various tools of human inquiry. This is a “functional” approach and it is so defined in the *International Tourist Dictionary* published by the International Tourist Academy in Monte-Carlo.²

The third approach believes “Krajoznawstwo” to have a “social-cultural” meaning, seeing it as an area of culture including the complete activity of gaining an understanding, the formation of new values as well as the results of these activities.³

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- 1 Zygmunt Kruczek *Metodyka Krajoznawstwa* (The Methodology of Krajoznawstwo) (2nd ed.) (Cracow, 1983), p. 14–15.
 - 2 Polish Edition, Warsaw 1961, p. 68–69.
 - 3 Zygmunt Kruczek, *op. cit.*

From the point of view of the history of periodical literature, and especially that type which is the object of the paper below, the last two approaches indicate the broadest, actually one can say the “unlimited,” area of publication which can be understood as “Krajozawstwo”, for even an exact science journal, to be a certain extent, could carry “country-knowledge” information.

Looking at any problem, in this case, the Lemko Question, in such a wide way would certainly be extremely interesting but it would be unreal because of the many years of study that would be required, and by a whole group of people. Thus it is clear the author of this piece cannot cover such a broad territory but rather must limit himself to the first “institutional” definition of country-knowledge. With this limitation we recognize as Krajozawstwo periodicals only those which were published by various associations and organizations which concerned themselves with country-knowledge problems. If we use this approach we still include a significant area of study which allows us to gain a full picture of the Lemko Question through Polish touristic-country-knowledge associations. This approach might be of interest not only for Lemko specialists but also for historians of Polish tourism and country-knowledge.

The first organization for tourism and country-knowledge in Polish territories was the Polskie Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie (Polish Tatra [mountain] Association) founded in 1873, at first carrying the name Galicyjskie Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie (Galician Tatra Association) but later up to the recover of Polish Independence — the name Tatra Association. In 1876 the association inaugurated the publication of the yearbook *Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* (Diary of the Tatra Association) which dealt with mountains. Up to WWI the Tatra Association directed its efforts toward the Tatra Mountains and foothills in the Western Carpathians as well as the Eastern Carpathians (which are presently in the Soviet Union). Thus it is not strange that the Central Beskids [the hills/low mountains between the Western and Eastern Carpathian mountains] were not touched at all in the *Pamiętnik*.

Enlarging the direction of interests to other groups of mountains, among them the Beskid Niski [Lower Beskids], the fatherland of the Lemkos, occurred only in the inter-war period. In the 1930s the first hiking trails were marked out in the Beskid Niski region and there thus followed, on the pages of successive yearbooks of the Association, information about that region. It was, however, a different yearbook, because of various reasons the *Pamiętnik* ceased to be published. In 1923 Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski began to issue, at first in Lviv and later in Cracow, *Wierchy* (Peaks/Cliffs) a yearbook which continues to appear until today.⁴

In 1935, the 13th annual volume was issued, a volume which had great meaning for the development and popularization of information about the

4 Wieslaw Wojcik “Z dziejów wydawania *Wierchow* w Polskim Towarzystwie Tatrzańskim” (from the history of the publication of *Wierchy* by the Polish Tatra Society) *Wierchy* Vol. 50 (1981) [published 1983], p. 14–42.

Lemkos. This volume contains, in a section entitled "About Lemko Region" (O Lemkowszczyźnie), a group of articles. In the introduction to that part of the annual Prof. Kazimierz Sosnowski wrote:

The aim of the PTT [Polish Tourist Association] in turning over this collection of papers to the reader is to shed some light on questions about Lemko people, that is: touristic, governmental and social-economic. . . In publishing this group of articles we wish to underline that Lemko Region is a small picturesque region, well worth knowing, rich in the gifts of nature but despite that poverty-stricken and retarded culturally and economically. This region must be pulled out of this backwardness and set on a level with higher standing regions of Poland. In order to achieve that, the scenic, touristic, skiing, ethnographic, historic, summer vacation, health resort, mining, industrial, etc. values of Lemko Region must be made known.

As a consequence state and society would become enriched through the discovery of new values but first of all it would raise the economic and cultural level of the poor but good Lemko people. Hopefully this initiative of the PTT will be gratefully remembered.⁵

The first article of the Lemko section and the dominating article of this volume of *Wierchy* is entitled "Lemkos and Lemko Region" written by Jerzy Smolenski a Jagiellonian University geographer. This article in general defined the Lemko ethnic group and its activities and culture. In it was also outlined the research to be undertaken by the "Lemko Section of the scientific Commission for Study of the Eastern Territories: (Oddzial Lemkowski Komisji Naukowej Badan Ziem Wschodnich) which aimed to work out a regional plan to stimulate the economic and culture development of Lemko Region, uniting it with the life of Poland, but nevertheless maintaining the Lemko Region and protecting the separate ethnic characteristics of the people.

In the next article Stanislaw Leszczycki presented "An Anthropo-geographic outline of Lemko Region," sketching out the whole question connected with the life and economy of Lemkos on the terrain of the Beskid Niski. At the end he underlined the necessity of working "towards the raising of economic and cultural elevation of the Lemko people," which, in his view, "would not only be of value to them but also to the state. Lemko Region could play a very important role in the future."⁶

The problem of the "Physical Terrain of the Beskid Niski [Region]" was discussed in the next article by Mieczyslaw Klimaszewski, who used the occasion to revise views concerning the eastern and western borders of the Beskid Niski area.

5 Kazimierz Sosnowski "Słowo wstępne" (Preface) *Wierchy*, Vol. 13 (1935)., p. 51-53.

6 *Wierchy*, Vol. 13 (1935), p. 87.

Wierchy, a publication par excellence touristic in nature, could not lack a discussion of touristic value of the region. This was handled in the article "The Beskid Niski as a Touristic Area" by Adam Wojcik-Biesnicki.

Roman Reinfuss discussed, not for the first time in Polish publications, the "military cemeteries in Lemko Region."

The last paper in this Lemko section of the annual was that of Witold Mileski and Jan Reyman entitled "Osturnia: A Spis village on the edge of the Lemko area" the first discussion, not only in Polish literature, of the farthest to-the-west village with inhabitants who were East Slavic.

The 14th annual edition of *Wierchy* opened with the article "Lemkos" by Roman Reinfuss. He precisely defined the eastern and western limits of Lemko Region and sketched out the material culture, the society and the spiritual life of the Lemkos.

That article ended the cycle of work on the Lemko theme and in sum it equaled a monograph on a little researched topic. These articles have become part of the canon, so to speak, of literature dealing with Lemko Region and their value can be seen in them being cited in bibliographies of contemporary writings about Lemkos.

Chronologically the second Polish association dealing with *Krajoznawstwo* was the Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze (PTK—Polish Country-knowledge society) which was founded in Warsaw in 1906. From 1910 it issued the periodical *Ziemia* (Land/Earth/Soil) at first as a weekly, then a bi-weekly and finally as a monthly. *Ziemia* concerned itself with the whole of the territory of former Poland and lands inhabited by Polish people. Infrequently, but consistently, it published materials dealing with the Carpathian section of the national borders. One can find here among these materials some mention of Lemko Region. The earliest of these was an article of Włodzimierz Antoniewicz "Wooden Churches in Sanok County," published in 1911 (No. 20). Also of interest are two important works: Stanisław Leszczycki "Summertime pasturing of sheep (Szalasnictwo) in the Beskid Niski" (1935, No. 10) and Roman Reinfuss "The Ethnographic Borders of Lemkovyna," (1936, Nr. 10–11), an attempt to delimit the Lemko area based on the Lemko style of clothing. After the war the Lemko theme was taken up by Juliusz Ross in "Wartime damage and protection of historical buildings in the Beskid Niski Region" (1948, Nr. 1) but beyond this single example, the periodical did not return, or maybe wasn't able to return, to Lemko questions because shortly later, in 1950, it stopped appearing.

Under the auspices of the PTK there also appeared, in 1920–1939 and 1947–1950, another monthly periodical which was addressed to youth *Orli Lot* (Eagles Flight) which was the organ of the Youth *Krajoznawstwo* Circles of the PTK. The Lemko Question did not find any echo here except one article discussing the Lemko Region, W. Węgrzyn "A hike by students of J[agiellonian] U[niversity] in the Beskid Niski," (1921, Nr. 7).

In order to sketch out fully the interwar *Krajoznawstwo* literature we must mention the popular, richly illustrated monthly *Turysta w Polsce*

(Tourist in Poland) (published 1935–1938) which was initially supported by Polskie Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie, Polski Związek Narciarski (The Polish Skiing Union) and Polski Związek Kajakowy (the Polish Kajak Union) but was later taken over by the Liga Popierania Turystyki (League for Support of Tourism). In this magazine there was one wide-ranging article written by Stanisław Leszczycki popularizing Lemko Region as worthy of tourists interests (1935, Nr. 4).

Ziemia and *Wierchy* were the main and standard publications of PTK and PTT. Both associations also issued other bulletins and information booklets: PTT *Przegląd Turystyczny* (Tourist Review), PTK *Wiadomości Krajoznawcze I Turystyczne* (Country-knowledge and Touristic News). Because of the nature of these periodicals with few exceptions, they carried no materials of real Krajoznawstwo character. Nonetheless if we are mentioning these publications we should indicate that in the PTT *Przegląd Turystyczny* in 1934 (Nr. 2) there is an interesting – certainly *toutes proportions gardees* – trace of things Lemko. There is information attesting to attempts by the PTT to start concrete action to propagate the touristic value of the Lemko area amongst the general public. The Gorlice section of the PTT planned, in July of that year, a series of hiking trips through, the "very little known but interesting terrain of Lemko Region." There were to be four trips, the first, for 5 days, was entitled "Learn the life of the Lemkos," and there were to be three three-day ones "Through trackless Lemko Region," "On the Trail of the Confederates of Bar," and "Lemko Region Landscape." Were these trips actualized? We don't know because in the following issues of *Przegląd* the story was never returned to.

Characterizing the literature published by both Polish country-knowledge and touristic societies in regard to their "Lemko" content we can say that more interest was shown by the PTT, which published the best of contemporary scholarly works which came from the specialists of the so-called Lemko section of the Scientific Commission for study of the Eastern Territories which was set up by the Polish state in the 1930s. Less material appeared in PTK literature not necessarily because of a lack of interest on the editors part but because the PTKs publications were directed to the whole country which necessitated attention to non-mountain areas because of reader interest.

The year 1950 was an important date in the Polish Krajoznawstwo – touristic movement. The two separate organizations, because of political pressure, intensified the talks already initiated in the interwar period and finally united into one; Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczno Krajoznawcze (PTTK – Polish Touristic and Country-knowledge Society).

In the new Society, under new conditions, only *Wierchy* could be retained. The Lemko Question was and still is present in this yearbook, but, until now, attention has never reached the level of the pre-war volumes. Short articles and notes are represented, mainly fragmentary in nature in the "Chronicle" section. The last larger work containing Lemko information

was the article of Stanislaw Weclawika "The Gorlice Pieniny in face of change" which raised the issue of the ecological and cultural problems of the region connected with the building of a dam on the Ropa River.

It should be mentioned that the Lemko Question is noted frequently in the "Literature" section where reviews and discussions of important publications dealing with mountains are handled. Also the "Mountain bibliography" section carries details of the whole of Polish literature dealing with mountains.

Ziemia, after the establishment of PTTK, ceased to appear. In the years of 1956-58 in Cracow, the local PTTK unit did put out a monthly called *Ziemia*, connected with the tradition of the former one, but the Lemko problem found no place there. Equally the *Ziemia*, annual published by the PTTK in Warsaw since 1965 does not touch upon Lemko problems with the exception of Stanislaw Krycinskis "Wooden Churches in the Polish Carpathians" (1982).

Between 1952 and 1961 the PTTk published an illustrated monthly, later bi-weekly *Turysta* (Tourist). As *Ziemia*, it embraced the whole of the country not preferring any region. Amongst the materials dealing with the Carpathian mountain chain there isn't much directly or indirectly connected with Lemko Region. The most important piece is a two-part article of Wladyslaw-Piatkowski "Echos of Strays in the Mountains, Maziarze" (Nr. 15 and 16, 1957) which describes a Lemko village and the customs prevailing there in the 1950s. In 1961 *Turysta* changed into a weekly *Swiatowid* (World View) but it was no longer an organ of the Society.

The monthly *Gosciniac* (Highway) which was started in 1965 originally as a tourist guide periodical, took over in 1973 the functions of the former *Turysta*. However, anything dealing with Lemko Region rarely appears.

The student publications *Magury* (a plural form of "Magura," a local name for "mountain" in the Carpathians) and *Poloniny* (Mountain Pastures) play a particularly important role in propagating knowledge about Lemkos and Lemko Region among college students. Both are published by the Student Circle of Beskid guides working out of the inter-university section of the PTTK in Warsaw.

These are information booklets published annually for the student hiking trips in the Beskid Niski (in the Spring) and Bieszczady Mountains (in the Fall). *Magury* is for the spring activities while *Poloniny* is for the Fall. From the bibliographical point of view both titles are not periodicals because they are not formally published as such – which separates them from periodicals *sensu stricto*. Nevertheless, they are continual and yearly so they may be treated as annuals.

In *Magury*, connected as it is with the Beskid Niski, the Lemko Question dominates. The first issue came out in 1972 but it was anticipated by *Beskid Niski* information booklets which appeared in 1965, 66, 67 and 1971.⁷

7 Tomasz Halpern "Bibliografia studenckich wydawnictw turystycznych, krajoznawczych" (Bibliography of student touristic and country-knowledge publications) (Warsaw, 1980) p.14–15.

Lemkos and Lemko Region are very broadly handled in *Magury*, from many points of view. The main emphasis, though, is historical, including the history of art, and ethnographic. Many different methods are used for presenting information from articles dealing with theoretical problems to discussions of concrete places or complicated source materials and even original scholarly works. There are also notes and commentaries and even poetry – some of it by Lemko poets.

The publication *Poloniny*, which started in 1971, deals with the Bieszczady mountain range, the western edge of which is considered to be the transition zone between the Lemko and Boiko peoples. Thus rather much less strictly Lemko material appears in it.

Both *Magury* and *Poloniny* are published as in-house organs and are thus hard to come by outside of the student group itself. It should be pointed out that both publications attempt to be as objective as possible in the complicated and touchy issue of national feelings. Writings by proponents of all sides are to be found in their pages.

Similar to the Warsaw student publications is *Nasze Szlaki* (Our Paths/Trails) published by the Student Circle of Beskid Guides attached to the Academic Section of the PTTK in Rzeszow. Several times some material connected with Lemkos has appeared but this publication is so ephemeral that it is hard to treat it as a periodical.

Individual units within the PTTK issue various brochures, pamphlets, etc. in which sporadically appear items with a Lemko content. A good example of this is the *Biuletyn PTTK Zarządu Wojewódzkiego w Łodzi* (Bulletin of the Provincial PTTK Board in Łódź), presently entitled *Wedrownik* (Wanderer), in which the Lemko Question was discussed in issue Nr. 9–10 of 1976. Among others there is the article of Paweł Stefanowski "The Theme of farming and Pasturing in Lemko Folk Literature."

Summing up our review of the Lemko question in Polish touristic and country-knowledge periodicals it must be underlined that in total the reader was presented with a many-sided picture of Lemko Region and to a certain extent these periodicals popularized Lemko Region among the general population.

Translated from the Polish text by Paul J. Best



Paul J. Best

Moscophilism Among the Lemko^{*} Population in the Twentieth Century

The present writer is a Political Scientist who specializes in Soviet and East European politics, with a focus on Polish-Ukrainian relations in general and, in particular, the shifting border area in “East” Central Europe where Ukrainian-Orthodox-Byzantine and East European culture clashes with Polish-Catholic-Roman and “West” European civilization. One point of especially strong contention is that triangle of land which has at its base on the Oslawa River in South-East Poland and its western apex at a point in the Dunajec River Valley, south-east of Cracow. This territory, which includes the Beskid Sadecki and Beskid Niski mountains, is variously known as Lemkowszczyzna (Polish) Lemkivshchyna (Ukrainian) or Lemkovyna (local). At the beginning of the twentieth century it was inhabited by a little-known micro-ethnic group of East Slavs called Lemko.

Twentieth century progressed, pressures to change and to conform to the requirements of one or another larger national community forced these people to political and nationality choices they were little prepared to make. Religious conflicts (Orthodoxy versus Greek Catholicism), linguistic struggles (selection of a literary language, which would determine political orientation – Russian, Ukrainian, Rusyn, Slovak, Polish) and World War I created mutually-opposed camps supporting the various alternatives.

A certain historical drama was played out amongst these Carpathian slaves in the twentieth century. They began to develop feelings as Russians, as the Lemko part of a Carpathian-Rusyn people, or, perhaps, as a part of a nation. Prof. Paul Mogocsi of Toronto University has already written an extensive monograph about this process in the sub-Carpathian (south slope) region. The pre-Carpathian Lemkos were under different influences from

* Paper delivered at a conference entitled Ukrainian Political Thought in the 20th Century sponsored by the St. Volodymir Foundation and the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland, May 28–30, 1990. A Polish language version appeared as “Moskalofilstwo wśród Ludności Lemkowskiej w XX wieku” in *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego — Prace Historyczne* No. 103, 1993, pp. 143–147.

those of the sub-Carpathian Rusyns in that they lived in the Austrian part of Austria-Hungary and had not experienced the 1,000 years of Magyar domination found south of the Carpathian crest.

In seeking a larger national identity and an answer to the question “who are we?” — beyond the obvious “we’re from here” (“tutejszy”, in Polish) response — some Lemkos decided for the “Russian” solution. In simple terms this meant that the Lemkos were part and parcel of the Great “Russian” nation whose territory stretched from the Carpathians to Kamchatka. This united/undivided people had several attributes: all spoke some version of Russian, all were orthodox christians dependent on Moscow and the Holy Synod and all recognized one great and holy leader, the Appointee of God, the Tsar of All Russia. As reality did not conform with this great Russian idea (Russkaya Idea)—Lemkos were Greek Catholics, in the Austria-Hungarian Empire (with an Emperor in Vienna) and the Lemko language was not comprehensible to a Moscovite and vice versa – reality had to be changed.

In the 19th century, the so-called “Starorusin idea” slowly evolved from vague Pan-East Slavism into a strong Pro-Moscow tendency. In the Lemko territory (where ideas arrived with a rather considerable delay), by the 20th century, the intelligentsia and the active peasantry were in good part engaged in the Russophile movement.

The origins of this movement were several. First a very strong influence came directly or indirectly from Moscow – or more precisely from St. Petersburg. After the defeat in the Crimean War Russian foreign policy focused, in part, on punishing Austria for lack of assistance. Here was a country (Austria) which the Russians had saved as an Empire in 1849 when Tsarist troops selflessly defeated the Hungarian rebels on behalf of the Habsburgs. Six years later, in the Crimean Crisis, the Austrians stood aside as neutrals and Russians could not forgive this ingratitude. Beyond that, in Russian Political-Religious circles there developed the idea of Pan-Slavism which in its lesser phase included the East Slavic people of the Austro-Hungarian State, in its middle-sized form all the Orthodox Slavs and in its grandest phase all Slavs whether Orthodox, Catholic or even Moslem.

Beginning in the 1870s the Tsarist regime began to take action. The first group to feel the pan-slavic pressures was the East-Slavic people of Austria-Hungary (we will not discuss here the other grander ideas of Pan-Slavism). At the same time in the self-same area the Ukrainian idea was taking root. While in the main Ukrainianism succeeded in Galicia the same cannot be said to be true in Lemko Region.

In direct action the Tsarist regime funded newspapers and agitators and positions for Lemko youth in Russian Orthodox seminaries. The attempt was made to develop a base amongst the intellectuals and the general peasant population for the reception of Orthodox propaganda and, more importantly, for the reception of a trained (Russian) orthodox clergy that just started to emerge from orthodox schools at the beginning of the 20th century. Let us note clearly here, that — whatever one’s personal religious feel-

ings (or lack thereof) – to join the orthodox church meant, for all practical purposes, that one declared oneself as a “Russian” and thus it was a strong “political” declaration. The magnetic pull of Russophilism was felt also among the Greek Catholic clergy, so much that some priests entered orthodox service when the chance for such action arose during the Russian invasion of WWI.

A very powerful indirect influence of Lemko Region came from North America where the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox church sent missionaries. While it is true Russian Orthodoxy had old religious roots in Alaska and along the Pacific coast, the new missionaries came not to those areas but rather to the immigrant communities from Galicia and the Carpathians. These people felt themselves under attack from the hostile Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches (the local Roman Catholic bishops were particularly adverse to the Byzantine-Slavonic rite and a married clergy, perceiving such things as not being true “Catholic”). The Russian church, on the other hand, accepted these long-lost brothers, priests and laymen alike, with open arms. The Tsarist regime was pleased and happy to fund clerical stipends and church buildings. This feeling of having found a home was reflected in correspondence with the old country and in attitudes of the re-immigrants in their old communities. Beyond that, money and publications supporting Orthodoxy and Russophilism began to flow in from North America.

These Russian efforts began to bear fruit just before WWI when Orthodox quasi-parishes began to crop up in Lemko Region and a pro-orthodox (Russian) newspaper, *Lemko*, began publication in Gorlice. However, all came to naught with the outbreak of the Great War. The Austrian Gendarmerie knew exactly who was a Russophil and who was not and, acting on orders issued under martial law conditions, the Austrian police and military security arrested, beat (killed), and shipped off to an Internment camp in the village of Thalhof near Graz in Steiermark, all Russophils that could be caught. This is not the place to discuss the horrors of Thalerhof, but suffice to say that thousands died amongst the internees (who were aged from newborns to 90 years old) and that for the rest treatment was brutal. While there was a sprinkling of Ukrainians, Jews, Russophil Poles and even prostitutes that vast majority of the internees were of the Russophil persuasion.

After the devastation caused by acts of war and the internments Lemko Region slowly returned to some semblance of normality. However, in the 1920s and 1930s the Russophil *qua* Orthodox movement returned in full force.

The feelings of wrong done to the Lemko people during WWI, the aforementioned Tsarist preparations in the area and two previously occurring but now more strongly felt feelings, anti-Greek Catholic and anti-Ukrainian, caused a strong resurgence of the pro-Russian (orthodox), movement. Starting in 1926, 40 villages went over officially to Orthodoxy and perhaps upwards of half the Lemko population, at least informally, joined this flow.

That some of the movement was not exactly pro-Russian or even in an exact sense pro-orthodox should be expanded on here. The aforementioned anti-Ukrainian and anti-clericalism (anti-Greek-Catholic Clergy) was based upon perceptions that the "Ukrainians" helped the Austrians in pointing out "Russophils" during WWI and that Ukrainians treated the Lemkos as a lower cultured Ukrainian "tribe" with a "spoiled" language (with "foreign" influences and a constant accent, not a movable one like literary Ukrainian). With joining or being part of a Great Russian culture some Lemkos could reject Ukrainian accusations of Lemko separatism by Lemko-Russian accusations of Ukrainian separatism. Further, the exactions of the Greek Catholic clergy for religious services were quite high (and in some few cases-rapacious) for a basically farming population living on the edge of poverty. The local Greek-Catholic priest also administered (not-infrequently) a large piece of land, and perhaps a mill, which belonged to the parish but from which the priest derived income. This caused, no doubt, feelings of jealousy further enhancing anti-clericalism. Orthodox priests accepted little or no money for services.

In 1924 the newly formed Polish Autocephalic Orthodox Church began a mission in Lemko Region which yielded the previously mentioned results. This church and its clergy was initially made up of Russians, strictly speaking, and it (the church) was under very heavy pressure to conform to Polish reasons of state and in areas, other than Lemko Region it found itself in sharp conflict with the ruling authorities. However, in the Lemko lands Polish Government and Orthodox goals coincided. In payback to the Catholic church for propagating the *Neo-Unia* amongst orthodox believers in Bielorussia regions the Orthodox church counterattacked in Lemko Region bringing into the orthodox church probably as many souls as it lost in the *Neo-Unia*. On the other hand, the Polish government using all the means at its disposal to break the Ukrainian movement was pleased to support Orthodoxy in the Lemko territory, viewing it, rightly so, at that time, as an anti-Ukrainian movement.

World War II completely changed the issue, however. The destruction of the war, the "evacuations" of 1940 and 1944-46 to the Soviet Ukraine and finally the resettlement/exile of the surviving Lemko population to the Northern and Western lands of post-WWII Poland shattered the Lemko people. What there is left of a pro-Russian movement cannot be detected. Among Lemkos today we may detect two general national directions, a Lemko Carpatho-Rusyn one and a Ukrainian one. The religious issue, as far as Ukrainians are concerned, is more or less resolved, the Orthodox church (at least in the Przemysl-Nowy Sacz diocese), despite having a predominance of Bielorussian clergy, accepts the Lemkos as Ukrainians, while the Greek Catholic church now calls itself the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The only echo of the Russophil movement is found among descendents of Lemko immigrants. It is estimated that 75% of the adherents of the Russian Orthodox

Church in North America can trace their roots to the Carpathians (both sides) and Galicia.

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Paul J. Best

**The Lemko-Rusniak Mountaineers
And The National
Question In People's Poland^{*}**

I

The problem of nationalism, nationality and national identity is a constant in modern politics. That people make political (and other) decisions based upon identification with certain large groups of people according to, in its simplest, "a common remembered historical tradition" need not be demonstrated here since this phenomenon is too well known. The national question, that is-what should be the role of a people who are living within the political boundaries of a particular state but who are not members of the predominant ethnic- group-is a vital question. Proposed solutions to this problem may be grouped for convenience sake into six general categories:

1. assimilation
2. extermination
3. autonomy
4. joint or co-nationality
5. multi-ethnic or pluralistic supra-nationalism
6. the Marxist-Leninist approach

Each of these categories comes with a large number of variations. Assimilation may be similar to the American "Melting Pot" idea where all groups save perhaps those identifiable by skin color eventually will blend together to form a single people within a single state without overt pressure. This is, of course, possible in cases of voluntary migration for economic and political reasons and in conditions of a relatively empty land. Another way is to ignore differences and form a unitary system based upon a predominant culture without suppressing a minority, such as in France. Assimilation can also be forced by removing national cultural elements from a people and/or

* This paper, published in the *Connecticut Review* (Vol. 9, No. 2, May 1976, pp. 74-81) was written based on information available during the Cold War.

substituting alien values. The notion of cultural genocide might fit into this category. Certainly the Russification program pursued in Imperial Russia is a good example of this.

Extermination is a frequently used and popular method and has the advantage of finality. Russian expansion across Siberia and American expansion across the North American continent resulted in the near removal of native elements. Nazi Germany exemplifies, of course, the use of the ultimate solution of this type. Extermination need not be physical, however, since a nonconforming element may be simply driven out or dispersed, such as in 16th century Spain.

Autonomous solutions refer to various sorts of separate communities that could be established either in the form of separate units without clear political boundaries-Ghettos for example-or in definite provinces or districts within a given state. This could even be without much legal attachment to the parent state such as the autonomous legal situation of some American Indians in the USA where Indians were not even citizens until 1928, and then tribes or groups of tribes and reservations were supposed to represent "nations". Joint or co-national solutions can be found in Canada where bilingualism is being institutionalized or in Great Britain where the Scotch, Welsh, and English combine-al though the English element is clearly predominant. Multi-ethnic, pluralistic methods encourage a multiplicity of national identifications while fostering either overtly or subliminally a supra-national identification which may not have even existed before. Such solutions may be seen, for example in the USA with the development of an American nationality, in Canada with a Canadian nationality, or in the USSR with a Soviet one. Although, to be sure, in each case a certain culture predominates.

We need not go into a long sociological discussion about nationality since there are a goodly number of thick scholarly tomes dealing with this. However some general remarks must be inserted here before discussing the Marxist-Leninist point of view concerning the national question. Nationality, as we know it in a general way, is a product of modern times. It developed when national languages began to come into literary use under the influence of the Renaissance and Reformation. Clashes between religions, political entities, interpretations of history, cultures, languages created the necessary conditions for a people to start defining who it was in terms of race, color, religion, language, history, customs, culture and territory. To be sure national feeling, and identification with a particular group, slowly developed and was not everywhere equal. The modern history of Europe is to a great extent concerned with a bloody sorting out of national interests until states based on national principles were established-France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Greece, etc. However since a national area has yet to be coterminus with any given state the problem leads constantly to disruption (e.g. Basques in Spain, Slovenes in Austria, Hungarians in Yugoslavia and Romania, former Germans in Czechoslovakia, Irish in

Northern Ireland). Western historians, sociologists, and political scientists recognize nationality as a modern world-wide phenomenon greatly advanced in some countries and only now developing in others. That this phenomenon is not totally explainable is accepted although many theories have been advanced. It is certain that national feeling exists today as a major stimulus to action and that it is not disappearing anywhere. In fact some political scientists have felt that this is the most important single factor in the 20th century. Followers of a particular political philosophy, however, claim to have understood the roots of nationalism, explained its progress, and to have pointed out its inevitable decline.

Marxists, or more particularly, Marxist-Leninists, maintain that modern nationalism has its roots in the capitalist stage of history. In Europe the results of Feudal decline, the collapse of the universal church, the rise of vernacular languages prepared the ground for the bourgeois to move into power. In order to control the new working class and to ensure a certain territorially defined market the capitalists encouraged and supported the identification of the masses with a particular language, history, religion, and political entity (state). The establishment of these vertical non-class national relations ensured the capitalists a given mass and market to exploit. These national relations also served the purpose of dividing the working masses, and particularly the proletariat, into discrete manageable units which could be more easily controlled. The core of the laboring people, the proletariat, had, in the course of developing class consciousness, to realize that the horizontal class relations between proletarians of whatever country had more meaning than any others (proletarian class consciousness and proletarian internationalism). When the laboring masses through the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, seized power, nationalism would no longer have its old meaning; it would no longer be important politically. In the transition to communism the divisive elements of nationalism would gradually disappear as each understood the truths of scientific Marxism. Language and culture might remain but the negative elements of national exclusiveness and chauvinism would disappear along with other bourgeois hangovers. To be sure during an undefined transitional period some accommodation with national feeling would have to be made. Lenin and Stalin proposed to allow all national groups to have the right to self-determination *exercised in the interests of the working class* as part of the Communist program for Russia. The result was the formation of a union of national republics which theoretically allowed the fullest development of a nationality while maintaining proletarian solidarity. The formula, "National in Form, Socialist in Content" was to be applied. Eventually the necessity for having such a nationally organized state would disappear. Nikita Khrushchev reportedly, in opening discussions for a new Soviet constitution, felt that this stage had been reached in the USSR and called for a total revision of the state structure.

In any case it remains to examine exactly how Marxist-Leninists would apply their theoretical ideas in the real world, in concrete application. Much has been written about how that paradigm of communism, the USSR, applies these notions to the solution of the national question. Certainly its large population and multiplicity of national groups create an ideal situation for a gigantic social experiment to prove the truth of Marxism-Leninism in this realm. At this point in history the answer is not yet in, but certainly one can state that the results so far are mixed. But let us not use a country where the predominant nationality has recently slipped from majority status and where historical and social problems may unduly influence the application of principles, where the main element may feel somewhat under pressure. Let us look at a socialist state which claims 94%–97% homogeneity and whose treatment of national minorities could not be influenced by fear.

II

National groups that have existed or exist in post-war Poland are the following, enumerated in order of number at the end of World War 11 on the present territory of Poland:

1. Germans
2. Ukrainians
3. Lemki
4. Jews
5. Byelorussians
6. Lithuanians
7. Czechs
8. Slovaks
9. Russians

The last four are insignificant in terms of numbers, I do not consider the Kashubians or Silesians as having a separate national consciousness although their languages are quite different from Polish.

The third largest group, the Lemko, is virtually unknown in the West and since WW II scarcely mentioned in Poland. The Lemki are also known as Rusnaki, Lemkowie on the northern slope of the Carpathian mountains and Lemaki or Rusini on the southern slope. The Lemki formerly inhabited the mountains in what is now the southeastern part of Poland, stretching from Stary Sacz in the Beskid Sadecki to somewhat east of Komancza in the Bieszczady, including the whole of the Beskid Niski. The word "Lemko" most certainly derives from the word —Lem,— a word peculiar to the Lemki, which means —only—or "but"—used frequently in the spoken language of this group. The existence of this ethnic group can be traced back to the 15th and 16th centuries when a pastoral nomadic population pushing along the Carpathians mountains began to appear with its sheep in the uninhabited or thinly populated valleys of the southern mountain region of Po-

land. These people were a mixed group of eastern Slaves and Vlachs (Romanians) . They brought a primitive pastoral mode of life, certain Balkan and Slavic customs, and Byzantine Christianity with them. Over the centuries Polish, Slovak, Hungarian, and German influences were felt with the first predominating on the northern slope of the Carpathians and the second on the southern slope. These people were virtually ignored for centuries after they settled in the inaccessible mountains. During the period of serfdom they were formally under the control of Polish lords, the Roman Catholic Church, or certain cities but they managed to maintain a certain autonomy. When pressure became too great, the Lemki resorted to a sort of Robin-Hood banditry. Major trade routes lay through the mountain passes of the Lemko area (Lemkovyna), connecting the Hungarian cities with Poland. During the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries a relative prosperity existed in these mountains due to sheep raising, light agriculture, bee cultivation, and primitive handicrafts.

The religion of the Lemki remained without persecution since Byzantine Christianity was legitimate according to the provisions of the Union of Brest. The partitions of Poland found the Lemki district in the Austrian part. Due to the decline of sheep herding and a general rise in population, Lemko Region fell on hard times. The 19th century was a period of poverty and decline. In the latter half of the century a national awaking occurred in the remote villages, the ending of serfdom, the Austrian policy of setting Ukrainian against Pole and vice versa affected the Lemki. Also there is reason to believe that pro-Russian agitators visited the villages to arouse "Moscowphilism" among the native population. Massive emigration began out of the over-populated valley pockets of poverty, to the industrializing cities of Austria-Hungary, to Germany, and to North America. World War I had a profound influence in the Lemko area because major battles were fought over the Carpathian passes, especially in the Beskid Niski region. The Lemki were subject to heavy pressure from both sides, the Austrians demanding loyalty to the state while the Russians sought support based on Slavic brotherhood and common religion. The Austrians arrested large numbers of accused Moscowphils and placed them in the Talerhof concentration camp. Many other Lemki fled to Russia when the Imperial army was forced to retreat from the Carpathians.

The defeat of both combatants created conditions for the resurrection of Poland leaving the Lemki in an ambivalent situation. Were they to be Poles? Or should they be Ukrainians, possibly they could claim to be Byzantine Slovaks. Or perhaps they might be considered a group of their own. The church could not answer that question since it was "Greek" Catholic and hence not definable in national terms. Interestingly enough there was a short-lived Lemko National Republic declared in 1919 which was put down by the Polish authorities. Others identified with the Ukrainian cause and fought with the Rada while yet other Lemki proposed to join Lemko Region to Slovakia. There was very little pro-Russian sentiment.

During the inter-war years the Lemki were assaulted by several tendencies and influences - first there was a pro-Ukrainian pro-orthodox movement which split the Lemki into warring camps; actual pitched battles were fought with clubs and fists over church property. Part of this was imported from North America where a church schism had occurred owing to jurisdictional clashes between the Roman and Byzantine clergy. In the pre-WWI years this schism was assisted by the Imperial Russian state. However in the inter-war years the general population kept aloof from either Ukrainian or Polish politics. The Greek Catholic Church held its ground in the main and the basically conservative and (now) dairy-farming peasants caused no particular trouble to the Polish authorities. They were rewarded with schools with instruction in both Polish and Lemko (an Eastern Slavic dialect) akin to Western Ukrainian with a heavy admixture of Western Slavic-Polish and Slovak syntax and vocabulary; also Hungarian and German loan words appear frequently. Lemki served in the Polish army but were otherwise benignly neglected.

World War II brought great woe on Lemko Region. The Carpathians being ideal guerilla territory were used during the war years as bases for a large resistance movement, the largest single group being that of the Polish Home Army (AK). The Germans did not gain support among the Lemki for their program of establishing a separate "mountaineer" nationality-i.e. non-Polish pro-German. Nor did both the German supported Ukrainian movement or independent Ukrainians gain a foothold. Few communists, even according to their own claims, existed in the mountains. However, due to German anti-guerilla campaigns and the guerilla strikes much of Lemko Region was fought over. Despite this the Lemko district came through the war in relatively good condition-with the exception of the Dukla Pass area which was the scene of a major Soviet-German battle in 1944.

While it is true that in North America the North Slope Lemki immigrants changed the names of their churches from Greek Catholic to Ukrainian Catholic, the inhabitants of the homeland did not. In fact to this (lay controversy rages in the South Slope Lemki communities as to whether they are Byzantine Rite Slovaks or Ukrainians. The North Slope Lemki neither identified themselves as Poles, nor did they adhere to the Ukrainian cause. While battles raged between Soviet and Polish forces on the one side and Ukrainian resistance and freedom fighters on the other (the UPA) and while the eastern border Lemki were being slaughtered in the cross fire in the Bieszczady, the Beskid Niski and Beskid Sadecki regions were relatively quiet-although from time to time a unit of the UPA did pass through the area.

Before the war the Soviet Union had already determined to settle its border and national questions with Poland. In 1939 in concert with Nazi Germany the USSR incorporated the so-called Western Byelorussia and Western Ukraine into the Soviet State. The compact wedge of Lemko Region was not, however, touched. Even though espousing the Ukrainian cause in

the prewar, war, and post-war years with the establishment by *Fiat* of frontiers with Czechoslovakia and Poland, again the Lemko Region was left outside the Soviet state even though, on the ground of its being part of Eastern Slavdom, both sides of the Carpathians in Czechoslovakia and Poland, as far west as south of Cracow, could have been claimed. For reasons best known to the Soviets the river San was selected as the South East border of Poland with the USSR.

The Soviets did not necessarily mean to leave these people in Poland, however. Along with the general transfer of populations between the USSR and Poland the Lemki were encouraged to leave for the motherland-the Ukraine. Uniformed Soviet agitators visited the Lemko villages for the purpose of arranging the transfer. It has been estimated that about 25% of the population took advantage of this offer and departed with their belongings in 1945 and 1946. This did not satisfy the new People's authorities because soon the entire area of Lemko Region was to be de-populated.

In 1947 the Soviet and Polish armies were waging mop-up operations against UPA elements in concert with the not-yet totally communist Czechoslovak army. The Polish chief of operations General Karol Swierczewski "Walter" was assassinated in the Bieszczady. To this day it is not fully clear how this death occurred. The official version is that Swierczewski was hit by a UPA sniper while inspecting troops on a mountain road. Others believe that he was eliminated either because of intra-party struggle in the Polish Workers Party or it was the NKVD settling an old score from Walter's participation in the Spanish Civil War. Whatever the real reason for his death, it was used as an excuse for a drastic settlement of the national question in the Polish Carpathians.

In 1947 the entire non-Polish population of the southeast Carpathians was forcibly removed and sent into exile. Under provisions of the so-called "Vistula Action" military campaign, and in agreement with the Soviet and Czechoslovak forces operating in the general area, the UPA forces were to be deprived of their infrastructure by the mass removal of populations. This removal only took place in the Polish portions of the Lemko lands. The resettlement of the Lemki began in April 1947 and was completed by the end of July of the same year. Those forcibly resettled could only take personal effects with them and some food and some farm animals. The population was required to walk out of the mountains or, in some cases, was carried out by horsecart. They were taken to the nearest railhead and loaded on cattle cars for transportation to the newly acquired Western and Northern lands of Poland. Official Polish data mention 50,000 people as being resettled from Lemko Region; it seems unlikely that an exact-figure will ever be known. In the village by village action the people normally were given three hours to prepare for transport and after they left the village was given over to pillage by the army and others, after which the cottages were burned, the remains razed. No one was allowed to live in the de-populated districts. From the railhead the Lemki were sent in three to seven day journeys to designated

dispersal points — Olsztyn, Szczecinek, Poznan, and Wroclaw. They were then scattered throughout the regained territories with no more than several families being allowed per village. Since they were the last to arrive in these lands, they found slim pickings indeed. Also their previous form of life did not help much in adapting to new climatic and agricultural conditions. The farm animals died due to the changed fodder, and crops that would grow in the mountains failed on the plains. Beyond that many of the Lemki met with hostility from the Polish population, especially from those repatriated from the USSR since they tended to blame Ukrainian elements for their situation and it seemed to them that the Lemki were a type of Ukrainian. It was many many years before the Lemki were able to overcome climatic, agricultural and psychological difficulties and to acclimate to the new situation.

It is clear that in concert with the Soviets the Lemki were to be dispersed so no compact non-Polish population would remain within Poland's new postwar borders. At the time of the resettlement the Ukrainians were not a popular group with Soviet leaders, and Stalin's attitude is well known. It is interesting to note that the Lemki on the south slope in Slovakia were not transported although the Greek-Catholic Church was forcibly dissolved in 1948 and all members, clergy, and buildings were placed under Orthodox control. According to Slovak observers steps were taken to convince the Lemki that they were Ukrainian and that native Ukrainian priests from the Soviet Ukraine were placed in the churches. Only in 1968 was the Greek Catholic Church allowed to reestablish itself, and nearly every parish voted to return to this church. Many Lemki leaders assert that they were Byzantine rite Slovaks.

Returning to the situation of the Lemki in Poland — until 1958 the resettlers were under tight supervision. They were not allowed to leave their villages without permission and were not allowed overt displays of nationality. Since that time theoretically the Lemki are free to return to their mountain homeland but it is practically impossible for them to do so. Firstly, administrative blocks prevent easy sale of land and transfer of families. Secondly, the old land has been given over to new settlers and occupied; therefore ancient family land must be purchased. Others resettled on state farms find it difficult to withdraw. Children born in the west and north have no memory of the old land. Also, practically speaking, life in the new territories became easier than mountain life, which was poverty-stricken. It can not be discounted too that positive administrative restraints are in force preventing a new majority of Lemki developing in the old district. Despite all this there has been a gradual return of Lemki to the mountains so that today some villages have a Lemko majority.

What is the situation of the Lemki in the 1970s? Culturally speaking they are served by the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society of Poland which was established in 1958. This organization, with its headquarters in War-

saw publishes a newspaper, *Nashe Slovo*, and it has been said to supply some Ukrainian language instruction in its local club houses. This organization is not strong among the Lemki, many of whom do not identify with the Ukrainians in Poland. Lemko language instruction is nowhere available in schools in Poland. The only particularly Lemko cultural activity is found in the "Lemko page (Lemkiv'ska Storinka) of *Nashe Slovo*. Religiously speaking, the Greek Catholic Church continues to exist. Leaders of this church claim a membership of some 300,000 in Poland but are unable to say how many are Lemki. However it is considered a sub-division and thus does not have a life of its own. There isn't even a Greek-Catholic bishop and priests of the Eastern Rite, subordinate to local Roman Catholic ordinaries, must, in 90% of the cases, use a Latin Rite church for services. That these activities are impeded by the Latins is common knowledge. The Orthodox Church is in a somewhat better condition since it is autocephalic although it serves more Byelorussians and Ukrainians than Lemki.

The situation of the Lemki is thus one of dispersion and gradual disappearance. The language can not be effectively cultivated. Lemko culture is also difficult to continue in conditions of dispersal. The Eastern Rite whether of the Greek or Orthodox variety is under pressure from the Roman church and beyond that is suspect by administrative authorities. According to the well known Polish sociologist Andrzej Kwilecki, the first generation born in the diaspora in the Western and Northern lands already ceased to identify exclusively with the Lemko group but considers itself something in the nature of a Lemko-Pole. And despite parental objections mixed marriages are frequent due to the lack of an eligible Lemko mate, among other reasons. The author foresees the gradual assimilation of this element into the predominant Polish population. Only a few isolated communities in the mountains maintain themselves today.

Returning now to the previously stated Marxist-Leninist view of the national question, the reader will easily discern the total lack of connection between theory and practise. The Lemko nation has fallen victim to a number of practises condemned as capitalist and/or fascist. It has been forcibly dissolved, administratively dispersed and deprived of its culture and language, and is undergoing heavy Polonization pressure. That such a dichotomy should exist between theory and practise is not unexpected for a student of Soviet-type states, but that the application of Stalinist principles should have been so harsh in regard to a relatively unoffending people in the name of national unity by a people and a country which itself has so heavily suffered from Russian and German chauvinism and oppression is a sad commentary on the general state of man's relations with his fellow man.



SECTION II

Volume 2 of Carpatho-Slavic Studies

**papers delivered at the
conference on
The Carpatho-Rusyns of Poland
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Paul J. Best

The Carpatho-Rusyn Question in Poland

One quite lasting border tension zone in Europe, perhaps as old as 1,500 years, is that which splits Europe between Western/Roman Europe and the Eastern/Byzantine part (see Map 1, at enf of this book). Fighting among contending groups along this line goes back as far as the late Roman Empire or is as new as the contemporary Croatian-Serbian strife in the heart of former Yugoslavia.

In the central part of Europe, over the centuries, a fairly well-defined group of Slavic nations have developed. To the West of the East-West line we have Poland, the Czech lands and Slovakia and to the East there are Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. However, lost in the process of larger nation formation are the Rusyns of the East Slavic inhabited Carpathian mountains (see Map 2).

From time unrecorded the Northeastern Carpathians have been inhabited by a people who, most observers agreed, speak an East Slavic language, use a version of the Cyrillic Alphabet and who employ a variation of the Byzantine Rite in church services. The territory these people inhabited forms a rough elongated quadrilateral with its western end at a point on the Dunajec River, Southeast of Cracow, Poland and whose other end is in Maramures county of Romania.

This territory, despite literary and pseudo-historical works to the contrary, has never been proved to be part of the Kyivan-Rus patrimony and most of it, Transcarpathian/Subcarpathian Ruthenia, was under the Crown of St. Stephen (Hungary) for 1,000 years. The smaller portion north of the Carpathian crest (the north slope) has also been under 1,000 years of domination but in this case of Poland, Austria and again Poland.

The Trans or Subcarpathian region has been amply discussed by Prof. Paul Robert Magocsi in his many works and in the polemics which they generated [see below]. The present writer, however, wishes to narrow the focus of this paper to a subdivision of the Carpatho-Rusyns, the Boikos and Lemkos of Poland, but first let us discuss a bit of terminology.

The name "Carpatho-Rusyn" should be examined first, for in using it still some controversy obtains. The East Slavic inhabitants of the Carpa-

thians have been variously identified as Hungarian Slavs (Uhro-Rus), Russians, Ukrainians or Ukrainian mountain/hill tribes or denationalized Poles or Slovaks. Since some version of Rusyn (or Rusin), Rusnak, Rus'ian is admitted to be a proper comprehensive appellation by most scholars and since no one in the 1990s still claims these people are Great Russians, the Roman alphabet spelling "Rusyn" is probably the closest we can come to a neutral term. Carpathian, obviously, identifies the geographic location or origin of these people. Without attempting to prove it in this paper, we may say that the various subdivisions of the Carpatho-Rusyns, the Lemkos of Poland and Slovakia, the Boikos of Ukraine, Poland and Slovakia, the Subcarpathians of Ukraine and the Hutsuls of Ukraine and Romania have enough in common historically, culturally, religiously and linguistically to cause them to be grouped together (Map 2).

The term "Lemko," used to denote the vast majority of Carpatho-Rusyns of Poland, most certainly derives from "Lem," a word frequently used by them in conversations, which means "only" or "but." Non-Lemkos probably used this name pejoratively and in the early 19th century the Lemkos referred to themselves as Rusnaks. "Lemko" came into general self-use at the turn of 19th/20th century. The territory these people inhabited has its Western edge on the Dunajec River and its eastern end of the Oslawa (see Map 3). This land, on the north slope of the Carpathians, includes the Beskid Sadecki, the Beskid Niski and the western Edge of the Bieszczady mountain ranges and is variously known as Lemkowszczyzna (Polish), Lemkivshchyna (Ukrainian), Lemkovyna (local) or Prikarpataska Rus. The rest of the Polish Bieszczady were inhabited by Boikos.¹

In 1944–1946 a part of the Lemko population that survived WWII was "evacuated" to the Soviet Ukraine while the majority of the Boikos were simply expelled. In the Spring and Summer of 1947 the whole region was depopulated. The majority of the Lemkos and the few Boikos left were sent into exile in the Northern and Western territories (the "Recovered Lands") of post-war Poland, in the so-called Vistula Action (Akcja Wisla). The land was then devastated in order to deprive the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which was fighting against the Polish People's Army, of whatever support it had in the region. The area was turned into a "free-fire zone." After the 1956 changes in Poland many Lemkos and a handful of Boikos were able to return home and since that time, despite administrative measures taken up to the present to prevent it, there has been a steady trickle of returnees to the region, which in the meantime had been given over mainly to Polish settlers from the plains.

To this very day there is a considerable discussion amongst scholars and lay-people alike about who the Lemkos and Boikos are and where they fit into the larger scheme of Slavic-ethnic patterns in Eastern Europe. Ex-

1 The mountains from east of the Oslawa River to the Ukrainian border — the Polish Bieszczady proper — were inhabited by a group of people called "Boiko." This territory is but a fraction of the total Boiko area, the rest of which is in Ukraine.

treme opinions range from naming the Lemkos as a “Lost Tribe of Poles” (a semi-official Polish government view advanced in the 1930’s) or as Great Russians, pure and simple (a idea which found considerable support in the region until as late as WWII).

The problem lies in not being able to clearly classify the Lemkos and the Boikos: are they a kind of tribe, a folk, an ethnic group (micro-ethnic group), a religious group, or part of a nation, or a nation itself?

Amongst those interested in the problem in Poland we may detect four main approaches to solving the Carpatho-Rusyn conundrum. These may be identified, in a short-hand way, as the Polish, the Ukrainian, the Carpatho-Rusyn, and the Religious approaches.

The Polish Approach

The situation of the Lemkos and the few Boikos still living in Poland is not unknown to the Polish public and the press not infrequently publishes small pieces about the Lemko question, for example Maciej Kozłowski’s article “Lemkowskie Lasy: Spor o Sprawiedliwość (Lemko Forests: Dispute over Justice) which appeared in the Cracow Catholic weekly newspaper *Tygodnik Powszechny* in May 1989. Polish scholarly publications have been mainly in the area of anthropology/sociology [ethnology]. In book-size works we may note the three volumes published in the 1960’s by Wydawnictwo Literackie of Cracow, *Nad Rzeką Ropa* (On the Ropa River) which made available nearly 1500 pages of material dealing with the middle area of the Lemko area - the Beskid Niski region. In 1974 the noted Polish sociologist Andrzej Kwiłcki published his *Lemkowie: zagadnienie migracji i asymilacji* (Lemkos: Problems of migration and assimilation) in which he held that the Lemkos deported to the Western and Northern territories were disappearing into the larger Polish cultural and ethnic community.

In 1983 the PTTK (Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczno-Krajoznawcze — the Polish Association for Tourism and Knowledge about the Country) organized a symposium about the Lemkos. The papers of that conference were published in 1987 as *Lemkowie: kultura-sztuka-jezyk* (Lemkos: Culture-art-language) in a book of 170 pages of material in nine chapters including discussions of language, church art, place names and architecture.

There was even a 6 month exposition of Lemko material culture in Nowy Sacz (see the 50 page catalog *Lemkowie: Muzeum Okregowe w Nowym Saczu, Galeria Dawna Synagoga, Luty-Czerwiec 1984*) (Lemkos: Regional Museum in Nowy Sacz - Gallery in the former synagogue, February-August, 1984).

The general tendency of the “Polish” treatment of the Lemko question is to see the Lemkos as falling within the Polish “Lebensraum,” albeit as an extremely peripheral group but somehow “Polish” none-the-less. Several major studies done by a few Polish scholars in the 1930s purported to show that the original inhabitants of the Lemko area were “Polish” and that late-coming shepherders and settlers from the East and South assimilated the

Poles to form a special unusual "Polish" culture. The actual number of Boikos in Poland today is unknown to this writer and they are not presently the subject of any known scholarly research.

The Ukrainian Approach

The Ukrainian approach is fairly straight forward - the Lemkos and Boikos are Ukrainians, period. At worst they are a kind of backward Ukrainian hill- or mountain tribe, at best an integral part of a politically-conscious Ukrainian nation. Any divergent view is "another attempt at imposing upon Ukrainian studies the concept of regionalism, denying the existence of an underlying trend toward an all-Ukrainian identity."² In the USA the "Organization for the Defense of Lemkivshchyna" (OOL), a group of people closely allied with the Ukrainian independence movement, has published four volumes of *Annals of Lemkivshchyna* (1974, 1975, 1982, 1984) which offer articles and miscellaneous information in English, Polish and Ukrainian supporting the Lemko-Ukrainian cause. In 1988, the Shevchenko Society published on behalf of OOL, under the editorship of Dr. Bohdan Struminsky, 1,100 pages of material in two volumes entitled *Lemkivshchyna: Zemlya, Lyudi, Istoriya, Kultura* (Lemkivshchyna: Land, People, History, Culture) Additionally, a quarterly magazine, *Lemkivshchyna*, is also put out by OOL.

A separate monthly newspaper in support of the Ukrainian cause, *Golos Lemkivshchyny*, (The Voice of Lemkivshchyna) is published in Yonkers, New York.

As may be supposed the several organizations which bring together veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) also support the Ukrainian view - see for example any of the volumes of *Litopys* [a kind of year-book] published in Toronto or Peter J. Potichnyj (McMaster University), "The Lemkos in the Ukrainian National Movement during and after WWII," a paper presented at the 20th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS), 1988, 93 pages (mimeograph available from the paper's author).

The Carpatho-Rusyn View

The Lemkos, themselves, at the beginning or the 20th century, rarely took a stand on national issues. The people knew they were "local inhabitants," ("tutejszy" in Polish), and they were not oriented toward either the Russophil or Ukrainophil camp. If there was an orientation, it was to the Byzantine-Slavonic world in general but not to particular nations/sub-divisions of that world.

This "separatist" tendency has continued to this day, despite some defections to the Ukrainian camp, and an articulate supporter of this position, in a somewhat larger context, is Professor Paul Robert Magocsi, holder of the

2 Communication of the Shevchenko Scientific Society of New York City to the present author, June 7, 1982.

Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto — a situation much to the dislike of some Ukrainians, especially those who supported the establishment of that Chair.

The term Lemko and Lemkovyna became popular amongst the Lemkos only in the 20th century, although to be sure “Lemko” appears in the historical record as early as 1834. The Lemkos are to be differentiated from Ukrainians, Poles and Slovaks. Magocsi made this specific in his paper about Lemkos, Poles and Ukrainians in contemporary Poland also given at the afore-mentioned 1988 AAASS convention.³

Prof. Magocsi, who has written principally about the Byzantine-Rite East Slavs on the south slope of the Carpathians (Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia), in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, is of the opinion that a Carpatho-Rusyn nation exists which is neither Slovak, Ukrainian nor Polish (much less Russian) a group to which the Lemkos and Boikos belong. In support of this view he has written:

The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian

Rus', 1848–1948 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978) Pp. 640.

Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and their Descendants in North America (Toronto: Multicultural History Society, 1984) Pp. 160.

He also founded the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center which has published some 31 titles, among which are his:

Let's Speak Rusyn: Presov Region Edition and

Let's Speak Rusyn: Transcarpathian Edition

[both of 106 pages];

Carpatho-Ruthenica at Harvard-A Catalog of Holdings; and

Carpatho-Rusyn Studies: An Annotated Bibliography 1975–1984.

The Research Center has been publishing a quarterly newsletter, *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, for 16 years and is currently collecting money with a view to establishing a Chair of Carpatho-Rusyn Studies at some major North American university.

There is an echo of this activity in Poland as seen in the “Lemkovyna” folklore singing and dancing group, the *Lemkivska Vatra* several day meetings held at the end of July for the past ten years in the Beskid Niski region, and attempts to regularize the Lemko language by producing a dictionary and a grammar. Of course, some of the recently organized Lemko associations in Poland support this view.

3 A panel session entitled “Ethno-Cultural Survival in borderland Regions” was organized by the present writer for the November 1988 AAASS Convention in Honolulu, at which the Potichnyj and Magocsi papers were given. Two papers from this panel have been published: Paul Robert Magocsi, “Nation-Building or Nation Destroying?: Lemkos, Poles and Ukrainians in Contemporary Poland” p. 197–209; and Paul J. Best, “The Lemkos as an Ethnic Group” p. 255–260; both in *The Polish Review* vol. xxxv, 1990, No. 3/4.

The Religious Problem

The most bitter battles for Boikos and Lemko allegiance have been fought on the field of religion. In early modern times the struggle between Orthodox and Greek Catholics (that is, Byzantine-Slavonic Christians of different organizational persuasions) was particularly strong in the Lemko and Boiko area (see Marian Bendza *Prawosławna Diecezja Przemyska w latach 1596-1681* (The Orthodox Diocese of Przemyśl in the Years 1598-1681) (Warsaw: Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 1982. 267 pages). At the beginning of the 20th century the Orthodox persuasion was oriented to Moscow and the Tsar but this direct “Moscophilism” died down with the rise of Soviet Russia and disappeared by the end of WWII. However, the Polish Autocephalic Orthodox Church, in existence since 1921, supported the orthodox orientation between the wars. During that same period the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (the so-called Uniate Church) with its headquarters in Lviv sustained Byzantine-Slavonic-Rite Catholicism.

After WWII the Ukrainian Catholic Church was liquidated by the Soviets within the new borders of the USSR and in Poland that Church, its rite and its adherents were precipitated into a legal limbo where they continued to reside until 1988. Greek-Catholic priests and chapels did exist but under the auspices of the Latin-Catholic Church. However, the ordination of a bishop for Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland in 1989 was the beginning of the resurrection of that church. Many Boiko and Lemko churches were destroyed after 1947, some however were turned over to Latin-Rite use and a few underwent restoration during the “People’s Poland” era but were handed over to the Polish Orthodox Church. The existence of some sort of a strange non-Latin Christianity in southeast Poland was sometimes acknowledged in minor publications of the “Polish” orientation such as:

Sztuka Cerkiewna ze zbiorów Muzeum w Lancucie (Church art from the collection of the Lancut Museum) (Bydgoszcz: Muzeum Okręgowe . . . , 1985) Pp. 50.

[There is a virtually unknown collection of specifically Lemko Ikons in the Lancut Palace Museum — the collection is not shown to tourists.]

Ikony ze zbiorów Muzeum Okręgowego w Przemyślu (Ikons from the collection of the Regional Museum in Przemyśl) (Cracow: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1981) 50 plates.

Janina Klosinka *Icons from Poland*. (Warsaw: Arkady Publishers, 1989) 150 pages, 70 plates.

Ryszard Brykowski *Lemkowska drewniana architektura cerkiewna w Polsce, na Słowacji i Rusi Zakarpackiej* (Lemko wooden church architecture in Poland, Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia) (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1986 Pp. 354) [The title uses a somewhat extended use of the term “Lemko” — perhaps “Carpatho-Rusyn” would have been better.]

The Polish language makes a distinction between a “kosciół” and a “cerkiew,” the former being Western (whether Protestant or Catholic) the latter

Eastern either Catholic or Orthodox (Byzantine-Rite). However in Post WWII translations into English up to nearly the present, the term “Cerkiew” was almost always expressed, on maps, on illustrations and in summaries, as an “Orthodox church” — there was a prohibition against admitting to the existence of Greek (Byzantine-Rite) Catholic buildings until the liquidation of censorship in Spring, 1990.

Of the Carpatho-Rusyn view we have Paul Magocsi’s *Wooden Churches in the Carpathians* (Vienna: W. Braumuller, 1982, 176 p.) and *Carpatho-Ruthenian Plain Chant* a 5 disc (6 inch, 33 1/3 revolutions per minute) collection of the rather unique Carpatho-Rusyn Church music (available from the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center). Additionally there is Joan L. Roccasalvo’s *The Plain Chant Tradition of Southwestern Rus’* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1986, 185 p.), which gives a thorough scholarly treatment of the aforementioned unusual church ritual music.

The Ukrainians weigh in heavily with Sviatoslav Hordynsky’s bi-lingual *Ukrainian Churches in Poland: Their History, Architecture and Fate* (Rome: Bohoslovia Editions, 1969, 71 illustrations) and Professor V. Karmazyn-Kakovsky *Mistetstvo Lemkivs’koi Tserkvi* (The Art of the Lemko Church) (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University, 1975, 457 pages). The very latest, beautiful, multicolor pro-Ukrainian work is the 350 page bi-lingual volume *Church in Ruins: The Demise of Ukrainian Churches in the Eparchy of Peremyshl* by Oleh Volodymyr Ivanusiv (St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada: “St. Sophia” Religious Association..., 1987).

In the interwar period the unusual and “separatist” nature of the Lemko people in particular caused a stir in the mountains when the Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop of Przemyśl Iosafat Kotsylovsky (Kocylowski) attempted to change the local people into conscious Ukrainians by sending young, celibate, shaved priests into village parishes and by modifying the ritual in certain key places. His actions were met by a “religious war” in which some villages (around 40) drove out the newcomers and invited in married, bearded, orthodox priests who followed precisely the old ways. The Vatican became so alarmed that the nine western deaneries of the Peremyśl diocese, including over a hundred parishes with 130,000 believers, were detached and formed into an Apostolic Administration under an “Administrator” who had quasi-episcopal powers. (see *Schematism Greko-Katolitskogo Dukhoven’sva Apostol’skoi Administratsii Lemkovshchini* (Schematism of the Greek Catholic Clergy of the Apostolic Administration of Lemko Region) published 1936 in Poland and reprinted in Stamford, Connecticut, 1970 by the Ukrainian Museum and Library.

Recently the Polish Autocephalic Orthodox Church was the most publicly active church in the Lemko area, especially after the establishment of the Peremyśl-Nowy Sącz Orthodox diocese under Bishop Adam in October 1983. However, Ukrainian Greek-Catholics have regained a number of churches and the Greek-rite bishop, ordained in 1989, who is a suffragan of the Latin-

rite Primate of Poland, not the Archbishop Major of Lviv, has established (re-established) his seat in Peremysl.

Most Lemkos and Boikos, whether in the region or outside of it, if they are religious at all, attend either Ukrainian Greek-Catholic or Orthodox services; that is, Eastern (Byzantine) Rite churches. In sum then, if we exclude the use of the term “tribe” as having pejorative meaning in the European context, we can certainly use one of the not-precisely-defined sociological terms such as Ethnic Group or Micro-Ethnic Group(s) to describe the Lemkos and Boikos.⁴ This certainly is a foundational term; as to whether, on a larger geographic scale, the Lemkos and Boikos would adhere to a Carpatho-Rusyn identification is not clear, although this writer’s opinion is that the majority of Lemkos and Boikos would recognize that they have compatriots in Slovakia, Ukraine and Romania.

The jump from Carpatho-Rusyn to Ukrainian is problematical however, especially for many Lemkos and, despite Ukrainian desires to the contrary, there appears to be sizable portion of currently living Lemkos who would reject a connection to the Ukrainian nation. If the present writer may add a comment: clearly Lemkos and Boikos know they are Lemkos and Boikos and most know that a larger category to which they may belong is “Carpatho-Rusyn.” Whether an individual wishes to stop at that level and accept a Carpatho-Rusyn identification only is a subjective choice each person may make. It is also a personal and subjective choice to decide whether to identify oneself as a Carpatho-Rusyn Ukrainian or a Rusyn-Ukrainian. It does no good to try to force all Carpatho-Rusyns to acknowledge Ukrainian nationality and pressures to do this will only create the opposite effect. Let time solve the problem of whether Carpatho-Rusyns are a fourth East Slavic nation or a subdivision of the Ukrainian people.

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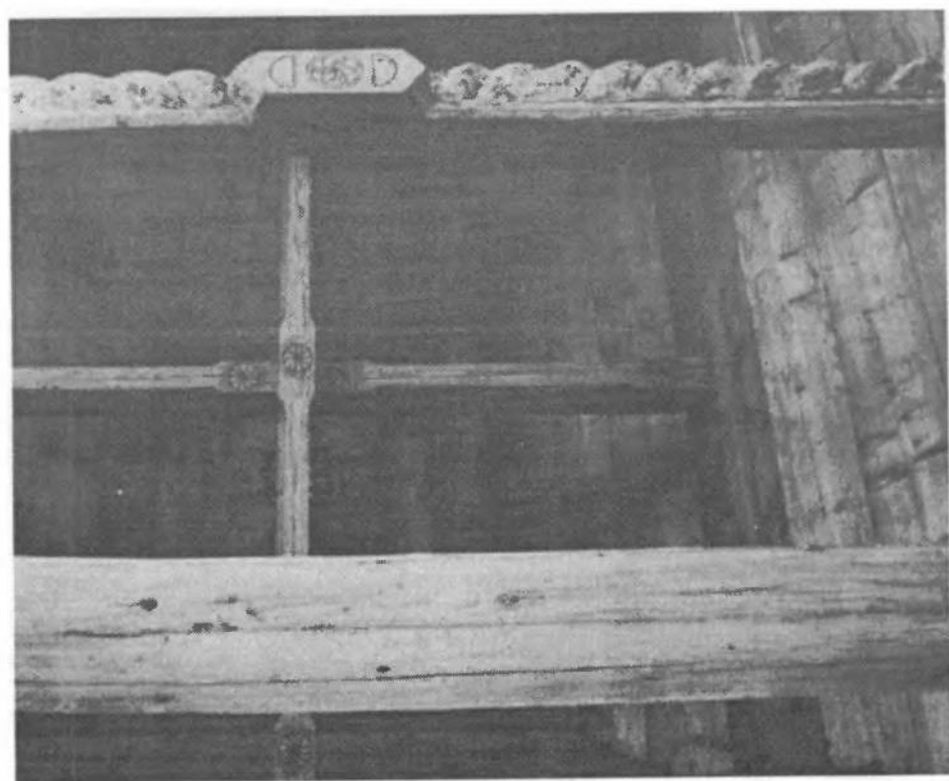
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Michal Parczewski

The Beginnings of the East Slavic-West Slavic Differentiation in the Carpathians

The beginnings of delineation of the Polish-Rus ethnic boundary in the Carpathians is one of the most widely discussed themes in the historiography of Central and Eastern Europe: this question is burdened with an old argument, an argument between representatives of two main lines of research which unfortunately are defined by the national allegiance of the particular researchers. We may reduce the problem to its basic question, what was the earliest extent of East and West Slavic settlement in the Carpathians. Or to put it another way, albeit rather primitively: Who was first in the Carpathians, East Slavs or West Slav? The result of the latest research shows us that way of formulating the question is completely wrong because it presumes, *a priori*, the existence of a sharp delineation among the northern Slavs into two groups foreign to each other.

The Carpathian Question is one of a group of research questions of larger import, which include the reconstruction of the process of ethnogenesis which led to the breakdown of the Northern Slav region into Eastern and Western branches. Studies about this collective issue were dominated by historians and linguists who have not yet reached any sort of meeting of the minds. It seems the results of the newest archeological findings can, to a certain extent, help in unraveling these mysteries. The following article represents an outline of archeological findings, along with historical data and other sources, which were published recently in book form (Parczewski, 1991a).

The oldest historical documentation about a differentiation between northern Slavs, not taking into account the archaic boundary between the Antes and Slavs from the VI and VII centuries, refers to the XI century and touches upon the newly established political boundary between the Polish and Kyivan Rus' states. In modern times, XVII-XIX centuries, the farthest west Rus ethnic elements (that is, East Slavs) are not very far removed

from that boundary, with the exception of the situation along the Carpathian crest.

The majority of researchers interested in this problem suggest that Early Middle Ages north Slavic states, formed in the X century, were based on common ethnic ties which had formed already earlier. Some even feel that the beginnings of East and West Slavdom can be found even in the first few centuries A.D. These views which carry a great weight for our discussion here ought to be verified.

The results of the newest studies on the oldest history of the Slavs allow us to hold the thesis that the Slavs came into central Europe and the area north of the Balkans step by step, from the East, in the first half of the V and VI centuries. They spread out from the lower Danube along the Carpathians and along the Vistula River in the first half of the VI century. This was the basis for the tribal units found inhabiting these lands in the next centuries (see bibliography in Parczewski 1991 b). Everything points to the fact that these Slavs (in the VI and VII centuries) were a completely unified ethnic unit.

According to the universal opinion of archaeologists in the tribal era (VII to first half of the X centuries) there developed, in the northern parts of the Slavic territory, that is, from the Dnipro River to the Bug and lower Danube, a culture called "Luka Rajkovecka" while the western most tribes found themselves in the cultural area called "Russen-Chodlik." You could say that this is proof of an already existing division. Unfortunately that doesn't conform to reality. In actuality the differentiation into these two parts is based entirely on nomenclature. In the tribal period the northern portion of the Slavic world from the middle and upper Elbe River to the Dnipro formed a long large weakly differentiated internal culture continuum. The same model of cultivation and settlement, a similar character and style of making material objects and even the same type of burial ritual (cremation with Kurhan type grave sites). No clear cultural border can be found.

Written records show a number of tribal names in the IX and X centuries which for decades researchers have been trying to locate on the right bank of the middle and Upper Vistula and also in the Dnipro and Dnister watersheds. What was the name of the people who, in the VIII-X centuries, lived in the eastern part of what is today's Polish Carpathians. The former notion that the Croations (Chrowaty) were there is no longer tenable, in fact, specific data speak against it. Today, based on weighty historical and archeological argument we can say that the San River Basin was connected with the southwest parts of the Ledzian tribe (Labuda-1988, 167-211; Parczewski-1991a, 36-43 and bibliography listed there). From that name, in the X and XI centuries, the general denomination for Poles, by their eastern neighbors, sprang; for example - the Rus called Poles "Lachy," Lithuanians "Lenkas," in the South the Hungarians called Poles "Lengyel." The Rus Primary Chronicle, in fact, under the year 981 speaks of the presence of these Ledzian (Lachy) in the San River area and along the Middle Bug River.

One of the historical canons about the “ancient” ethnic differentiations between East and West Slavs is based on the notion that there was a great natural separation caused by a wide band of uninhabited territory separating the two groups even before states were founded. This could be verified through use of archeological information.

For the last several decades archeological research in Poland has been carried on using a quadrant method by which the country is divided into squares and all findings are inventoried. Systematic research has thus taken place in a very large part of Southeast Poland. The present author has taken part in direct verification of materials from a few thousand discoveries. All the clearly early middle ages findings are indicated systematically on the following map (figure 1).

It was discovered that the settled area in the tribal era was more or less exactly the same as the settled land of the early state-formation era (X/XI to the first half of the XIII centuries). Thanks to the material presented on the map, we can for the first time with such accuracy indicate information about which territory was part of the tribal period. We can differentiate at least three units of archeological remains which undoubtedly reflect a local small tribe character.

On the map is also indicated how the Middle Ages border ran between the Polish and Rus states before 1340, the year in which Galician Rus was annexed to Poland. Undoubtedly that border was demarcated most probably already in the XI and XII centuries. From historical sources we know that until the XIV century it was a sharp ethnic boundary/barrier between the Eastern and Western Slavic worlds.

Confronting the above data leads us to the conclusion that the first ethnic demarcation did not run through an empty zone but rather it was a completely artificial division of a thickly populated tribal territory. The result was a partition, carried out by force, caused by two competing political powers — the Polish and Rus states. It resulted in the cutting apart of the common living space of the Ledzian who inhabited, in the IX and X centuries, the San and Bug watersheds and most probably the Upper Dnister. The political line was quickly transformed into an ethnic one. The crystallization of the ethnic frontier, however, is of a later date which certainly can't even be said to begin before the turn of the 10th c.

Analogical results can be seen of other archeological findings. Only in the 11th and 12th c. can we observe the large scale appearance of the typical features of East and West Slavs, which are grouped together on both sides of the frontier. A good example is the difference between burial rituals. Western Slavs, without exception, bury their dead in a straight simple/flat grave while in the East we must register a heavy preponderance of Kurhan graves [full-body without cremation].

The view that the East-West Slav division occurred rather late is not supported either by written sources or from linguistic data.

Examples of Polish ethnic differentiation show up in the 9th and 10th c. in the middle Odra region and on the left-bank Vistula. At the same time, in the region connecting the Lake Ladoga area with the middle Dnieper, on the other hand, there occurred a crystallization of East Slavic culture which from the turn of the 10th c. became identified with the Rus. Between the Vistula and Dniepr there stretched in the 9th and 10/11th c. (and in some place perhaps longer) a weakly dialectologically differentiated proto-Slavic cultural continuum which was divided and each part was forced into supporting one or another of two state systems.

We can differentiate two steps in the process of establishing Slavic ethnic states above the tribal level in the early Middle Ages. The first step in connected with the development of new economic, cultural, political and linguistic phenomena in the main population centers and the second refers to broad scale ethnic consolidation in a given territory which territory was determined by natural or political barriers or non-Slavic neighbors. A great role was played, especially in the first step, by external determinants: the activity of Scandinavians, steppe nomads, and the Byzantine Church in Kyiv, Chernihiv and Novgorod and on the other hand, that of Western Christianity coming through Gniezno, Poznan and Cracow.

When we analyze *figure 1* (at end of books) we find very important consequences for all attempts at reconstructing the oldest history of Carpatho-Rus. The modern ethnic border of Western and Central Lemko Region not only respects (with exceptions) the settlement line of the early middle ages in the Jaslo-Sanok lowlands and the Sacz basins passing by the areas settled in the late middle ages. Archeological data (including in some cases a few results from the expertise of Palynology) prove that the territory inhabited by the Lemkos in the 18th-20th c. was minimally up to the 13th c., uninhabited. In this context we should take a look at the thesis of some East European authors of a "drawing in/transplantation" of a Rus population into the Carpathians from their former homes in lower lands on the Danube and Wisloka. This conception is clearly false. First, before the 14th c. there isn't the slightest evidence of a Rus ethnic structure in the terrain lying to the West of the well-known border between Malopolska and Halytska Rus. In the 11th-13th c. inhabitants of the Biecz area and the Sacz region were without a doubt Poles. Second, an East Slavic migration from the north into the Beskid area would have had to begin not earlier than the 13th c. but such a massive demographic phenomenon could not have been missed by the written records.

If we formulate our general conclusions based on historical facts and archeological results we may say the following:

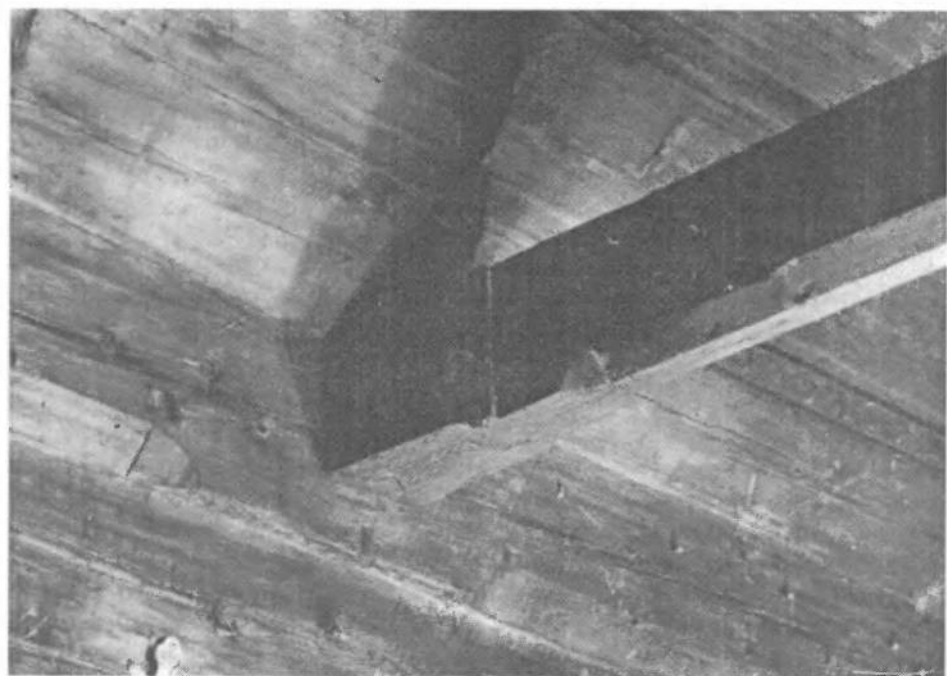
- The population inhabiting the basins and the lower middle Carpathians in watersheds of the Wisloka and San as well as the upper Dniester belonged to the Ledzian group in the tribal period of the 8th-10th c., in this period there was no clear delineation between the West and East Slavs.

- The sharp ethnic division which occurred here only in the 11-12th c. along with the demarcation and stabilization of the Polish-Rus state borders, probably did not differ much from the late Middle Ages Malopolska, Halytska Rus border.
- The arrival of the ancestors of today's Lemkos on the terrain occupied by them in modern times could not have begun before the 13th c. We underline here that we refer to the potentially earliest chronological occurrence of the settlement process.
- The arrival of these people from the north and, obviously, from the West, is excluded.

Note

1. It's not difficult to understand that the desire to find an answer to the question formulated in this way is found not only among those who are trying to find the historical truth based on analysis of historical records but among others also. A considerable portion of public discussion on this theme, unfortunately, must be attributed to the activity of people on the margin of social science. Different types of visionaries, fantasy seekers, pseudo-patriots and propagators of the "only correct idea" (which they get second hand) use unverified information as a pretext to manipulate the historical understanding of society. They do this often with the best of intention, however, with bad results.

Certainly the fault for this situation rests, in no small way, on the side of authors of recognized competence. They have not yet decisively made an effort to straighten out precisely, by means of discussion, the first 1,000 years of the Slavic presence in the Carpathians. I should say that the time has come to catalog the facts of history, to which I add the data from archeological, linguistic and other sources of knowledge, which are recognized as believable, in order to differentiate them from hypotheses which are weakly supported. Perhaps a list of such items that could be agreed to ought to be prepared by two independent groups of researchers, representatives of both sides of the issue so that in a common conference, in which each side confronts the other, a common basic agreement could be reached, perhaps even the signing of a protocol of differences of opinion.



Zofia Szanter

From Where Did The Lemkos Come?

There are several theories about the history and source of settlements in the Beskid Niski and Beskid Sadecki sections of the Carpathian mountain range, thought by their authors to be in opposition. Basically, however, these theories complement each other. From prehistoric times different tribal groups passed through the mountains. Settlement occurred in waves and every one added a part to the history of the area in question. There were Thracians, Dacians, Celts, Croatians, Polish settlers, people from the Balkan peninsula and Rusyns.¹

However only the 15th and 16th centuries had a decisive meaning for the culture of the future Lemko Region. Before the 15th century, from the point of view of the smallness of the number of inhabitants, the lack of contact with other people and the pastoral style of life of the population, connections with particular cultures were not maintained. On the other hand, in the 15th century and especially in the 16th, the majority of the villages that exist even to this day were established, and one can document a lively inflow of settlers who permanently converted the terrain to farms.² As is

- 1 K. Dobrowolski, "Z badan nad zagadnieniem woloskim w Karpatach Zachodnich" (From the research on the Wallachian issue in the Western Carpathians) in *Pasterstwo Tatr Polskich i Podhala* (Shepherding in the Polish Tatras and Highlands), vol. VIII, Wroclaw-Warszawa 1970, pp. 131-164; Dobrowolski, *Migracje woloskie* (Wallachian migrations), Lwow 1936; I. Tarnowycz, *Ilustrowana istoria Lemkiushchyny* (Illustrated history of Lemko Region), Lviv, 1936; T. Sulimirski, "Trakowie w polnocnych Karpatach i problem pochodzenia Wolochow" (The Thracians in the northern Carpathians and the problem of the origin of Wallachians) in *Acta Archeologica Carpathica*, vol. XIV, 1974, pp. 79-103; R. Reinfuss, *Lemkowie jako grupa etnograficzna* (Lemkos as an ethnographic group), Lublin 1948; T. M. Trajdos, "Osadnictwo na Lemkowszczyzynie" (The settlement in Lemko Region) in *Magury*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 24-35.
- 2 A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340-1650* (The settlement of the Sanok area in the years 1340-1650), Wroclaw 1962; Fastnacht, "Ludnosc Leska w XV i XVI w." (The Lesko population in the 15th and 16th centuries) in *Rocznik Zakladu Narodowego im. Ossolinskich*, vol. IV, Wroclaw 1953; S. Kuras, "Osadnictwo i zagadnienia wiejskie w Gorlickiem do polowy XVI w." (The settlement and rural issues in the Gorlice area by the mid-16th C) in *Nad rzeka Ropa. Szkice historyczne* (On the Ropa River. Historical Sketches), Krakow 1968, see rest of this book; J. Czajkowski, "Wiejskie budownictwo mieszkalne w Beskidzie Niskim i na przyległym Pogorzu" (Rural housing in Beskid Niski and the Highlands region) in *Rocznik Muzeow Wojewodztwa Rzeszowskiego*, vol. II, Rzeszow

shown from settlement documents, often they set up settlements “on new roots,” being mainly on forest land which shows that the area before these settlers arrived was thinly settled. Early inhabitants must have been rather few and the new settlements had a different character and were not always established formally.³

Thus we have the question, who were these new settlers and where did they come from? Up to now the theory of Vlach-Rus migration was used to explain this phenomenon. The so-called Vlachs (Pol. Wolosi), a pastoral people, supposedly had traveled through the Carpathian mountains from the Balkans. Then some of the Rusyn people (Pol. Rusini) attached themselves to the Vlachs as the Vlachs passed through Rusyn territory. These newcomers came directly from the east through the Bieszczady section of the Carpathians and on to the Beskid Niski and Sadecki area. They thus settled, step by step, the Carpathians from East to West and easily settled the mountain terrain due to their pastoral way of life.⁴

Unfortunately, the dates of the official establishment of villages do not support this theory. Settlement did not occur from East to West beginning in the 15th century in the Bieszczady and ending in the 17th century in the Beskid Sadecki. At the beginning of the 15th century settlements arose not only in the eastern part of the Beskid Niski, near to the Bieszczady, but also along the Ropa and Poprad rivers and even in Goracy where in 1416 the village Ochotnica was established on the basis of so-called Vlach Law or Vlach Rights.⁵ The whole area was settled at the same time but not evenly. New settlements were established, just like everywhere in the mountains, in the river valleys and along lines of communication (i.e. roads). Colonization then spread, taking up the rest of the usable area. Thus the main argument of followers of the theory of Vlach-Rusyn migration is cast into doubt. Let us look at a few other important doubtful ideas concerning this theory.

There is no doubt that cattle and sheep herders did travel about. The scale and area of their travels however, was decidedly smaller than one would suppose from the Vlach migration theory. It's certainly hardly probable these herding activities would be more attractive than well organized permanent settlements. Thus how can one explain why inhabitants of terri-

1969; M. Dobrowolska, *Z badan nad osadnictwem Lemkowszczyzny* (On the Lemko Region settlement), Warszawa 1938; W. Bebynek, *Starostwo muszynskie, wlasnosc biskupstwa krakowskiego* (Muszyna district, Cracow bishopric estate), Lwow 1914; A. Stadnicki, *O wsiach tzw. woloskich na polnocnym stoku Karpat* (The so-called Wallachian villages on the Carpathian northern slope), Lwow 1848; K. Pieradzka, *Na szlakach Lemkowszczyzny* (Along the Lemko Region routes), Krakow 1939; W. Sarna, *Opis powiatu jasielskiego pod wzgledem geograficzno-historycznym* (The geography and history of the Jaslo district), Jaslo 1908; W. Sarna, *Opis powiatu krosnienskiego pod wzgledem geograficzno-historycznym* (The geography and history of the Krosno district), Przemysl 1898.

3 Sulimirski, op. cit. pp. 81–83, 88.

4 This view is taken Dobrowolski, op. cit; Reinfuss, op. cit; more details in K. Wolski, “Stan poskich badan nad osadnictwem woloskim na polnoc od Karpat” (The Polish investigations on the Wallachian settlement north of the Carpathians) in *Rocznik Przemyski*, vol. IX, No. 1, Przemysl 1958.

5 See footnote 2.

tories through which these pastoralists passed would massively attach themselves to the Vlachs, as the Vlach migration theory would have it, in order to travel around in the mountains for unknown distances discarding a settled way of life?

Who were these settlers? One must seek the answer to this in a wider historical context. The greatest limitation to research up to now is “Carpatho-centrism.” The history of the Carpathians is written as if it were unique without reference to other historical occurrences and the economic situation in neighboring regions. Thus if we turn our attention to the situation in Poland and Hungary, between which the Carpathians stand not only as a barrier but also as a bridge, we can easily explain not only the development of settlements, but also we can answer the question who were these people.

Right up front we must explain the term “Vlach-Rusyn Settlement.” Up to now the interpretation given in the literature is that this is an unequivocal ethnic term and even a nationality definition. However, using contemporary criteria to explain a past phenomenon does not have an historical basis and makes understanding the term impossible. In the 15th and 16th centuries when Vlach-Rusyn settlement was intensively carried on, ethnic origin was of little weight and often a matter of argument and the idea of nationality in today’s understanding of the term was unknown. Thus the idea of “Vlach” contains not only elements of ethnicity, but also how and in what way one did one’s work, one’s lifestyle.⁶ Further, in southern Europe, in the area controlled by Islam, Moslems called Christians of the Eastern (Byzantine) Rite Vlachs. Thus we cannot use ethnic affiliation in relation to Vlach-Rusyn settlement.

The most important identifiers which once indicated the place and status of a given group were religious attachment, coming under a given legal system or relationship to particular status in life (farmer, herder, blacksmith, *et al.*). The cultures of these statuses-in-life in different countries were even closer to each other than different statuses were in the same country, like the culture of the same religious groups.

Thus the term “Vlach-Rusyn Settlement” is relative. Newcomers were free peasants, ruled by a favorable law (having favorable rights), which was an off-shoot of German Law, adapted to upland pastoral-agriculture farming. In the 16th century that status was a relic of the Middle Ages, that is, before the spread of serfdom. In Poland this situation lasted in the mountains until the 18th century and even longer because the terrain was not suitable for *Latifundia*.⁷ Thus such upland farming and the method of set-

6 Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ...* (The settlement ...) pp. 214–215; Z. Holub-Pacewiczowa, *Osadnictwo pasterskie i wędrowki w Tatrach i po Podtatrzu* (The shepherds settlements and migration in the Tatras and sub-Tatra regions), Krakow, 1931, p. 294: differentiation between *coloni Valachales* and *coloni rurales*. Cf. Sulimirski, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

7 F. Papee, “Skole i Tucholszczyzna” (Skole and Tuchola areas), *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki* (Research and Literary Guide), XVIII, Lwow 1890, pp. 822–23 and 832–33; J. Kloczowski, *Europa Słowiańska w XIV-XV w.* (The Europe of the Slavs in the 14th and 15th centuries), Warszawa 1984, pp. 63, 77, 90–91.

tlement was called "Vlach." From the point of view of religion the settlers were eastern rite Christians which in that area of Europe were called Rusyns.

Thus it is that the term "Vlach-Rusyn Settlement" does not need to be understood in ethnic terms, but first of all as referring to a social situation and religious affiliation of those people. By way of simplification, we can call it a Vlach method of farming and a Rusyn religion. We can find in the 16th century in the term used in exactly this way "homines Ruthenicos alias Wolochy (Gorlice, 1558) or "Rutheni sen Volachii (Orawa Valley, 1576).⁸ Polish neighbors used similar terms such as "Rusnacy, Rusznaczy, Rusniacy, *et al.*" in documents. The oldest usage is in the Chronicle of Marcin Bielski of 1551 and this usage is also found in the town records of Biecz and Jaslika, in 1605 and 1607.⁹ These people themselves, today in Slovakia and in the oldest still-living generation in Poland, use these terms.

Equally, the Vlach system of Law/Rights is connected in the literature to the Vlach group. Exactly in the 15th and 16th centuries it was put together from modified German law. At first Vlach law was customary law based on the clan community, adopted to the nomadic form of life as was used in Rus (Pol.=Rus Czerwona) and in the oldest Vlach settlements in the mountains.¹⁰ About this time in Transylvania, this type of law was thoroughly modified on the model of German Saxon law.¹¹ In the new version, a settled form of life was connected to cattle and sheep raising and this law spread to Poland in the 16th century. At first it was even known as German law.

A good example of this conjunction of both variants of Vlach law is the foundation of Szczawnik on the Oslawa River. In 1437 Jacobus Valachus received permission from Queen Sophia to buy a principality from the sons of a certain deceased Bota who owned it according to Vlach law and custom. The queen was dissatisfied with their activities and gave the new owner German law. In the privilege document, next to the obligations of German law are listed the obligations typical for the later Vlach law, which come from cattle raising, and even Vlach terms are used.¹² We see similar situations in documents from other places settled by Vlachs in the first half of the 15th century (Ochotnica—1416, Radoszyce—1441).¹³ By the 16th cen-

8 J. Czajkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Z. Holub-Pacewiczowa, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

9 Fastnacht, *op. cit.*, p. 223; W. Mileski, J. Reychman, *Osturnia, wies spiska na kresach lemkowskiego zasięgu* (Osturnia a Spis village at the border of Lemko influence), Krakow 1935, p. 13 and footnote no. 1 on page 23; A. Jablonowski, *Pisma* (Writings), Vol. I: *Ziemia ruskie Rzeczypospolitej* (The Rus lands of the Polish Republic), Warszawa 1910, p. 16; S. Udziela, *Ziemia Lemkowska przed polwieczem* (The Lemko Land from half a century before), Lwow 1934.

10 Fastnacht, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–257; Dobrowolski, *Migracje* (Migrations), pp. 14–15.

11 J. Radziszewska, *Studia z dziejow Spisza* (Studies in the history of Spis), Katowice 1964, pp. 15–17 and map on p. 152–153; S. Sochaniewicz, A review of book by K. Kadlec, *Walasi a walasske pravo* (Vlach People and Vlach Law), Praha 1916 in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (Historical Quarterly), vol. XXX, Lwow, pp. 377–378; Fastnacht, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 253–7; Bebynek, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21; Dobrowolski, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16; Kadlec, *op. cit.*, pp. 331, 439.

12 Fastnacht, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Dobrowolski, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16.

tury, when reference is made to that form of life, the term “Vlach Law” alone is used.¹⁴ Simply put, Vlachs were not settled immediately on law entitled “Vlach” but originally on modified German Law which only later was classified exclusively as “Vlach.”

Let us try now to answer the question, what was to motor for the development of this type of settlement, if it wasn't just the arrival of pastoral peoples. In fact the settlement of the mountainous territories was the effect of a planned action organized by the owners of the land who, simply put, wanted a bigger income from their properties. The mountains were not ownerless, but were either crown, church, or noble lands.¹⁵ As aforementioned, the colonization of the Beskid Niski and Sadecki was not an isolated event. At the same time other mountainous areas were being settled, for example, the Opor river area in the Bieszczady—to the east of the area under discussion—and the Orawa river valley on the western side of the Tatra mountains. In both cases the first settlements with Vlach-Rusyn populations appeared in the 15th century. In the first half of the 16th century began a colonization which has lasted until the second half of the present century.¹⁶

Concerning the initiatives of the great landowners in organizing settlements, we can turn, for example, to information about the castle owners in the Orawa area who brought in settlers.¹⁷ Equally so in the Beskid Sadecki we see the influence of land owners in populating their territory. For example Klucz Muszynski area, which belonged to the Roman Catholic bishops of Cracow was for a long time only weakly cultivated. It is probable that the bishops were not too happy to find the Vlach-Rusyn settlers, who were the only ones able to satisfactorily farm mountainous land, because they were connected with the eastern church. Only in the administration of Franciszek Krasinski (1572–1577), a known believer in religious toleration, did a lightning-quick colonization take place.¹⁸ In the Beskid Niski area the Gladyszow family was active, not having resistance like that of the bishops, and successfully and quickly settled their Ropa river valley.¹⁹ A memorial from the Skolshchyna area of the Bieszczady has been retained which teaches how to settle one's territory: “call to freedom people (not serfs of the

13 Ibid; Fastnacht, op. cit., p.255.

14 In the charter for the village of Oslawica from 1530 this law is defined as “ius Moldaviense seu Walachicum” (quote from Fastnacht, op. cit., pp. 253, 255).

15 Ibid., pp.267–269; Kloczowski, op. cit., p.77.

16 Papee, op. cit., pp. 448–456; Holub-Pacewiczowa, op. cit., pp. 292–295.

17 Ibid., p. 293.

18 Bebynek, op. cit., p. 22; J. Lepkowski, “Cerkwie i osady ruskie w obwodzie sandeckim w Galicyi. Z podrozy po kraju...” (The Orthodox churches and Rus settlements in the Sacz district in Galicia. From the travels in the country...) in *Kalendarz powszechny na rok 1862* (Julian Wildts A common calendar for the year 1862), Krakow, 1862; Schematyzm greckokatolicki (Schematic of the Greek-Catholic Church).

19 Pieradzka, op. cit.

nobles which can create difficulty for you) from Royal properties or from a far country since then no one would find out about it.”²⁰

It's not without reason settlement in the mountains was as a “call to freedom.” At this time both in Poland and Hungary serfdom was growing and the peasants' freedom was being more and more limited. In the mountains run-away peasants found shelter.²¹ Inhabitants of villages established on Vlach law were freed from labor obligations and paying fees for one generation (20–24 years). In the event that after this term the settlement “was not yet completed,” an extension of some years was possible.²²

Thus Vlach law had unusually good conditions.²³ It guaranteed the inhabitants certain freedoms and established a good economic situation which would balance out the climate and poor soil. Labor obligations to the landowner were only 2-8 days a year and were mainly handled by the men. It was even possible to change them to a fee payment. Fees and rents were not too high and making use of the riches of nature was unlimited. As an example we may use the obligations of the village of Jarzembina (presently Jarabina in Slovakia), found in the “Description of the Cracow Voyevodstvo (province)” of 1564:

[The author cites details of payments by peasants to landowners according to the type of work/agricultural/pastoral activity they did.²⁴

Newcomers also had freedom of religion: “A Pater familias can come in and settle and also he may set up a church according to his tradition” (Wola Gabonska, 1489).²⁵ In the location documents there are often comments about an eastern rite cleric, even in regard to Roman Catholic episcopal properties.²⁶

After this discussion about the conditions which were offered to settlers, let us again return to the question of their origin. We must remember that they had to be people (osiadla) knowing well the methods of farming-cattle raising in mountainous territories. Certainly one indication is found in the citation above about “from Royal properties or from a far country since then no one would find out about it.”

20 Papee, op. cit., p. 636.

21 For example, the runaway peasants had their rights safeguarded in the charters of the villages of Smolnik 1511, Lupkow 1526, Komancza 1512, Czystohorb 1524, Rzepedz 1526, Moszczaniec 1526, Jawornik 1546, Wola Michowa 1546, Kulaszne 1546, Szklary 1527 (after Fastnacht, op. cit., pp. 220–221).

22 Ibid.; Bebynek, op. cit., pp. 22, 28, 35–39, 53; P. Dabkowski, *Wolosi i prawo woloskie* (The Wallachian people and Wallachian law), Krakow, 1938, pp. 3–5; Papee, op. cit., pp. 829–833.

23 *Lustracje wojewodztwa krakowskiego 1564* (The inspection of Cracow district in 1564), Warszawa 1962, p. 186.

24 Ibid., p. 165.

25 Morawski S., *Sadeczczyzna za Jagiellonow*, (The Sacz region at the time of the Jagellonian dynasty), Krakow, 1865, vol. II, pp. 302–303.

26 Cf. Czarna, Smolnik, Lupkow, Moszczaniec, Szklary, Jawornik, Kulaszne, Wola Michowa, Bobrka, Polany (cf. Fastnacht, op. cit., p. 221).

In the 15th and 16th century there was not much by way of Royal lands in the mountains and even those that existed were thinly settled. Thus settlers had to come from "a far land." In the case of the Beskid Niski and Sadecki region that "land" could be the terrain of the Carpathian foothills either lying to the north or on the south beyond the state boundaries. To the north the population had no tradition of cultivating difficult land in a mountainous climate, as was found out in the Klucz Muszynski area when settlers, brought in from the north, quickly gave up. What's left then is the south slope of the Carpathians (in Hungarian territory). It was an ideal region from which to recruit settlers, equally mountainous, earlier cultivated and close by. The state boundary made difficult pursuit of fleeing serfs and the land presented no difficulty for the settlers. If we look at the map we notice the Carpathian crest is clearly lower in the Beskid Niski (Niski means Low) and the continuity of the range is lost. On the East this region is bordered by the Khryshchata and Volosate massives and on the West by the Beskid Sadecki and Czerhowski mountains. Thus a wide gate is created in the North-South direction through which a number of passes make possible human migration in both directions since time unrecorded.²⁷

Thus we may suppose that settlers came into the Beskid Niski and Beskid Sadecki areas from the southern slopes of the Carpathians in the 15th and 16th centuries. This is indicated by the order of establishment of settlements and where they were placed, not only on the northern side of the mountains, but also between the mountains near to the border passes and in other accessible places.²⁸ Those things which occurred in Hungary in the 15th and 16th centuries also speak for that origin of the settlers.²⁹

In the Hungarian country neighboring the Beskid Niski Region, Sarriska County, we find that due to armed conflict in the years 1427–1494, the number of farms fell from 6,000 to 2,000—according to the tax registry.³⁰ It is doubtful that all the inhabitants were killed, certainly some could have escaped to the north, beyond the Hungarian frontier to a quieter place. Information about such settlers is retained, for example, from the Poprad river valley.³¹ Even though the view cannot be proved from existing docu-

27 Kloczowski, op. cit.; W. Felczak, *Historia Węgier* (The History of Hungary), Wrocław-Warszawa 1983; P. Heck, M. Orzechowski, *Historia Czechosłowacji* (The History of Czechoslovakia), Wrocław-Warszawa 1969; J. Nistor, *Migratiunea romaneasca in Polonia in sec XV si XVI*, Bukuresti, 1939, quote: J. Reychman, "Zagadnienie osadnictwa woloskiego w Karpatach w rumunskiej literaturze" (The Wallachian settlement in the Carpathians in Romanian literature), in *Roczniki Dziejow Spolecznych i Gospodarczych* (The Annuals of Social and Economic History), Vol. 8, 1946, No. 2, pp. 297–298; Sulimirski, op. cit. pp. 80, 83–84, 88–89.

28 Fastnacht, op. cit., pp. 48–49, 52–53; P. Dabkowski, *Stosunki narodowosciowe ziemi sanockiej w XV stuleciu* (The nationalistic relations on the Sanok region in the 15th c.), Lwów 1921, pp. 18–20; Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 6; Kuras, op. cit., pp. 85, 86, 91; Pieradzka, op. cit., p. 99; see Nistor, op. cit.

29 Felczak, op. cit.

30 Heck, Orzechowski, op. cit., p. 108.

31 Lepkowski, op. cit.: Andrzejowka.

ments but judging from the shape of the terrain, we may suppose that people from the same Hungarian county went into the Ropa and Jasioka river valleys. That the path was already open is witnessed by information about the arrival of Vlachs in the Ondawski uplands and in the area of Stropkow and Makowca in 1442, as well as their crossing the passes into Poland in 1454 and 1459.³²

Another important occurrence which encouraged people of the northern region of Hungary to take themselves to Poland and Rus was the persecution of the Orthodox Church which occurred in Hungary in the 15th century.³³ An order of King Zygmunt, in 1427, limited the activities of orthodox priests, the baptizing of children in the orthodox rite, and mixed Orthodox-Catholic marriages. This policy caused local uprisings which broke out every few years and certainly influenced intensive migration.

Another reason was the worsening economic situation in Hungary which was caused by the general situation in Southeast Europe. The extension of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Peninsula, Tatar invasions which reached as far as Bulgaria as well as internal crises, decentralization, border struggles and war in the Southeast European states did not allow the inhabitants to have satisfactory conditions for existence. Serfs fled in reaction to this political situation and to the increasing feudal obligations. There was also a general stirring up of the population which caused internal ferment.³⁴ Inhabitants of territories most threatened by destruction, particularly Bulgaria, Serbia, the Romanian lands and Rus more than once had to flee their homes. The majority tried to settle in Hungary mainly in Transylvania and the Southern regions of the Carpathians.³⁵ But here too the situation got worse and the persecuted Orthodox had to migrate further.

The 16th century wave of migration into the Beskid Niski and Sadecki region went along with radical worsening of the villagers in Hungary after 1514. In that year about 40,000 peasants from the whole of Hungary gathered in Transylvania with the aim of running a crusade against the Turks. Pope Leo X promised to free all participants from serfdom but the crusade never took place. The aggressive nature of the participants turned against the higher classes of society. The bloody crushing of the biggest peasant uprising ever in Hungary had an echo in the whole of the Hungarian kingdom and a severely anti-peasant constitution was put into effect. Among other things personal freedom was drastically limited and feudal obligations were increased from 1–10 days a year to 52 days from one farm. In

32 V. Chaloupecky, *Valasi na Slovensku* (Valach (Pastoral) people in Slovakia), Praha, 1949, p. 29.

33 Felczak, op. cit. pp. 80–81.

34 Kloczowski, op. cit., pp. 24–26, 29–33–35, 41–46; J. Demel, *Historia Ruminii*, Wroclaw-Warszawa 1970, pp. 118–144; Heck, Orzechowski, op. cit., pp. 108–109; Jablonowski, op. cit., p. 91; Chaloupecky, op. cit., pp. 47–48; Fastnacht, op. cit., p. 223; Papee, op. cit., pp. 742–744.

35 Mileski, Reychnan, op. cit., pp. 8–9; K. Kadlec, "*Valasi a valasske pravo*" (The Vlach people), Praha 1916, pp. 261, 264.

the second half of the 16th century an even greater increase of serfdom took place, with 100–150 days of obligatory work a year. As a result of the 1514 uprising, some regions of Hungary were depopulated up to 40%. The increase in serf obligations caused further uprisings in different parts of the country in the years 1562, 1569–70, 1572–73. Of course the wars with Turkey in 1541 and 1552–56 which ended with subordination to the Ottoman Empire didn't help either.³⁶

Along with these occurrences we observe an increase in the inflow of settlers in the Beskid Niski and Sadecki area. Documents about the settlement of the Klucz Muszynski, the Southern part of the Beskid Sadecki prove the correlation between the situation in Hungary and the development of settlements.³⁷

During the whole of the 16th century up to the uprising of 1569–70 and 1572–73 which were caused by a further increase in feudal obligations in Hungary in the Klucz only 6 or 8 villages were founded (Szczaunik—1516, Slotwiny—1521?, Zubrzyk—1545, Krynica—1547, while Izby and Brunary Nizne were transferred to Vlach Law—1547, Powroznik—1565 and the villages of Nowa Wies and Leluchow with unknown founding dates which however already existed when they were noted in records in 1581 and 1583). However in the year 1574 alone 6 new villages were founded: Polany, Wawrzka, Berest, Stawisza, Czarna, and Banica. The first three of them were founded by settlers from Florynka, which in that year was transferred to Vlach Law and the three next ones from Snietnica.³⁸

Florynka, which existed from at least 1391, and Snietnica (1422) were old places situated on the crossings of merchant roads coming from the South.³⁹ Two roads from Bardejov in Hungary join at Snietnica and go on to Florynka where another road which comes through the Poprad river valley from Kezmarok and Presov joins in.⁴⁰ Thus it's certain that inhabitants of these villages knew well the towns of the south slope of the Carpathians and there recruited settlers for the new villages.

In the next year (1575) a further three places (Milik, Czarna, and Zegiestow) were founded and Szczaunik was confirmed again. In 1577 Jastrzebek, Kamianna, and Brunary Wyzne were founded.⁴¹ Thus within four years 12 places were founded, two receiving for a second time foundation documentation, as opposed to 6 or 8 places founded in the previous 73 years of the 16th century.

36 Felczak, op. cit., p. 79; Demel, op. cit., pp. 148–150.

37 Bebynek, op. cit.; Lepkowski, op. cit.

38 Ibid.

39 Kuras, op. cit., p. 90; Bebynek, op. cit., p. 18.

40 H. Pienkowska, "Ikony sadeckie XVII i XVIII" in *Rocznik Sadecki* (The Sacz Annual), vol. XII, Nowy Sacz 1971, map No 1; *Atlas Slovenskej Socialistickej Republiky*, Bratislava, map # 19, p. 113.

41 See footnote 39

The growth of settlements is visible in the 16th century in the Beskid Niski area too. Documents are lacking but the road communication links with Hungary allow to suppose a numerous migration from the south. We have many reasons to suspect that there existed many settlements in the Ropa watershed already in the first half of the 16th century. We also have information about the foundation of new villages near the Jaslińska pass in the Jasiolka watershed and in the area of the Lupkowski pass in the Oslawa watershed. From the second half of the 16th century (from 1581) we have information about the existence of the majority of villages in the Wisłoka and Wisłok watersheds.⁴²

To this point we have presented five reasons indicating the possibility of the inflow of settlers from the southern slopes of the Carpathians into the Beskid Niski and Beskid Sadecki area. These are:

1. The seeking of capable settlers by Polish landlords and their existence nearby or the other side of the frontier, people already knowing the requirements of mountain farming and herding.

2. An agreeable land formation allowing an easy move through the Carpathians on a South-North line.

3. A difference between the social-political situation in Poland and Hungary.

4. Persecution of orthodox in Hungary in the 15th century and the possibility of remaining in the faith of one's forefathers in Vlach settlements in Poland.

5. The better condition of Vlach Law/Rights in opposition to the worsening situation of enserfed peasants in Hungary.

Beyond the above arguments for an inflow of settlers from the southern slopes of the Carpathians there is yet another important detail—the cultural difference between the later Lemkos and the Boykos inhabiting the Bieszczady Range.⁴³ Historical research shows settlement in the Bieszczady flowed from the north. In this case the “far country,” which we have already cited from the memorial from Skolshchyna, was the area of Sanok, Sambor, and Turka.⁴⁴ The layout of the terrain decided the direction of settlement. Settlers did not try to cross over Khryshchata and Volosate massives which were within the range of the ethnographic group called Boyko.

If the direction of the spread of settlements went from East to West, there wouldn't be such a cultural difference between the population of the Bieszczady and the Beskidy. Equally so, the border between the Rusyn people in Poland and Slovakia would be identical in nature. However in Poland the border between Poles and Rusyns was sharp and easy to map out, while in Slovakia it's not so easy to mark.⁴⁵

42 Fastnacht, op. cit.; Kuras, op. cit.; Sarna, *Opis powiatu krosnińskiego...*

43 Reinfuss, op. cit., pp. 93–96; Z. Stieber, *Dialekt Lemków* (The Lemko dialect), Wrocław-Warszawa 1982, pp. 6–7; J. Falkowski, B. Pasznyi, *Na pograniczu lemkowski-bojkowskim* (On the border between the Lemkos and boikos), Lwów, 1935.

44 Papee, op. cit.; Sulimirski, op. cit., pp. 85–86, 92–94, 98.

The inflow of settlers into the Beskid Niski and Sadecki from the south was strongest at the beginning of colonization in the 15th and 16th centuries. When the new areas were already cultivated, connections were made with Rus lands with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Undoubtedly contacts connected with the establishment of parishes were involved. The settlers were Christians of the Eastern Byzantine Rite and became attached to the very large Przemyśl diocese. With time this population also spread out on an East-West line too. Nevertheless the tradition of contacts with the regions along the southern border were uncommonly strong. These were cultural, economic, and trade connections and even now there is a lack of internal east-west roads. People went to fairs in the south, they used quarries there and ordered church bells from foundries there and often even found mates there too. The cultural connection is witnessed by the connection of the Lemko dialect with the West Slavic languages.⁴⁶ Equally different from the Bieszczady form of church, the so-called Lemko church building, is the continuation of church architecture from the southern slopes of the Carpathians.

Drawing attention to the inflow of settlers from the southern slopes ought to put a spotlight on cultural research. Interesting connections will perhaps be found in the area of sacred art not only in architecture but also ikonography. The settlers from Sariss county who moved into the Poprad, Ropa and Jasiolka areas perhaps carried with them ikons and church utensils from their former churches.⁴⁷ One can suppose with a high probability of being correct that after settlement ikons were ordered from south of the border. In the immediate neighborhood of the Beskid Niski are three well-known monasteries which had schools and ikon workshops, in Snina, Bukovski Horac near Stropkov and in Krasny Brod.⁴⁸ Particularly popular was the Krasny Brod monastery, situated in the Laborec Valley near three passes to the north, which drew people to services "from all of Lemko Region."⁴⁹ It played an important role in popularizing ikons which probably had an influence on its popularity as a place of pilgrimage. The nearest Przemyśl diocese monastery in which ikons could be painted lay in the Sambor county or the nearby Przemyśl area⁵⁰, thus for the newly cultivated Be-

45 J. Reychman, *Pogranicze etniczne słowacko-ruskie* (The ethnic Slav-Rus borderland), Warszawa 1939; Reinfuss, op. cit., pp. 145–146.

46 Stieber, op. cit.

47 Lepkowski, op. cit. – Andrzejowka; H. Lohvyn, L. Milaieva, W. Swiencicka, *Ukraiński seređniovichnyi zhyvopys* (The Ukrainian PAINTING of the Middle Ages), Kyiv, 1976.

48 S. Tkac, *Ikony zo 16–19 storočia na severovýchodnom Slovensku* (Icons from the 16th to 19th centuries in North-Eastern Slovakia), Bratislava 1980, pp. 21–22.

49 M. Bendza, *Pravosławna Diecezja Przemyśka w latach 1596–1681* (The Orthodox diocese of Przemyśl in the years 1596–1681), Warszawa 1982, p. 130; K. Zaklynsky, "Narys istorii krasnobridskoho monastyria" (An outline of the history of the monastery in Krasnobrod), in *Naukowyi Zbirnyk Muzeiu Ukrainkoi Kultury w Svydnyku*, Presov 1965, pp. 43–58.

50 P. Dabkowski, "Stosunki kościelne ziemi sanockiej" (Church relations in the Sanok region in the 15th c.), *Rocznik Przemyśki*, vol. III, Przemyśl 1913–1922, p. 45 (In the endowment act of the Przemyśl bishopric there is no mention of any monastery); J. Klosinska, *Ikony*, Krakow, 1973, p. 39–40; *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, editors F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski, Warszawa, 1881–1902,

skidy, rather far away. Until the time when ikon painting became attached to convents, ikons from the Munkachevo diocese monasteries probably found their way to the northern slopes of the Carpathians while later ikons from Muszynski⁵¹ or Robotycze⁵² workshops found their way to the south.

Thus hopefully from the above where we sought connections with the area south from the Carpathian crest we have shed some light not only on the history of settlement but also on the cultural history of the Beskid Niski and Beskid Sadecki region.

Translated from the Polish text by Paul J. Best

entries: Sozan, Smolnica, Lawrow, Spass; Z. Beiersdorf, "Cerkiew obronna w Posadzie Rybotyckiej" (The Fortified Orthodox church in Posada Rybotycka"), *Kwartalnik Urbanistyki i Architektury* (The Quarterly of Architecture and Town Planning), pp. 8–9.

51 Z. Szanter, "XVII-wieczne ikony w kluczu muszynskim" (The 17th c. ikons in the Muszyna estate) in *Polska sztuka ludowa* (Polish folk art.), XL, 1986, Nos 3–4, pp. 179–196.

52 A. Fricky, *Ikony z vychodneho Slovenska* (Icons of eastern Slovakia), Kosice 1971, p. 12.

Bohdan Struminski

The origin of the Lemko dialect

Before we proceed to the actual topic, we should first establish what we shall understand by the Lemko dialect. The linguists describing the distinctions of the Lemko dialect from other Ukrainian dialects compile various lists of peculiar features of which not all, however, are exclusively Lemkian.¹

If we limit ourselves to systemic features which delimit the Lemkos from all the other Ukrainian neighbors only a few obvious isoglosses will remain.

1. The first is the constant stress on the second last syllable. It reaches a little west of the Osawa/Oslava river on the Polish side and a little east of the Vyrvavka (the left tributary of the Laborec/Laborec') on the Slovak side.² The Lemko dialect took over this feature from Polish and East Slovak dialects. Since both among the Poles and East Slovaks (except for the Sotaks) such a stress was established in the 16th century,³ the Lemkos must have taken it over no earlier than in that century.

2. The next isogloss is the preservation by the Lemkos of the initial *o*-without a prothesis (e.g., *ohen*, and not *vohyn'*, *vohen'*, etc., like among the San/Sjan Dolynjany, Bojkos and East Zemplin and North West Už Ruthenians).⁴ This prothesis developed in the old Ukrainian Halyč principality

1 For example recently J. Rieger, "Łemkowie i ich język," *Łemkowie. Kultura - sztuka - język*, Materiały z sympozjum zorganizowanego przez Komisję Turystyki Górskiej ZG PTTK, Sanok, dn. 21-24 września 1983 r., Warsaw-Cracow, 1987, pp. 24-5. For earlier lists see B. Strumiński, "Hovor lemків," *Lemkivščyna. Zemlja, ljudi, istorija, kul'tura*, pt. I, New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto, 1988, p. 467.

2 Z. Stieber, "Wschodnia granica Łemków," *Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, vol. 40, Cracow, 1936, no. 8, p. 247 (map); idem, "Gwary ruskie na zachód od Oporu" (1938), *Świat językowy Słowian*, Warsaw, 1974, p. 447 (map); I. Pan'kevyc, *Ukrajins'ki hovory Pidkarpats'koi Rusy i sumižnyx oblastej*, Prague, 1939, map 4; V. Latta, "Polnoglasie v ukrajinskix govorax Vostočnoj Slovakii," *Sborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského*, Philologica X, Bratislava, 1958, map.

3 Z. Klemensiewicz, *Historia języka polskiego*, pt. II, Warsaw, 1965, p. 94; J. Stanislaw, *Původ východoslovenských nářečí*, Bratislava, 1935, p. 35; J. Liška, *K otázke pôvodu východoslovenských nářečí*, Turčianský Svätý Martin, 1944, p. 58.

4 Stieber, "Gwary ruskie na zachód od Oporu," p. 447, map; idem, *Atlas językowy dawnej Łemkowszczyzny*, fasc. I, Łódź, 1956, map 7; J. Zakrevs'ka, "Javyšča protezy v zaxidnix hovorax ukrajins'koi movy," *Doslidžennja i materijaly z ukrajins'koi movy*, vol. IV, Kyiv, 1961, map 1; Z. Hanudel', *Linguistyčnyj atlas ukrajins'kyx hovoriv Sxid'noji Slovaččyny*, I,

(without its part to the south of the upper-middle Dniester). The first attestations come from the Galician Gospel (1288) and the Galician Chronicle from the 13th century (in a copy of the early 15th century).⁵ This isogloss tells us not so much about the origin of the Lemkos as about the origin of the abovementioned eastern neighbors of the Lemkos, especially about the origin of the Ruthenians between the upper Laborec/Laborec' and the upper Uż. It looks that they moved to the southern side of the Carpathians from the old western Galicia (in the old Ukrainian, not Austrian, sense), thus forming a prothetic area which now separates the southern Lemkos from the basically non-prothetic speaking Ruthenians of the Uż county (comitatus, župa, vármegeye).

3. The Lemko velar η in the ηk group (e.g., *hырташка 'krtan'*) is of West Slavic (Little Polish-Slovak) origin. It occurs sometimes also in lexical polonisms, e.g., in the West Lemkian *stողko 'sun'*. But it has to be added that this phenomenon also sporadically appears in the Bojkian region, especially on the Stryj river, of course only under the Little Polish influence there.⁶ Unfortunately, the age of this phenomenon is unknown either in Poland or Slovakia.

4. An original Lemko innovation is the depalatalization of the final dental consonants *-t'*, *-s'*, *-n'* (e.g., *kin 'horse'*).⁷ It covers the entire northern Lemko Region, sometimes even crossing the Oslawa/Oslava to the east, but it ends on the Ondava in the south, only exceptionally reaching the Choćcianka/Xotčanka river (e.g., in the word *deśat 'ten'*). In the northern Lemko region this depalatalization is attested to since the 17th century.⁸ It occurred when the general south Ukrainian pronunciation shift of the *e* in the newly closed syllable to *u* before a non-palatal consonant ceased to operate (e.g., the Lemko *n'us 'he carried'* [from *nes'eb*] but *šist 'six'* with the once palatal *t'* [from *šest'eb*], preserved on the Slovak side in the east in the form *šist'*). A disturbance of this distinction happened only exceptionally at Hyrova/Hyrova, a little west of the medieval Galician-Little Polish border, because *š'üst* existed there. Because of its geography, this phenomenon developed rather at a relatively late time on the Polish side of the border and covered only the western segment of the Lemkos on the former Hungarian side where influence coming from Poland (Polish or north Lemkian) was the strongest.

5. The next feature is the vanishing of the final etymological *-i* in the imperative (*it 'go'*, etc.),⁹ in agreement with the Polish language and the

Prešov, 1981, map 1; J. Dzendzelivs'kyj, *Lingvistyčnyj atljas ukrajins'kyx narodnyx hovoriv Zakarpats'koi oblasti URSR (Leksyka)*, pt. I, Uzhorod, 1958, map 28; pt. II, 1960, map 215; *Atljas ukrajins'koi movy*, pt. II, Kyiv, 1988, map 124.

5 G. Shevelov, *A historical phonology of the Ukrainian language*, Heidelberg, 1979, p. 451.

6 Stieber, *Atlas...*, fasc. V, 1961, map 230, fasc. VI, maps 264, 295; *Atlas gwar bojkowskich*, vol. VII, pt. 1, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow, 1991, map 573.

7 Stieber, fasc. I, map 15, fasc. II, 1957, map 96, fasc. III, maps 126, 134, fasc. IV, 1960, maps 170, 174, 196, fasc. V, maps 212, 235, 237, fasc. VI, maps 264, 295, fasc. VII, 1963, maps 302, 318, 326-7, 330-3, fasc. VIII, maps 377-9, 406.

8 I. Pan'kevych, *Narys istoriji ukrajins'kyx zakarpats'kyx hovoriv*, pt. I, Prague, 1958, p. 56.

East Slovak dialect. This change occurred in the Polish language finally in the 16th century.¹⁰ Its chronology in the East Slovak dialect has not been researched in scholarly literature but at any rate the East Slovak dialectal varieties now bordering on the south Lemkian ones have a consistent *iz* 'go!' and in Spiš sometimes *id*'.¹¹ Since the East Slovak dialect developed many of its peculiarities in a close connection with the Polish language, it can be assumed that also in this dialect the vanishing of the final *-i* in the imperative was established no later than in the 16th century. In the northern and southern Lemko region the forms of this type are attested to since the late 16th century.¹² Their reach in the north is somewhat farther than that of the paroxytonic stress: up to the San/Sjan river (exact data from the south are missing but in any case this phenomenon covers the entire typical south Lemko Region, i.e., it reaches at least to the Laborec/Laborec'). Even some forms in specific words are copies of Polish-east Slovak forms, e.g., *vos* 'take!' = Polish *weź*, East Slovak *vez* (as against the standard *vezmi*). It can be added that this Polish form (in the variety of *voź*) reaches also beyond the Lemko region, up to the Wiar/Vihor and beyond the San/Sjan.¹³

6. Another peculiarity of the Lemko morphology of the verb is the replacement of the verbal endings *-aju*, *-aješ*, *-ajet'* with the endings contracted according to the Polish-Slovak model (but with the preservation of the final *-t*: thus, e.g., *znam*, *znaš*, *znat* 'I, you know, he, she, it knows'). The eastern neighbors of the Lemkos (the Dolynjany, Bojkos, and Zemplin Ruthenians) say *znaju* or *znau* / *znawu*, *znaješ*, *znaje*. However, in some lexicalized forms the contracted type reaches far to the east (e.g., *zmerkat ša* 'it grows dusk' – beyond the Wiar/Vihor, Opir, and Repynka, the right tributary of the Rika).¹⁴ The forms of the type of *vyznavat* = old Polish *wyznawa* are attested to in the 16th century records from the Lemko and Bojko regions,¹⁵ but since the literary and chancellery Ruthenian language of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of that time (which also had influence to the south of the Carpathians) was rather a thoughtless imitation of Polish, it is hard to treat these forms as a reflection of living dialects, except perhaps for the Lemko areas (e.g., if these kinds of records appear in the documents from the northeast Lemkian Odrzechowa//Odrexova or the south Lemkian Ladomirova//Ladomyrova). The Polish model of this conjugation already took

9 Stieber, *Atlas...*, fasc. VIII, maps 377-9.

10 Klemensiewicz, pt. II, p. 106.

11 *Atlas slovenského jazyka*, vol. II, pt. 1, Bratislava, 1981, map 226 (Lemkian facts are given here in such a manner as if they were Slovak).

12 Pan'kevych, *Narys...*, pt. I, p. 64; idem, "Do pytan'ja henezy ukrajins'kyx lemktiv'skyx horiv," *IV Meždunarodnyj s'ezd slavistov. Slavjanskaja filologija*, Sbornik statej II, Moscow, 1958, pp. 185-6.

13 *Atlas gwar bojkowskich*, vol. VII, pt. 1, map 440.

14 Stieber, *Atlas...*, fasc. VI, map 277, fasc. VIII, maps 359-61; *Atlas gwar bojkowskich*, vol. VII, pt. 1, maps 430-2; *Atljas ukrajins'koi movy*, vol. II, map 237.

15 I. Kernyc'kyj, *Systema slovozniny v ukrajins'kij movi. Na materijalax pam"jatok XVI st.*, Kyiv, 1967, p. 190; Shevelov, p. 684.

shape in the 15th century and the Slovak one at least since the 16th century.¹⁶

This list actually exhausts such systemic features – strictly definable thanks to the existing dialectal atlases – which geographically delimit the Lemkian dialect from the rest of the Ukrainian dialects. However, one can also mention two features which only partly delimit the Lemkos from their eastern neighbors and, on the other hand, connect them with some of those.

1. The Lemkos, like most Ukrainians and like Poles and Slovaks, contracted the old adjectival nominative neuter ending *-oje* into *-e* (e.g., *suxe šino* 'dry hay'). But in the northeast, among the Dolynjany, and in the southeast, among the Zemplin and Už Ruthenians, a peculiar ending *-oj* prevails (as an abbreviation of the former *-oje*). The remnants of this pronunciation, which was once apparently more widespread, can be found on the Wiar/Vihor and at the sources of the Rika in the Marmaroš county.¹⁷ This half-contracted ending is attested to at the earliest north of Sanok/Sjanik (in 1525).¹⁸ It is dubious that such a peculiar phenomenon would have emerged independently in two near areas. Even though the *-oj* area to the south of the Carpathians is larger than in Galicia, the *-oj* should rather be derived from the north as an import and one more (next to the *v-* prothesis) evidence of the Ukrainian colonization of Zemplin and Už, and perhaps also Marmaroš, from the old western Galicia – first of all from the San/Sjan area. Since the upper San/Sjan area was populated by the Ukrainians already in early historical times and Transcarpathia only later, secondarily, the adoption of a reversed direction of expansion of *-oj*, from south to north, would be improbable. As for the Lemkian contracted *-e*, it might have developed either as a western extension of the general Ukrainian process (attested to since 1470 in Bukovina)¹⁹ or under the influence of the neighboring West Slavic languages which had carried out that contraction as early as the pre-literary times.

2. Most of the Lemkos, except for the southeastern ones on both sides of the mountains, have the instrumental singular of feminine gender in *-om* (*teplom vodom* 'with warm water,' etc.). This feature connects the Lemkos with the Dolynjany, by a very thin strip, though, between the upper Wiśłok/Vyslik and the lower Ośława/Oslava. Further to the northeast this ending stretches from the Wiar/Vihor to the east.²⁰ This ending is an evident

16 Klemensiewicz, pt. I, 1961, pp. 119, 149 (textual illustration); J. Stanisław, *Dejiny slovenského jazyka*, II, Bratislava, 1967, pp. 520–1.

17 Stieber, "Gwary ruskie na zachód od Oporu," map; idem, *Atlas...*, fasc. I, map 38, fasc. II, maps 75-6; Pan'kevych, *Ukrajins'ki hovory...*, map III; Dzendzelivsk'ij, pt. II, map 179; *Atlas ukrajins'koji movy*, vol. II, map 217.

18 Shevelov, p. 678.

19 Ibidem, p. 676.

20 Stieber, *Atlas...*, fasc. VIII, map 355; Pan'kevych, *Ukrajins'ki hovory...*, map 4; Latta, "Refleksy nosovyx v ukrajinskix govoraх Vostočnoj Slovakii," *Sborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského*, Philologica XIII, 1961, map; *Atlas gwar bojkowskich*, vol. VII, pt. 1, map 408; *Atlas ukrajins'koji movy*, vol., II, map 170.

polonism. It is characteristic that in the southern Lemko Region its scope coincides with that of the Lemko lexical polonism *pl'anthro* 'upper storey'.²¹ A Lemko form with the feminine *-om* ending was recorded for the first time in 1631 at Odrzechowa/Odrexova in the northeastern Lemko Region.²²

The abovementioned *pl'anthro* is particularly interesting for two reasons. Firstly, it reflects the Polish pronunciation of the *p'qηtro* type which reigned in Little Poland (Polonia Minor) until ca. 1550-60.²³ Secondly, it comes from such a period when some dialectal varieties of the Ukrainian language were still producing a secondary epenthetical *l* (of the type of the Dolynjany *žere-blá / žyryblá* 'colt,' the northeast Lemko and Dolynjany *zdorowl'a*, southeast Lemko *zdrawl'a* 'health' or central and eastern Lemko and Dolynjany *robl'at* 'they make, do').²⁴ This epenthesis does not appear in the adjacent Bojkian and Zemplin dialects. The secondary epenthesis is recorded in Ukraine since the 11th century but it assumed a broader scope in the mid-17th century.²⁵

If the scopes of *-om* and *pl'anthro* coincide in the southern Lemko region (the scope of *pl'anthro* in the north has unfortunately not been mapped), we have the right to assume that these polonisms are contemporary, i. e., from the period before the mid-16th century. But why, in such a case, are they phonetically different? The answer to this question in morphonology: the Old Polish — *q* ending was not appropriate to be adapted in the Ukrainian dialects in the — *am* form because it would have been in conflict with the already existing dative plural ending in *-am*. Therefore the — *q* was identified with the Ukrainian singular masculine-neuter instrumental ending in *-om*.

The preceding review of the characteristic systemic features of the Lemko dialect allows one to draw several basic conclusions concerning the origin of the Lemko dialect:

1. This dialect was finally formed just before the middle of the 16th century. (This does not mean that the Ukrainians had not settled down in the Lemko region earlier. The earliest attestation of a Lemko settlement comes from the eastern, i. e., originally Ukrainian, bank of the Jasiołka/Jaselka; it is *Hriczowawola* of 1363, non-existent under such a name any more in modern times.²⁶)

2. The broader scope of some typically Lemko phenomena on the Polish side of the border and the existence of some polonisms in the canon of the systemic features of the Lemko dialect demonstrate that the formation center of this dialect was on the northern side of the Carpathians.

21 Latta, "Refleksy nosovyx...", map.

22 Kernyc'kyj, p. 89.

23 Klemensiewicz, pt. II, p. 92.

24 Stieber, *Atlas...*, fasc. III, map 101, fasc. VI, map 274, fasc. VIII, map 366; *Atljas ukra-jins'koji movy*, vol. II, map 75.

25 Shevelov, pp. 71, 501.

26 Struminski, "Hovir lemkiw," p. 475.

3. Since the bulk of the Lemko dialect is either to the west of the old Little Polish-Galician border which ran along the Jasiołka/Jaselka and along the line extending its middle course to the south, towards the Carpathian range, or in the narrow belt between that border and the Oslawa/Oslava which originally constituted an unpopulated mountainous area, the question arises: whence did the Ukrainian population migrate to the present-day Lemko Region?

4. The existence of a dialectal gate of sorts between the Carpathians and the middle Oslawa/Oslava (the lack of the *-oj* innovation in this area) seems to suggest that the Ukrainian colonization to the present-day Lemko region went from the east precisely through this gate.

In order to indicate a specific point of departure of that settlers' wave, one has to go beyond the systemic features (which fail to indicate that point to us) and to turn to the somewhat risky field of lexical research. The very nature of vocabulary makes it impossible to map the multitude of its scopes. We can only rely on the words which just happened to have been mapped, and simultaneously in various areas at that.

Such words include the typically Lemko words (i. e., different than those among the nearest Ukrainian neighbors) *ščavij* 'sorrel' (*ščawnyk* among the Bojkos),²⁷ *odeža* / *odeza* 'clothing' (*od'iš*, *od'iňa*, *vodiw* among the Dolynjany and Bojkos)²⁸ and West Lemkian *veret'ilnyća* / *veretenyća* 'blindworm' (*veretennyk* further east).²⁹ Fortunately we know their geography also outside of the Lemko Region. We can find a common denominator only for the latter two words – both are used, inter alia, between the Vyškiv pass and the middle Limnycja river. So this area might be the site of the original habitation of the colonists who came to the present-day Lemko region. But the first word, *ščavij*, leads us as far as beyond the middle Seret river or to Podolia, to the middle-lower Dnister. Does this mean that we are dealing with two waves of settlers? At this stage of research we have to leave this question open.³⁰

27 Stieber, *Atlas...*, fasc. V, map 203; J. Zakrevs'ka, *Narysy z dijalektnoho slovtovoru v areal'nomu aspekti*, Kyiv, 1976, p. 117; *Atljas ukrajins'koji movy*, vol. I, 1984, map 83.

28 Stieber, *Atlas...*, fasc. I, map 39; *Atlas gwar bojkowskich*, vol. III, pt. 1, map 133.

29 Stieber, *Atlas...*, fasc. IV, map 154; *Atlas gwar bojkowskich*, vol. II, pt. 1, map 113.

30 In this paper I am abandoning my old positions on the question of the origin of the Lemkos (B. Strumiński, "Pro poxodžennja lemkiw z movoznavčoju točky bačennja," *Symbolae in honorem Volodymyri Janiw*, Ukrajin's'kyj Vil'nyj Universytet, Naukovyj zbirnyk, vol. X, Munich, 1983, pp. 839-48; and Strumiński, "Hovir lemkiw," pp. 472-83. In those works I attributed much importance to the agreement of Lemkian (*w*)*žyća* with the central Transcarpathian *ožyća* 'spoon' on the Tysa/Tisza river. Today I think that the Lemko form arose under the word-formative influence of the neighboring East Slovak *ližica* and the Tysa/Tisza form is a substratum relic of an old Slovak population which had once lived there and then was ukrainianized.

Jaroslav Moklak

The Phenomenon of The Expansion of Orthodoxy in the Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl: Missionary Activity of the Orthodox Church, 1918–1939

The growth of the Orthodox faith in the Przemyśl Greek Catholic diocese is an historical phenomenon with strong social and political content. From the moment that the Przemyśl Orthodox bishop Innocent Vynnytsky joined in the union with the Apostolic See (1691), the faith of the Eastern Christians of that diocese came under pressure. With passage of time the Catholic parts of the local religious faith were strengthened while at the same time some of the previous values were protected by conservatively oriented local people. As early as the 18th century documents in Roman Catholic records indicate that a few uniatic (Greek Catholic) parishes were inclined to schismatic thinking.¹

In the 19th century the Greek Catholic Church strengthened its position by taking part in the process of the formulation of modern Ukrainian nationalism, however, in many areas of Galicia an anti-Ukrainian tendency stood its ground which assisted those supporting orthodoxy. Exactly in the period of Russian occupation [in Galicia] (1914–1915) the strength of Greek Catholicism was tested and was found wanting. This is proven by the massive conversions to orthodoxy after the arrival of the Russian army in Galicia and the return to Greek Catholicism after the Russian retreat.²

Finding the reasons for more or less frequent conversions among Ukrainians of the Carpathians in the first half of the 20th c. depends on finding the answer to their religious understanding, just what was its underlying foundation which allowed for the change. How strong was the tradition of

1 See Archives of Metropolitan Curia of Cracow, collections: *Acta visitationis consistoria* and *Acta visitationis capituli*.

2 See E. Pelczynski, *Prawosławie w Galicji w świetle prasy rosyjskiej we Lwowie podczas inwazji 1914–1915*, Lwow, 1918 [Orthodoxy in Galicia in view of Russian press in Lviv during 1914–15 invasion].

the past, how strong was the belief about the necessity to “return” to orthodoxy and just what was immediately decisive, the missionary action of the Orthodox church or the activities of the Ukrainian national movement which was supported by the Greek Catholic church and not everywhere accepted at once. These questions oscillate between the values of both faiths, touch upon the basic religious moral and political values of the faithful.

The Orthodox church in interwar Poland continued the tradition of the Russian Church before 1917. In the first postwar years its clergy was basically Russian, its hierarchy was decidedly Russian too and this church was monarchistic and nationalistic in form and it hoped for the resurrection of the Russian Empire. Because of this, this church neither accepted the erection of an independent Polish state nor the fact of the existence of a Ukrainian nation. For the time being the Polish government issued “Temporary Rules” for the Orthodox Church which regulated church-state relations and sketched out the internal structure of the Orthodox church within Poland. The Belarus’ian and Ukrainian national movements, however, operated against the Russian model while the Russian minority stood in defense of the older Orthodox way of doing things. To be exact, a “Russian National Union” (Russkoye Narodnoye Obydiniennye-RNO) was founded, to this end, in March, 1928.

Seeing Orthodoxy as the foundation of “Holy Russia” the RNO attempted to defend Orthodoxy in its previous form and character. On the basis of a common ideology the metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in Poland (OC/P) Dionizy Valedynsky (Waledynski), decided to closely cooperate with RNO and even gave it his blessing.³

The RNO program was decidedly reactionary, it operated on the notion of an “Orthodox Nation” and a “Triple-Unitary Russian Nation” [consisting of Russian, Little Russian (Ukrainian) and Belarussian Peoples], and opposed any kind of change in structure or language of the church. RNO fought against any sort of national movements within Orthodoxy, first of all against the Ukrainian movement, which can be found in the annual meetings of the organization as well as in the Russian press.

It wasn’t by chance that the Warsaw metropolia and the RNO turned their attention to the terrain of the former Eastern-Galicia which had, on one hand, a complete religious structure (the Greek Catholic Church - GCC) but on the other an internal political differentiation. The 19thc. Moscovphil movement of Naumovych (Naumowicz) and Dobriansky (Dobrzanski) still had support in the region. A strongly Moscovphil association, the “Russian Peasants Organization” (Russka Selyanska Organizatsia-RSO), based in Lviv and independent of the RNO became very active on the basis of a strong ethnic Russian center and well developed and well organized branches.⁴

3 Woskriesnoje Cztjennje (Warsaw), Feb 13, 1927, p. 99. [Sunday Reading].

4 RSO (Russian Peasants Organization) developed from the Galicia-Russian National Organization in June 1928. See *Russkij Golos* (Lviv), vol. 1928, No. 258-9, p. 4. [The Russian Voice].

Researchers cannot help but notice a correlation between the desire of Metropolitan Dionizy to increase the power of the Orthodox Church in Poland and to activate the Russian minority, which still honored Tsarist values on the one hand, and the reorganization of the pro-Russian [pre-WWI] political party in South East Poland, as well as the mass conversions to Orthodoxy which fell in the second half of the 1920s, on the other. However, it is difficult to unequivocally state how close was cooperation between the metropolitan's circles and local RSO activists.⁵

It would seem that there did exist a permanent connection on the middle level between the RNO, RSO and the Metropolia. Certainly there was a common orthodox ground on which they could meet as well as a general Russian point of view which included honoring Russia and enmity towards the Ukrainian movement. Thus the RSO supported the development of Orthodoxy and among its agitators were among others, not only lay people but also even Greek Catholic clergy.⁶ This situation changed only in the 1930s.⁷

The southeast provinces of Poland became rather early objects of missionary activities of the Orthodox church. First urban areas were canvassed where garrisons were found with a certain percentage of orthodox soldiers and in which there were communities of Russian emigrants as well as Dnieper Ukrainians. As early as in January, 1921 the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education (Ministerstwo Wyznan Religijnych i Oswiecenie Publicznego-MWRiOP) examined the question of the religious needs of the civil orthodox population of Lviv in relation to the activities of the orthodox priest Victor Kozlovsky (Kozlowski).⁸ On June 15, 1923 Metropolitan Dionizy appointed him in writing the "civil and spiritual director of the Orthodox parish in Lviv."⁹ Two days earlier Dionizy informed the Ministry in writing of the formation of an orthodox parish in Przemyśl. Szymon Fedorenko, formerly a military chaplain, was appointed the parish priest and he also received permission to carry out pastoral activities outside of Przemyśl until new parishes were started.¹⁰ This decision, however, did not yet carry the force of law since it required government acceptance.

- 5 Archiwum Akt Nowych (Warsaw), AAN, Home Office (MSW), sign. 961, p. 229. Strong influence on the Orthodox church circles was manifested during the convention of the Orthodox clergy in Poczajow, 15 - 17 June, 1927. One of the problems of debates was how to strengthen the Russian character of the Orthodox church in Poland.
- 6 The clergy were mostly Old Russyns, but most active were priests of pro-Russian political views. One of the best known was Kyrylo Chaikovsky, the chief organizer of RSO structure in Jasło, Krosno and Sanok regions.
- 7 In mid 1930s RSO changed its attitude to the questions of religion, adopting a resolution of the necessity to reconcile religious controversies. See *Sprawy narodowosciowe* [Nationalistic Affairs] (Warsaw), vol. 1935, No. 6, p. 851.
- 8 The motion was supported by the Ministry for Military Affairs but rejected by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education (MWROP). In a letter to the Ministry for Military Affairs of April 1, 1921, it was explained that the foundation of Orthodox parishes on the area of Malopolska, in view of the valid laws, is legally impermissible. See AAN, MWROP, Sign. 1214, pp. 17-20.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 90. In May 1923 priest Szymon Fedorenko occupied the chapel of cemetery in Za-

In June, 1924, after consultations between representatives of MWRiOP and the Lviv provincial government, it was decided, because of the size of the Orthodox population of Lviv (about 2,000 people) that an orthodox parish ought to be founded. Also it was decided that a priest be selected who was acceptable to the Moscophils.¹¹ Any priest who might take advantage of his position for “Ukrainian party propaganda” would be immediately rejected.¹² [The government had to give permission for the establishment of a parish since the priest would become a state employee.] They decided not to establish a parish in Przemysl (for about 350 people) because they thought a second orthodox parish in the neighborhood was not necessary.¹³

The desire of Metropolitan Dionizy thus was satisfied. The state authorities which up until then had opposed the development of orthodoxy in Southeast Poland had recognized the existence of an orthodox parish in Lviv. The parish building in which the ordained orthodox Monk Pantaleimon Rudyk eventually settled and the church, on Franciscan Street, in which he carried out religious services, were also sought by the Orthodox metropolitan of Chernivci, Nektary Cotlarchuk, and the Greek Catholic Metropolitan, Andrei Sheptytsky. The monk, Rudyk, had been brought to Lviv by the Orthodox brotherhood named after the Pochaiv Mother of God Ikon.¹⁴ From the very beginning of its existence the Lviv orthodox center played an important role in the growth of orthodoxy in the Greek Catholic dioceses. At the end of the 1920s there even was a project within the Warsaw metropolia to establish an orthodox bishopric in Lviv.¹⁵

Besides the missionary activities of the Orthodox Church there existed within the Greek Catholic community internal reasons for encouraging conversion. The Greek-Catholic (GC) diocese of Przemysl, just as with other uniate provinces of the former Galicia, was the object of various political manipulations. The Przemysl diocesan GC clergy itself was divided into adherents to Ukrainian nationalism and those who were part of the Old Rus movement [which held the idea of the essential unity of the East Slavs]. This movement existed longer in the Przemysl region than any place else. This division was echoed in the parishes where the points of view of the parish priest and the parishioners were sometimes the same and sometimes in

sanie following the agreement with the commanding authorities of the 6th Regiment of Sappers, in whose control it remained.

11 AAN, MWROP, sign. 1217, p. 332.

12 Ibid., sign. 1214, p. 96.

13 The foundation of the Orthodox parish in Przemysl was opposed by bishop Jozef S. Pelczar, the ordinary of the Roman Catholic diocese, and the provincial government of Przemysl (Starostwo Przemyskie). See AAN, MWROP, sign. 1217, p. 332.

14 On Aug. 1, 1927, P. Rudyk together with the Orthodox Brotherhood members occupied several rooms in the parish building without the permission of Dmitris Topa, the administrator. There were protests raised against the incident by the Bukowina Orthodox Metropolia (the owner of the church before the war) but its effects proved permanent. See “Spor o cerkiew prawoslawna przy ul. Franciszkanskiej”, cited in *Słowo Polskie*, Vol. 1929, No. 95. [Conflict about the Orthodox church in the Franciszkanska street].

15 AAN, MSW, sign. 1038, Wiadomosci Ukrainskie [Ukrainian News], p. 56.

opposition. Conflicts between the two points of view were often played out on the background of economic and political issues which created emotional problems.¹⁶ More often than not these conflicts [Old Rus vs. Ukrainian orientation, political party activity supporting one or the other views and questions about what fees ought to be paid to G.C. clergy for their services] led to a rejection of the parish priest than to an understanding among the concerned parties. That situation encouraged outside interests to take advantage of local parish conflicts. Depending on the political sympathies of the opposing sides the pro-Russian or pro-Ukrainian forces could strengthen their influence. The GCC took part in these struggles from the very beginning and with the passage of time political view began to influence even the religious fundamentals of a part of the clergy. The events of WWI worsened the polarization of viewpoints. On the one hand the existence of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic strengthened the nationality current within the church while on the other hand the martyrdom of the Old Rus clergy and population in the years 1914-1917 [thousands died at the hands of Austro-Hungarian authorities] encouraged a pro-orthodox tendency.

The continuous evolution of the GCC in the direction of Ukrainian nationalism pushed to the side the parishes run by Old Rus priests. This differentiation really came out when the bishop sent a strongly Ukrainian priest to a parish of a different view. In a few deaneries [groups of parishes] of the Przemyśl diocese there were even sharp protests by Old Rus who more often than not thought about leaving the GCC.

The most immediate reason for conversion was liturgical in nature. People accustomed to a particular model of service would oppose priests who would skip over or change the word "pravoslavny" in the ritual [pravoslavny literally means *pravo* — "correct," *slavny* — "worship," a term also used to name the pravoslavna tserkiev or, in English, "Orthodox" church, thus one could mix up the term "correct worship" with a particular, non-GC, church]. In a few parishes the attachment to that [ancient, ritually used] word was so strong that it happened that if the parish priest used the term, for example at Christmas, then immediately relations with the parishioners would get better. One priest who did that wrote "...in order to make the people happy I chanted out the phrase 'vsich vas pravoslavnykh chrystyjan' [for all you true worshipping (Orthodox) Christians] and really the happiness because of that was so great that from that time on the people became sympathetic [towards me]..." despite my otherwise different party and national political feelings.¹⁷ This example leads one to question whether the conversions were really religious or were based on the breaking of tradition?

16 Wojewodzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (below in the text WAPK), Urząd Wojewódzki w Krakowie (UWKr), sign. 352, p. no number.

17 I. Polianskii, "The course of the argument about the word 'pravoslavny' (orthodox) in Tylawa and its consequences: The outbreak of religious schism in the Lemko Region" in *Visti Apostolskoi Administratsii Lemkovshchyny*, August, 1936, part 10, p. 148.

In the second half of the 19th c. the question of liturgical terminology caused quite an argument between the clergy and the laity and even within the clergy itself. Along with the process of nationalization of the church, which in the Western Ukraine accompanied the development of Ukrainian national identity, there was a step-by-step spread of the use in the liturgy of the word “pravovierny” [true believing] or even “Katolitski [Catholic] [in place of “pravoslavny”]. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries this process ran along with opposition to Russian orthodoxy which in the 1880s began trying to establish parishes in Galicia. By the beginning of the 20th c. a few centers were established in the Przemysl diocese.¹⁸

It is difficult to establish just why the liturgical question became so important. Probably it was necessary to develop a modern national identity in a majority of the clergy and the rather quick Ukrainization caused a backlash amongst the unprepared believers. As a result of the pro-Ukrainian political activity by the church some young priests removed the word “pravoslavny” from the liturgy, an action which was not supported by any canonical reason and in fact was opposed by specific decisions, by the Apostolic See on May 19, 1887 and the Lviv provincial Synod of bishops in 1891, which decisions clearly underlined that the deacon must chant to the believers “vsikh vas pravoslavnykh christian.”¹⁹

In the Fall of 1926 the first conversions to Orthodoxy took place. The first parish which practically in total left the GCC was the parish in Tylawa in Krosno county. The specific reason was that the local population would not accept the Ukrainian idea. Fear of the latinization of the Eastern rite encouraged the parishioners to protest against a priest who entered “novelties” into the liturgy, they thought of him as an outsider. Orthodoxy, just as it was before WWI, was an element of the propaganda of Russian and pro-Russian elements in Poland. Orthodoxy was presented as a vessel in which the old Rus traditions were preserved, a vessel which was seized upon by part of the GC community.

After Tylawa there were many other parishes and within a few years one could speak of a mass movement.

At about the same time as a statement of conversion to Orthodoxy was deposited with the government of Krosno county by the inhabitants of Tylawa [which statement was necessary for governmental purposes] the Orthodox Metropolitan of Warsaw was also duly informed. The converts officially requested of the Metropolitan, that he add them to the OCP.²⁰ The rapid

18 In 1882 the conversion included the village of Hnilice Male in Zbaraz district; in the years 1911–15 the Russian orthodoxy developed mainly in the districts of Gorlice and Jaslo. See: J. Moklak, “Aspekty polityczne zycia religijnego Ukraincow w Galicji. Ekspansja prawoslawia rosyjskiego” [Political aspects of religious life of Ukrainians. The expansion of the Russian Orthodoxy]. Cited in *Polska-Ukraina. 1000 lat sasiedztwa*, t. 1, *Studia z dziejow chrzescijanstwa na pograniczu etnicznym*, [Poland — Ukraine. 1000 years of neighbourhood, vol. 1, Studies on the history of Christianity on the ethnic borders regions], Przemysl 1990, pp. 199–206.

19 See *Czynnosci i postanowienia soboru prowincjonalnego w Galicji 1891* (Activities and resolutions of The Provincial Legislature in Galicia 1891), Lviv 1898, p. 170.

positive reaction of the Metropolitan indicates earlier preparation for such a step. In order to carry out the actual act of uniting the newly declared converts with the OCP Dionizy delegated the Lviv parish Monk-priest Rudyk who already had temporary authority to carry out pastoral duties for new converts.²¹ Only later did Metropolitan Dionizy inform MWRiOP about this [he had to inform the government because he could not by himself establish an official parish, the parish priest of an official parish was paid out of public funds]. He requested that the whole property of the GC parish in Tylawa be turned over to the OCP. The request was formulated thusly: "I have the honor to request of the Ministry the establishment of a Tylawa parish consisting of the villages of Tylawa and Trzciana along with associated churches, cemeteries, lands and parish building... the local people, without exception, have united with the OC."²² In January of 1927 Metropolitan Dionizy sent the Orthodox priest Mikhailo Ivasko from the diocese of Volhynia, to Tylawa. This was not accepted by the government.

In the Spring of 1927 conversions to the OCP reached unexpected proportions and included eight parishes of the GCC in the southwest part of the Przemysl diocese including 18 communities in the countries of Krosno, Grybow, Gorlice and Jaslo. On the 20th of October 1927 Dionizy wrote to the Ministry that "this movement has a completely natural character and is not caused by any stirring up to the population or special agitation and since it is taking on larger and larger dimensions it requires normalization and protection from church authorities,"²³ and he requested the establishment of orthodox religious teaching in public schools [public schools provided religious training for pupils in inter-war Poland].²⁴

On the 31st of October, 1927, the OCP held a Synod of bishops which concerned itself with the development of an orthodox administration for southern Poland. It was stated that it was necessary to regulate pastoral activities and that legal parishes ought to be established so the civil registry activities and religious training could take place [which activities could be paid for by the state]. Based on the fourth article of the "Temporary Rules" the Synod requested that MWRiOP establish nine orthodox parishes according to the list presented by the Warsaw conservatory.²⁵ The Synod also proposed the priest Iwasko (of Russian nationality) as the Dean [Director] of the proposed group of orthodox parishes.²⁶

20 AAN, MWROP, sign. 1043, p. 3.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., p. 37.

24 Ibid., pp. 3-9, 37-8.

25 The list of the parishes included: Tylawa, Mszana, Polany, Krolowa Ruska, Czarne, Wolowiec, Radocyna, Swiatkowa Wielka and Dosznica. The list also included the names of priests who would administer the parishes. See AAN, MWROP, sign. 1043, pp. 63-5.

26 Ibid., p. 64.

After the Synod there was, on December 17, 1927, a meeting of delegates from the Orthodox communities in Lviv. Representatives from the diocese of Warsaw-Chelm, priests from a number of places, and lay propagators of orthodoxy (Mykhailo Kopchak, Mykhailo Homyk, Petro Shafran and others) took part. The meeting unanimously resolved to support the Synod's project about the establishment of parishes as well as the turning over of GC property to the OCP. Further, the meeting demanded the liquidation of GC parish government activities and the removal of GC priests from the newly orthodox communities. The argument for this was to: "completely pacify the local orthodox population."²⁷ The meeting resolutions were sent to MWRiOP through the intermediary of the civil chancery of the President of Poland.²⁸

Just like the Synod and this meeting, converts began sending petitions to the President. This activity was started by orthodox from the villages of Krolowa Ruska and Bogusza in Grybow county. The petitions requested the legalization of "all newly established orthodox parishes on the terrain of Malopolska."²⁹ Practically every petition included declarations of loyalty to the state.³⁰ The reaction of the national government was at first hesitant. Reports from county and province officials indicated that in many communities orthodox priests sent by the Metropolia were active but without the agreement of government authorities and these reports were mainly negative. Nevertheless in the last days of December MWRiOP decided to establish new orthodox centers in Poland.

After extensive consultation with local authorities the Ministry recognized the permanent character of orthodoxy in a number of places and informed Metropolitan Dionizy of this decision in writing on February 15, 1928. Three branches of the Lviv parish were established in Desznica (including Swiakowa Wielka, Swiatkowa Mala, Swierzowa Ruska and Desznica itself); in Czarne (Wolowiec, Neznajowa, Lipna, Czarne) in Radocyna (Radocyna and Dlugie) as well as a branch in Bogusza of the Piotrkow near Lodz orthodox parish, which included Krolowa Ruska. Later, due to the late arrival of the report from the governor of Lviv province, MWRiOP legalized, on April 28, 1928, branch churches of the Lviv parish in Tylawa and Mszana. At the same time regular [state paid] church positions/jobs were established. For each full parish one full-time paid position for a priest and one for a psalmist and for a branch, the same.³¹ The way to get into these posi-

27 Ibid., p. 68.

28 Ibid., p. 68–9.

29 Ibid., pp. 72, 92, 114.

30 We, the undersigned, hereby declare our loyalty and obeisance to Her Majesty Republic of Poland and Her Government (Bogusza, Krolowa Ruska — Dec. 6, 1927). The Russian Orthodox people has never hitherto given and shall never give any evidence of distrust towards the Polish State that have been and still are given by the followers of the uniate clergy of Ukrainian orientation. Therefore we hereby declare our loyalty and obeisance to the Polish State. (Wilsznia, Olchowiec, Ropianka — Dec. 10, 1927). See AAN, MWROP. Sign. 1043, pp. 91, 113.

31 Ibid., p. 162.

tions were regulated by the “Temporary Rules”. Candidates were nominated by the Metropolitan but final selection was in the hands of the state which made sure that there existed a positive opinion about the political reliability of each candidate, which fit the Polish *raison d'état*.³²

The establishment of the OCP required regulating property question. The new converts thought that local GC property ought to automatically be transferred to them. The Warsaw metropolitan was of the same opinion. However, this had no basis in law because all relations with the GCC were regulated by the Concordat of 1925. Conversion to Orthodoxy was an act of the will of the converts and it did not carry with it any property thus the GCC parishes still existed legally. As opposed to the above, the Orthodox, often encouraged by their priests and sometimes with their active support often illegally occupied church buildings. Sometimes this disturbed the peace and caused conflicts which required calling out the police. The first of this type of occurrence happened in Tylawa in July 1927.³³

From the beginning of the 1930s enthusiasm for Orthodoxy markedly lowered. This was caused not only by missionary work of the GCC³⁴ but also by increasing economic problems. Particularly burdensome was supporting priests carrying out illegal pastoral activities. The state budget only paid salaries to priests and psalmists registered with the Ministry. In some communities it was necessary to build a church or a temporary building, a so-called “czasowni” because the occupation of GCC property never was permanent. It did happen that there was some financial help from America but it was not enough and the main burden had to be borne by local people.

The slowing down of conversions caused a reaction from the leaders of the OCP. In 1931 the bishop of Krzemieniec Szymon visited the Lemko Region (Lemkovyna). His visitation took place under the slogan of “300 years of religious enslavement of Lemko” and it was prepared by activists from RSO.³⁵ In May 30, 1933 a meeting of OC clergy from the counties of Jaslo, Gorlice and Sadecki took place in Radocyna in the county of Grolice. They

32 AAN, MWROP, sign. 1081. Personal dotations, 1928–1932, p. (No pagination). Following the instructions of MWROP the county authorities produced references for the candidate to the positions of rectors of the Orthodox parishes branches proposed by the Metropolitan authorities in Warsaw.

33 The action in Tylawa was started by the so-called womens raid initiated by the provoked women. The idea of the agitators was that the assailants sex would protect them against criminal responsibility. See A. Kruhelsky, *Tyliavska schizma na lemkiwszczyni*, Lviv, 1933. Most actively involved in the attempts of illegal taking he possession of the Greek-Catholic property were priests M. Ivaskov, M. Hrycai and M. Dolnytsky.

34 The Greek-Catholic Ordinary authorities in Przemysl ran missionary activities to consolidate the Catholic values among the communities in the subordinate parishes from the very beginning of the Orthodox development. The main burden of these responsibilities rested with the clergy working in the centers of the strongest Orthodox movement. They were supported by bishops: Iosafat Kocylovsky and Hryhorii Khomyshyn (Chomyszyn). Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and father Klemens Szeptycki, superior of the Studite order were also against the propagation of Orthodoxy at the cost of the Greek Catholics. In the late 1930s the Studites established their center in Florynka (Nowy Sacz region) which influenced the western decanates of the Przemysl diocese.

35 Beskyd, (Przemysl), Vol. 1931, No. 12, p. 5.

decided to change the relationship with the GCC by not carrying on more pro-orthodox agitation in GC parishes and to limit themselves only to voluntary individual conversions.³⁶

The question of orthodoxy in the GC diocese of Przemysl was connected with the nationality policy of the Second Republic [of Poland]. The quick development of orthodoxy in the late 20s and early 30s had an influence on the number of Catholics of the eastern rite, weakening the Ukrainian national potential in the Cracow and Lviv provinces because the orthodox population resisted the Ukrainian idea. This corresponded to the nationality policy of the state, in the middle 30s, which policy was to assimilate Ukrainian communities separated from center of Ukrainian culture and political life.

In regard to the Lemko region there was a plan called the "Pro-state adaptation of Lemkos" in which the orthodox faith played an important part. The religious elements in the nationality policy are reflected in the reaction of local authorities who tolerated illegal orthodox activities or who easily gave permission for the building of "czasowni" even without the necessary documentation. One ought to point out, though, that at the same time the authorities protected GCC property and demanded that Dionizy recall priests involved in starting conflicts, breaking into GC churches, theft of liturgical objects, etc. The Polish state on the one side acted according to the agreement, found in the Concordat with Vatican, about protecting the Catholic faith but on the other side it clearly wished to actualize its nationality policy towards Ukrainians.³⁷

Assimilation through religion required particularly careful steps from the side of the state. First of all, the under-taking was built on the real ground of social views. Often the idea of a separate bishopric for Lemko Region was put forward in the community of GC-starorusyns. More than once the Ruska Agrarna Orhanizacija-RAO (the Rus Agrarian Organization)³⁸ tightly bound with the Partyless Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (Bezpartyjny Blok Wspolpracy z Rzadem-BBWR) raised the issue. The idea of a separate bishop for the Lemkos was born in the anti-Ukrainian mood of the Old Rus people and it was brought to reality in government circles carrying out the nationality policy of the state.³⁹ The argument about the growth of orthodoxy, which by the beginning of the 1930s didn't correspond

36 WAPK, UWKr, Sign. 279, p. 234.

37 AAN, Prezydium Rady Ministrow [The Cabinet], sign. 148-3, p. 76. The questions of religious matters in the State policy, including ways of using the Orthodoxy for assimilation purposes, were discussed at the 5th Assembly of the Committee for Nationality Affairs in Warsaw, Dec. 20, 1935. One of the resolutions then adopted was: The Orthodox Church should become a tool facilitating the introduction of the Polish culture in the Eastern Provinces. See J. A. Stepek, "Polish Action on Lemko Region", cited in *Libertas*, (Warsaw), Vol. 1988.

38 RAO was founded on the base of the Rus Agrarian Party formed in 1927 by a Old Rus group loyal towards the Polish Republic, under the leadership of Mykhailo Bachynsky.

39 W. Wielhorski, *Program polskiej polityki na Lemkowszczyźnie* [manuscript], Warszawa [Program of Polish policy toward Lemko Region, Warsaw, Nov. 1933] cited in AAN, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sign. 5219, p. 16. Wielhorski presented a project of establishing a separate bishopric for the Lemkos, with the seat in Krynica.

to reality, rather easily convinced Vatican circles to establish a separate church province for Lemko Region which would be erected at the cost of the southwestern deaneries of the GC diocese of Przemyśl.⁴⁰

The establishment of the Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region (AAL) influenced the renewal of orthodox missionary work. On March 8, 1934 there was a meeting of Orthodox missionaries in Dosznica (Jasło county) under the leadership of Filotei Narko from Lviv during which the question of a vicar bishop for Lemko Region was raised.⁴¹ In the second half of May 1935, at a meeting of the Missionary Committee of the Warsaw-Chelm diocese under the chairmanship of Metropolitan Dionizy a decision was reached about a fundamental modification of the organizational structure of the OCP in the southeast provinces. The whole area was divided into two parts, the east Galicia one, including the Diocese of Przemyśl in its new form, under the leadership of archimandrite F. Narko and the Lemko Region which covered the AAL under the leadership of the priest Hryhorii Pavlyshyn, the head of the orthodox branch in Czarne.⁴²

Despite the strong support from the Warsaw metropolitan this decision did not assist in reviving the pro-orthodox movement and in fact marked the end of its development. Up to 1939 the number of orthodox believers recruited from GCC parishes wavered around 17,000 people.⁴³

In summing up, the phenomenon of the growth of orthodoxy in the parishes of the GC diocese of Przemyśl in the years 1918-1939 we may draw the following conclusions:

1. Conversion occurred in parishes in which a significant portion of parishioners sympathized with the Old Rus and Moscovophil movements.
2. There was a strong bond between the religious feelings of the believers and their local traditional culture.
3. The immediate reason for conversion was connected with the traditional eastern liturgy and most tightly with the word "pravoslavny."
4. Conversions were inspired by Russian activists and Russian political parties with an anti-Ukrainian program.
5. Missionary activities were carried out by clergy of the OCP.
6. Conversions caused an intensification of pastoral activities by GCC clergy but they didn't take into account the delayed development of Ukrainian national identity among the Lemkos.

The 1928 administrative structure of the OC in southern Poland was actually only readjusted during WWII.⁴⁴ In the previous interwar period there existed only the Lviv and Piotrkow parishes and their branches. Beyond

40 The Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region was established by the decree *Quo aptius consularet* issued by the Apostolic See on Feb. 10, 1934. It covered 118 parishes with 138045 believers. The first administrator was Vasył Mastsiuch.

41 Oriens (Cracow), Vol. 1934, pp. 55-6.

42 Ibid., Vol. 1935, pp. 116-8.

43 AAN, MSZ, sign. 2864, p. 84.

44 See *Prawosławny cerkowno-narodny Kalendar na rok 1941*, Warsaw 1941.

that Metropolitan Dionizy established a number of Orthodox centers not recognized by the state.⁴⁵

The orthodoxy which developed from members of the GCC, with the passage of time, obtained a permanent social position. Despite the change in political attitudes of the Ukrainian people of the western Carpathians, the Orthodox Church remains part of the Ukrainian national minority in Poland.

Translated from the Polish text by Paul J. Best

45 Dilo, (Lviv), Vol. 1934, No. 247, p. 2.

Anna Krochmal

The Greek Catholic Church And Religious "Sects" In The Lemko Region 1918–1939

Religious affairs in the Lemko Region in modern times have not been studied to any great extent. In fact it has been only in the last few years that any great interest has been shown in this area of research. Up to now whatever's been done has only referred to Catholic-Orthodox relations. Mutual confrontation of cultures and nationalities in the Lemko Region actually encouraged the development of new religious connections, new religious sects. This situation became visible particularly in the 20th century when Lemko Region and its conservative inhabitants found themselves under strong external pressures from Polish state authorities, the Warsaw Orthodox Metropolis and the Ukrainian communities from the dioceses of Przemyśl and Lviv began to be interested in the Lemkos. Also contacts widened with North America because of the continually increasing emigration of locals for the purpose of making money, a movement which began in the 19th century. The breaking of the long-term isolation as well as a crisis in the Greek Catholic church in the years immediately after WWI allowed for the spread of new ideologies amongst the native population.

The aim of the present discussion is to present the origin and development of religious sects in the Lemko Region, to outline the characteristics of particular groups and next to indicate the views of the Greek Catholic Church concerning this problem.

First, however, we must explain the use of the word "sect," it refers to religious communities popularly thought to "sects" in the period between-the-wars. In later years some of these have been recognized as officially active churches. According to a religious encyclopedia published in 1930 a sect is a religious community which arises due to a negation or protest against religion as it is now organized and its external manifestations.¹ A contemporary definition would add that a sect is characterized by such

1 Piekarski, S., "Prawdy i herezje." *Encyklopedia wierzeń wszystkich ludów i czasów* (The Truths and Heresies.) *Encyclopaedia of Creeds of All Peoples and Times* Warszawa 1930, p. 372.

traits as adherence to the bible, strict ethics, spontaneity, anti-institutional tendencies and a strong lay element.²

The basic source for this paper is archival materials found in the Polish State Archives in Przemyśl and Cracow. These materials include parish visitation records from the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Przemyśl, documents from the Apostolic Administration of Lemko Region as well as official county government reports dealing with religious relations in the Lemko Region. Some information also comes from press reports of the period.

Activities of religious sects in the Lemko Region in the years 1918-1939 were not something new. A few of these sects appeared already before WWI. The reasons for their advance after the war were many. In order to better understand what occurred a few words must be said about the situation of the Greek Catholic Church. Military activities during the years 1914-1918 caused a lot of destruction in the various parishes, many churches themselves and related buildings were burned down or devastated. Even at the end of the 1920s there were places where religious services were held in provisional buildings.³ Even greater were the psychological losses of the population. The war period caused the loss of priests and parish activities ceased. Many of the local clerics, who had been involved in the Russophil movement before the war, were interned in the Thalerhof concentration camp [near Graz, in Tyrol, in southern Austria].⁴ According to the opinion of Greek-Catholic Church clergy there was a moral collapse among the faithful which was the source of religious indifference, a basis for leaving the church or even the reason for taking on anti-church opinions. Communism, agrarian socialism (Selrobism) and sectarian movements were counted among these anti-church opinions.

The massive mixing together of people caused by military activity also assisted in the spreading about of new ideas. Those who returned to their parishes from Russia or Western Europe often carried new ideas. A very important role was played by labor migrants to North America and remigration to Poland. A powerful emigration movement from the former Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia existed from the last quarter of the 19th c.

In the period between the wars the main wave of outflow came from southeast provinces. The latest research about immigration from Poland to Canada in the 1918-1939 period shows that the largest number of people came from the Tarnopol province (about 25%) while in second place came the Lviv province which took in the Greek Catholic diocese of Przemyśl.⁵ In the period of an increased wave of emigration, that is 1926-1938, in the whole number of 115,841 immigrants from Poland to Canada 41,113 were

2 Słownik teologiczny (Theological Dictionary), ed. A. Zuberbier, Vol. 2, Katowice 1989, p. 234.

3 *Schematism of Greek-Catholic Church*.

4 *Talerhofskij Almanach*, Lvov, 1930.

5 Reczynska, A. *Emigracja z Polski do Kanady w okresie międzywojennym* (Emigration from Poland to Canada in the inter-war period), Wrocław, 1986, p. 58..

Greek Catholics; 39,953 Roman Catholics; 10,703 Orthodox 6,266 Evangelicals; 16,169 Jews and 1,637 others.⁶ Polish authorities did not attempt to prevent this but rather especially supported emigration of Greek-Catholics which would on the one hand solve the problem of overpopulation and unemployment and on the other would change the national character of the Southeastern provinces since the decisive majority of Greek-Catholics declared themselves as Ukrainians. The increased contacts with North America caused an inflow of printed tracts and books as well as of missionaries of various religious sects.⁷

Next to the results of war and emigration the struggle between the Greek Catholic clergy and the faithful over Orthodoxy also assisted the spread of sectarianism. This struggle brought about a violent outbreak in 1926, the so-called Tylawa schism. As is shown from an analysis of sources from the end of the 1920s there was an increase in membership in existing sects. Beyond that new sect were founded in many places.

Generally speaking in the years 1918-1939 in the area of Lemko deaneries [groups of parishes] the following sects were active: Seventh Day Adventists, Researchers of the Holy Scripture, Baptists (Evangelical Christians), the National Church, Mennonites and Stundists [a type of Baptist]. All these sects were involved in some way with protestantism with the exception of the National Church which was a sect of Catholicism. The basics of these religions were close to those of Lutheranism or Calvinism.

The most active and best organized were the Researchers of the Holy Scripture which spread around their ideas in the periodicals *Straznica* and *Zloty Wiek*.⁸ The basis of their faith was independent study of the Holy Scripture, they recognized no sacraments or external manifestations of the faith. Every new member of the sect underwent a new baptism. The first units of Researchers of the Holy Scripture in the Przemysl diocese began functioning before WWI. In the interwar period strong units of the sect existed in the Gorlice and Jaslo deanery, all of which were founded by emigrants from North America.⁹

The second rather widely distributed sect in the Lemko Region was the Baptist group which was also known as Evangelical Christianity which was divided, in Poland in the interwar period, into two national groups: the Union of Baptist Congregations of the German Language and the Union of Slavic Baptist Congregations.¹⁰ The second had the aim of recruiting members from the Orthodox and Catholic churches. The basic religious ideas of

6 Ibid., p. 72.

7 Archiwum Panstwowe w Przemyslu (State Archives in Przemysl) (further : APP) Apostolska Administracja Lemkowszczyzny (The Apostolic Administration of Lemko Region) (further: AAL) 1934-46, pp. 266-7.

8 Grelewski, S., *Wyznania protestanckie i sekty religijne w Polsce wspolczesnej* (Protestant Religion and Religious Sects in Contemporary Poland), Lublin 1937, p. 661.

9 APP Jaslo district 1918-39, Sign. 18, p. 130; Gorlice district 1918-39, Sig. 3, pp. 364, 393, 401.

10 Grelewski, S., op. cit., p. 525..

Baptists were quite similar to Calvinism. A characteristic of the sect was baptism of adult persons only by means of one time full body immersion in water. Many Baptist centers existed in the Gorlice deanery. Starorusyni [followers of the idea of a common East Slavic nationality] made up the bulk of membership in the Baptist sect — they had left Greek Catholicism for Orthodoxy but because of conflicts with other newly converted orthodox they joined the Baptists.¹¹

Quite similar to the Baptists were the Stundists, a sect which arose in the second half of the 19th c. in Russia because of the influence of protestantism on the Orthodox Church.¹² Stundism appeared in the Lemko Region along with people returning from Russia after WWI. Rather less active were the Seventh Day Adventists who were also called Sobotniki [Saturdayists] from the day on which they celebrated their services — Saturday — in place of Sunday. There also were a few Mennonite in the Lemko Region. Both sects practiced baptism of adult persons. A characteristic of Adventists was the waiting for the Second Coming of Christ an idea they propagated in their periodicals *Znaki Czasu* (Signs of the Times) and *Sluga Zboru* (Servant of the Congregation).¹³ They were active in the Gorlice and Sanok deaneries.¹⁴

Mennonites who settled in Galicia at the end of the 18th c. were tolerated in the interwar period by state authorities and they were allowed to carry out official civil registry activities [recording births, deaths, marriages, baptisms] and a few even achieved high government positions. The best organized was the Lviv community which ran a cultural organization called “Mennonit” and which issued a periodical *Mennoitisches Gemeindeblatt*¹⁵. In the Lemko area Mennonite communities existed in the Sanok deanery.¹⁶

In the Jaslo, Krosno and Muszyna deaneries a few believers in the National Church were active.¹⁷ This church while organized on the model of the Catholic church rejected the primacy of the Pope and the dogma of Papal infallibility. The clergy of the National Church were not required to be celibate.

11 APP Gorlice district, Sig. 3, p. 393.

12 The name of the sect comes from the hour of meditation (Gebetsstunde) added to ordinary services and devoted to reading and meditation of the Holy Scriptures as well as the priests sermon and congregation singing hymns.

13 Grelewski, S., op. cit., p. 634.

14 APP Archives of Greek-Catholic Bishopric in Przemyśl (further: ABGK), Sign. 6607, Materiały do schematyzmu biskupstwa greckokatolickiego i dla potrzeb Akcji Katolickiej (Materials for the schematism of the Przemyśl bishopric and for the needs of the Catholic Operation), 1931; Gorlice district, Sig. 3, pp. 251, 374.

15 Grelewski, S., op. cit., p. 513.

16 APP AAL, Sign. 148, Stan dusz w parafiach według wyznań w roku 1935 i 1936, (Members of parishes according to religion in the years 1935 and 1936), p. 93.

17 The founder was Franciszek Hodur, ordained Catholic priest in 1895 in Scranton (Pennsylvania, USA), two years later departed from the Catholic Church. His followers appeared in Poland in 1919, the first Hodur followers missions were formed on the area of former Galicia.

The number of followers of each sect, within the boundaries of Lemko parishes, was in no place large. Generally from 10-20 people to a few dozen were all there were. In a few parishes there were only one sectarian.¹⁸ To exactly figure out how many people belonged to which sect is not possible due to the incomplete nature of the data. Beyond that practically every year had different numbers. The reason for this was the recruitment of new members, the return of some to a previous belief, the frequent change of residence and the travels abroad of leaders which often caused the collapse of a sect. Greek-Catholics, Roman Catholics and Orthodox became sect members. On the basis of material available it is difficult to say whether any of these groups was particularly susceptible to recruitment from sectarians.

The Greek Catholic church, which had its own troubles in the post war period, at first did not react to the development of a sectarian movement. Attention was turned to this only when a mass conversion of Lemkos to Orthodoxy occurred. The many conflicts between Greek Catholics and Orthodox after 1926 lowered the authority of the Greek Catholic church and her clergy. Struggles over church buildings, arguments between believers and priests about material things, specifically over payment for religious activities caused an exodus from both the Catholic and Orthodox churches to sects. There were also occurrences of the opposite — there were conflicts within a sect and people returned to their original faith, for example in 1931 in the town of Szymbark because of a misunderstanding between Adventists, part of that group's membership returned to the Greek Catholic Church.¹⁹

At the end of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s there occurred an activation of sectarian activities especially in Gorlice county. In 1930–32 there was an important increase in the number of Baptists in Bednarka, Bodaki, Mecina Wielka, Pstrazne, Rozdziele and Wapienne.²⁰ In 1931 in Ropica Ruska and Wapienne there was a ceremonial baptism of Baptists. This was carried out by missionaries from Waldorf, Krynica Zdroj and Srednica who had permission given by the Warsaw Committee of the Union of Evangelical Christians/Baptists.²¹ A similar ceremony took place in 1935 in the village of Bodaki in which 20 people took part.²² Baptists started agitation among the Lemko people promising, among other things, financial help for signing up with the sect.

Activities aiming at obtaining new members were also taken up by Researchers of the Holy Scripture. Particular activity took place in 1930–33 in the Villages of Olping, Pielgrzymka, Swiatkowa Wola and Wola Cieklin-

18 AAP AAL, Sign. 148, pp. 1, 32, 33, 40, 47, 93.; ABGK, Sign. 6607, *Materialy do schematyzmu* (Materials for the schematism)

19 APP Gorlice district, Sign. 3, p. 374.

20 Ibid. pp. 393, 401, 406, 533.

21 Ibid. pp. 374, 360.

22 Ibid. p. 533.

ska.²³ The reason for the growth of the sect was a struggle between Greek Catholics and Orthodox which caused "religious indifferentism and a tendency to atheism"²⁴. Researchers of the Holy Scripture had their (placowki) in 6 Lemko deaneries: Gorlice, Grybow, Dukla, Dynow, Krosno and Muszyna.

From the end of the 1920s the National Church tried to extend its territorial reach. Periodicals from North America *Ameryka Echo* and *Gwiazda Polarna* (Polar Star) began to appear in Lemko parishes, encouraging joining the National Church.²⁵ In 1935 a priest from the National Church in Canada appeared in the villae of Zarzecze and he was put under observation by the county government in Jaslo, however no agitation among the locals was detected.²⁶

It became clear that the Greek Catholic Church had to take a stand against the quick development of sectarianism and the spread of orthodoxy both of which were creating considering difficulties in the parishes. The religious situation in the Lemko Region caused the Greek Catholic Bishop of Przemyśl, Iosafat Kotsylovsky, to issue a circular pastoral letter in 1932. In this letter he indicated that the activities of orthodoxy were against the Greek Catholic churches as were also those of sectarians and atheists. These activities caused an economic crisis and an impoverishment of the people.²⁷ In regard to sectarian propaganda the bishop wrote: "Exactly when money is most needed to bring assistance to starving people many people suddenly appear who give every penny to printing sectarian periodicals and books which they send to the villages without charge and with inordinate speed set up sectarian congregations and with great audacity attack the church."²⁸

In a latter part of the letter Kotsylovsky called upon the faithful to tighten their spiritual connections with the clergy and the whole Catholic family whose head is the Holy Father. He also recommended prayers for those who left the unity of the Catholic Church. The view of the bishop and the whole of the Greek Catholic clergy about the sectarian problem was the same. Sects upset the peace of the parishes, they destroyed the unity of belief by propagating false ideas as well as casting aspersions on the authority of the Greek Catholic Church. One priest wrote "It all begins with the sending of brochures and pamphlets to our villages. In them are attacks on the Catholic faith, the clergy and the hierarchy. They hardly recognize any sacraments, neither religious services nor church holy days and they reject the saints and cast down the honor of the Mother of God."²⁹ In a particular-

23 APP Jaslo district, Sign. 18, pp. 183, 238; Sign. 19, p. 69.

24 Ibid. Sign. 18, p. 110.

25 Ibid. Sign. 33, p. 35.

26 Ibid. Sign. 18, p. 130.

27 Przemyśl Diocese News, 1932, No. X – XI, p. 94.

28 Ibid..

29 APP AAL, Sign. 118, Zjazdy dekanalne (Soborczyki) dekanatu: bukowskiego, dukielskiego, dynowskiego, gorlickiego i grybowskiego 1935-44 (Meetings of deaneries of: Bukowsko, Dukla, Dynow, Gorlice and Grybow, in the years 1935-44, p. 271.

ly negative way, the leaders of the sects were described as "paid agents of protestantism" or "fallen people."³⁰ It was underlined that these were foreign elements amongst the local population, people who took advantage of conflicts between the clergy and believers as well as the lack of religious understanding of the majority of the parishioners. The Greek Catholic clergy did not indicate that the sects were the only or even the most important threat in the parishes. The biggest reason for an inimical attitude toward the Greek Catholic church was always the spread of Orthodoxy and in second place came radical movements (communism, selrobism) and atheism.³¹ In any case, all sects were treated in the same way without differentiating which was more and which one less dangerous. In many cases the clergy did not know the particulars, hardly differentiating one sect from another.

The question of what methods to use to overcome the sectarian movement was an issue at many deanery clergy meetings (Soborczyki), among others at the soborczyk of the Bukowsko deanery in Sekowa Wola in 1935 and at the Soborczyki of the Gorlice deanery in Krzywa and Rychwald in 1937.³² During these meetings an analysis of reasons for the spreading of sects was attempted. It was declared that in parishes where the priest worked hard, whose life was an example and who got the confidence of the believers then the sects had no chance of getting started because their propaganda wouldn't find an echo among the inhabitants. On the other hand, in places where there already were sectarian groups the priest ought to struggle with them with great patience and balance. First of all he must find out exactly what the belief of a given sect is as well as the manner of living and character of each of its adherents.³³ The parish clergy were ordered not to be aggressive and not to make fun of the religious beliefs of their enemies, rather to protect the believers by raising their religious consciousness.³⁴ A lay apostolate was to help the clergy in this work, and this was to be carried out through "Catholic Action," something initiated by Pope Pius XI in the 1930s. The Action was to raise up the religious life of the believers, renew morality and family life and to stand as a barrier to the spread of sects and anti-church movements. One hundred thirty-three Greek Catholic priests from the whole diocese (Lemko Region included) took part in establishing Catholic Action in Przemyśl in September 1934.³⁵

Many missions and days of recollection were organized in the Lemko Region at that time in order to counter departures from the Greek Catholic Church.³⁶ The majority of them were carried out by the Redemptorist

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid. p. 315.

32 Ibid. pp. 307–310, 315.

33 Ibid. p. 34, 309.

34 Ibid. p. 35.

35 Catholic Mission in September 4–7, 1934 in Przemyśl, Peremyszl 1934.

36 APP AAL, Sign. 128, Misje 1935 1939, Sign. 129, Misje i rekolekcje 1935 1941. (Missions and retreats).

Order. Lemkos of both the Greek Catholic and Orthodox variety took part in large numbers in these activities and a few sectarians returned to the Greek church as well as a few Orthodox, in sum the mission temporarily helped the situation.³⁷

The success of the battle against sectarianism depended on the very people themselves. Greek Catholic believers reacted in different ways to the "Religious novelties" which appeared in their parishes. A part of them were open to the influence of the sects particularly in parishes where there were conflicts with the priest or the priest neglected his obligations. In other cases there was rejection or even a certain aggressiveness against the outsiders. In general sectarians were accused of dishonestly seeking out adherents, for example by promises of financial gain. This was based on the fact that the majority of the sects and their publications were financed by foreign organizations from North America or Western Europe. Agitation carried out by members of sects sometimes called forth considerable enmity, for example, the county government did not allow the Researchers of the Holy Scripture to run a service in Olpina because the danger to persons and property. The population of the village would not allow such a religious practice to take place threatening the flow of blood.³⁸ The dominant opinion was that adherents of religious sects were people without religious understanding or immoral people who disturbed the peace of parish life and for that reason pulled away from Catholic society.³⁹

If we may sum up the activities of religious sects in the Lemko Region we may say that they were too small in number to be of a threat to the Greek Catholic church. Despite the mass conversions of Lemkos to the Orthodox Church, Greek Catholics dominated in numbers (in 1935 there were 17,500 Orthodox and about 127,200 Greek Catholics). The sects were marginal in relation to the Catholic-Orthodox struggle. That doesn't mean however that they were ignored because in connection with other problems they caused many difficulties for priests and made difficult parish work. Many of those recruited to the sects from the Greek Catholic Church after a certain time returned to Catholicism. The reason for this was infatuation with the sectarian doctrine or in other cases with the specifics of a given parish. The occurrence of sectarianism in a given place usually signaled the fact of poor pastoral work of the clergy and it mobilized the priests to more active work.

Particularly effective against sectarian activities was the "Catholic Action" movement of the 1930s which raised the whole level of religious feeling not only among the clergy but also among the Party. At deanery soborczyks the question of further education of parishioners was brought up, which caused the clergy to become more interested in religious activities and secu-

37 APP AAL, Sign. 128, p. 11; Sign. 129, pp. 6, 22.

38 APP Jaslo district, Sign. 19, p. 238.

39 .APP AAL, Sign. 118, p. 272.

lar problems. The clergy was mobilized to place more attention on catechetical work and family matters.

Despite some improvement, the question of sectarian activity in the Lemko Region was not settled in the inter-war period. Changes in the religious and national situation in Poland after WWII didn't put a stop to these activities either. A few groups became legal churches and the stand-point of the Catholic Church *vis-à-vis* sects changed after the Vatican II Church Council. The October 1985, so-called, "Vatican Report" suggested that sects not be seen as dangerous to the Church but rather a matter of pastoral activity.⁴⁰ However [in Poland] they are not treated as Christian communities and no ecumenical discussions are taking place with them. Nevertheless, on the basis of human rights, everyone is recognized as having the right to his or her religious views.

Translated from the Polish text by Paul J. Best

40 bp. Z. Pawłowicz, "Sekty — problem i wyzwanie" (Sects — a problem and a challenge), *Gosc Niedzielny*, No. 33 (1989), p. 3..



Susyn Y. Mihalasky

Lemkos in the Polish Press 1987–1992

An earlier review of the Polish press spanning the years 1980-86, noted that a “real eruption” of interest in Poland’s Lemko minority took place in the early 1980’s.¹ The author of that review felt that press writing on Lemkos and their community often portrayed them as “rustic exotica.”

Discussion of contemporary Lemko community concerns, especially the controversy surrounding Lemkos’ origins and ethnic identity, was largely absent. Many journalists wrote with a certain sense that Lemkos are “something other” than Ukrainians, although what that alternative might be was never made clear. While space was given to over to Ukrainian voices on the question of Lemko origins and identity, authentic Lemko voices were completely absent. Lastly, the previous reviewer observed, the political context of the debate was not clearly defined, with views of the government, the then “Solidarity” political opposition and the catholic church not wholly identifiable nor consistent.

Since the publication of that article (1988), the Polish reading public’s interest in Lemkos has, if anything, increased. This came about largely as a result of the 1989 anti-communist revolutions of Eastern Europe and their impact on the international and domestic Polish political and religious status quo. Perhaps foremost is the 1990 election of Poland’s first post-War non-communist government, which as never before made possible the participation in national public life of ethnic minorities. Discussion was encouraged of previously taboo political and historical questions of special interest to ethnic minorities. This enlivened public life has witnessed, among other things, the Polish Senate’s 1991 unprecedented “condemnation” of the 1947 Operation “Vistula” population resettlement, which scattered Lemkos out of their homeland into the western and northern areas of Poland acquired at the end of the Second World War. The Lemko community’s own internal response to these changes has been the establishment of 2 cultural organiza-

1 Zieba, Andrzej. 1988. “The Lemko Question in the Polish Press, 1980–88.” *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, XI (1):9-11.

tions of competing “ideological” bent, the Rusyn oriented Association of Lemkos (1989) and the Ukrainian oriented Union of Lemkos (1990).

Internationally, the resurgent community life of the supposedly “ukrainianized” Rusyn nationality and the establishment of an independent Ukraine (1991), have intensified internal community conflict over Lemko origins and identity. In the religious sphere, change has come at an equally rapid pace and had an equally powerful impact on the Lemko community. Pope John Paul II’s on-going attempts at reconciling Eastern and Western Christendom, the 1991 normalization of the status of the Byzantine Ukrainian Church within Poland, and that Church’s subsequent attempts to regain property confiscated in the wake of Operation “Vistula”, have enlivened interest in the Lemkos, their problems and status within Poland.

Now have these developments influenced the treatment of Lemko matters in the Polish press? What continuities and changes have emerged since the early 1980’s — and why?

At the most general level, it can be said that changes are more prevalent than are continuities, although much of what the previous press review found as characteristic of press writing on Lemkos in the early 1980’s, continues to hold true today. It may therefore be useful to start with a discussion of continuities with the early 1980’s as this provides context for appreciating the subsequent changes.

The most obvious continuity is the portrayal of Lemkos as exotic aborigines with a relatively mysterious, romantic and tragic past. This type of writing focuses largely on contemporary Lemko material and spiritual culture, providing amateur ethnographic “snapshots” of the more important rituals of community life. The form this writing takes is often descriptive, short story, or impressionistic (Potocki/28.III.91; “ABK”/28.VI.91). The emphasis is on peace and accord within the Lemko community, suggesting that in some lovely, quaint far-flung corner of Poland, all is good with ethnic minorities, or, if there are problems, these are relatively minor matters. Typical are optimistic accounts of how various faiths and ethnic communities may share the same house of worship and enjoy good inter-ethnic relations, without dwelling on inconvenient facts, such as an informant’s comment that a given church “used to be” Greek Catholic or that some Lemkos regard a local greek catholic priest as a “Ukrainian Nationalist” (Fijalek/9.II.92; Pomykala/8.III.91; Bendyk 7-9.11.92; “k-b”/16. I. 92; Kaczorowski/27.VI.91.)

A second continuity with the early 1980’s, which perhaps is partly responsible for the long-lived vitality of the romantic images, is the continued absence of authentic Lemko voices. In the very few examples available of Lemko authors writing about their own community, rustic romanticism is replaced by the more thoughtful, informed eye of one writing from within rather than without. Most notable are the two articles written by Lemko poet Piotr (“Murianka”) Trochanowski, both in response to articles written by non-Lemkos on relations within the Lemko community and the question of reemigration to the homeland (“k-b”/30.IV.91 and Trochanowski/16.V.91;

Widel/13.III.91 and Trochanowski/14.I.92.) Trochanowski calls to his readers' attention some of the more troublesome aspects of Lemko community life. To the best of this author's knowledge, the only other writings by ethnic Lemkos to appear in the Polish press between 1987-92 are Obywatelski Krag Lemkow/15.II.89, Madzelan/6-7.IV.91 and Szymkow/21.II.92. If this count is at all accurate, then only 5 writings by Lemkos have appeared in the Polish press in 6 years.

One might be tempted to ask why — in an era of greater intellectual freedom and ethnic tolerance — why have so few authentic Lemko voices emerged? The reason might lie in the community's historic identity crisis and related religious strife. These twin burdens have sapped the strength of Lemko youth both through endless squabbling and through the retreat of the tired, insecure victims of this strife into the Carthaginian peace of assimilation. Furthermore, the "historical memory" of forcible resettlement has bequeathed to young Lemkos a sense of alienation and cynicism to a degree not found in Polish youth. This inherited memory of resettlement has also imbued Lemko youth with a strong desire for the relative material security so suddenly taken away from their parents and/or grandparents.

These, the young Lemko's "spiritual inheritances" -alienation, cynicism and materialism — work against involvement in community affairs. Of course, a small minority have survived these trends with their conviction and love for their community intact. It will be these voices who on rare occasions will manage to cross ethnic, linguistic and religious divides to show up one unexpected day in the local paper.

It bears noting here that authentic Lemko voices are in fact often being heard — albeit indirectly — as journalists' informants in a burgeoning new type of writing. This writing draws on ethnic Lemko informants' knowledge and eyewitness accounts to provide detailed, insightful, interesting and often controversial reading on various aspects of Lemko history and/or current concerns. These articles are often of a broad, introductory nature, summarizing for interested but nearly always uninformed Polish readers, various aspects of the Lemkos' past and present. This type of writing is made possible by the increased ease of access by Polish journalists to Lemkos "willing to talk" about themselves and their community. This greater openness among Lemkos is itself a direct result of democratization, which has eased the concerns many Lemkos had (and among older Lemkos, often still do have) about "speaking out." This "new" category of writing is perhaps the single largest and has many fine examples in the bibliography below, among them being Zegadlowna/20-22.IV.90; Migraia/11.IV.91; Kaczynski/28.VIII.91; Kosma/7.II.92.

Despite this rich new vein of writing on Lemkos, most writers, in a continuity with the early 1980's, still avoid delving directly into the troublesome questions of Lemko origins and identity, one of the matters which perhaps make Lemkos most interesting to Poles. Certainly the question is a tempestuous one and perhaps it is only the better part of discretion to, as

many writers do, favor neutral terminology — “Lemko” — over the more politicized ethnonyms “Ukrainian” or “Rusyn”. However these attempts at neutrality have not been wholly successful. Based on their use of terminology, there is the suggestion that most writers (as in the early 1980’s) still regard Lemkos as not being Ukrainian. Likewise, there is still no obvious consensus as to who they might actually be. Very few writers use the terms “Lemko” and “Ukrainian” interchangeably as synonyms. However a small but significant new development in this question of terminology and press bias is the fact that a small number of writers in the late 1980’s have begun to use the term “Rusyn” and to remark upon an alternative view: that Lemkos might be a branch of the so-called “Rusyn” nationality. This small minority of writers either uses the terms “Lemko” and “Rusyn” interchangeably, or very rarely, only the term “Rusyn” (when writing about people clearly identifiable as Lemkos.)

This terminological development might be traced to the reinvigorated “Rusynism movement”, whose activities, including a world congress (in 1991), have thrown the spotlight on the previously neglected Rusyn viewpoint on the Lemko identity question. This terminological development can also be attributed to democratization, not just in Poland but elsewhere in Eastern Europe, which has allowed those smaller ethnic communities, nationalities and national minorities not officially sanctioned under former communist regimes, to resuscitate previously moribund community life. Many of the articles in the Polish press referring to Rusyns concentrate on the First World Congress of Rusyns (PAP/25.III.91; “I. Swiatowy...”/25.III.91; Legniak/28.III.91). Those dealing more generally with the Rusyn nationality in the international context include Walewska/22-26.XII.90 and Funne-mark/6.IV.92. Krzysztof Szmidt/7.II.92 situates Lemkos in a Rusyn national context. The brevity of some of these articles (several only paragraphs in length) might make them seem too inconsequential for inclusion in this bibliography; they are nevertheless included only because their relative rarity precludes greater selectivity.

Another departure from the past has been the treatment of Lemkos within the context of different “issues” raised by changes in the political and religious status quo both within and outside of Poland. The most tenacious issues have been Operation “Vistula” and associated questions of its legal, moral and military validity, the confiscation of Greek Catholic properties following that resettlement, and subsequent efforts by that church to regain these properties from their present Roman Catholic and Orthodox users. Topics of lesser interest have included ongoing historical controversies such as the extent of Lemko cooperation with the UPA and speculations over the identity and motives of the faction responsible for the 1947 assassination of General Swierczewski.

Most writers have written in a generally sympathetic manner on the tragic experience of resettlement, welcoming the Senate’s condemnation of Operation “Vistula”, although not without some debate as to the legality of

the resettlement (Kozłowski/90 and Skubiszewski/11.III.90). A minority voice viewed the resettlement as necessary, due to UPA killings of Polish civilians and Lemko cooperation with the UPA. ("Lwowianka/13.V.92.) Misiło(11.III.90) set the resettlement in its larger historical context of post-war population exchanges and internments, and saw Operation Vistula as an attempt to eliminate Poland's Ukrainian minority and to "repolonize" the southeastern parts of the country.

The question of restitution similarly provoked debate. One perspective rejected the possibility of returning confiscated properties to their former Lemko owners, fearing the setting of an impossible precedent vis-a-vis the millions of non-Lemkos who had likewise been similarly victimized by war ("les"/14.I.92). In another instance, the Lemko case was seen as relatively "easy" to remedy, because formerly Lemko-owned lands are still to the present day essentially empty. (Pudlis/14.III.92)

Another more controversial topic has been the question of Lemko war-time cooperation with the UPA and implicitly, of the justice of resettling of Lemkos along with Ukrainians in the resettlement that constituted an ultimately successful attempt to neutralize the UPA. Several authors forwarded the thesis that Lemkos are not Ukrainians, did not support the UPA to any significant extent and therefore should not have been resettled (Harasymowicz/19.VII.89; Baczewska/13-14.VII.91.) Speculation that the UPA was not responsible for General Swierczewski's death but rather the Poles themselves was found in Rozanski (8.VII.91) and Motyka (27–29.III.92). Potocki, taking a broader historical view, argued that Lemkos were essentially the innocent victims of conflict between two larger, quarreling neighbors (25.IX.91).

The tensions between Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches over properties confiscated from the Greek Catholic Church in 1947 and 1949, have heightened interest in Greek Catholic matters, much of it in the form of sympathetic histories, which lament the hardships undergone by the Church and its faithful. Potocki (18.II.91) notes the impact of Pope John Paul's recent attempts to reconcile eastern and western christendom in bettering the situation of Greek Catholics in Poland, although not all are happy with papal policies (Szuba/2IV.92). Kostyrko (1.VII.91) regrets the neglected state of Carpathian wooden churches and Representative Mokry (Kaczynski/16.VIII.91) discusses the negative impact of Greek-Catholic-Orthodox tensions on Ukrainian (Lemko) communities.

To a lesser extent, another change from the early 1980's has been not only the featuring of Lemko-specific issues but the situating directly or indirectly of Lemkos within the context of general ethnic minority "issues" - political and organizational activity (Mroz/20.III.91; Chabior/11.XII.90; "T.R."/12.VIII.91) and international minority rights ("luz"/24.II.92; "kr"/27.II.92)

All of the above topics appeared frequently enough for trends or “debates” to become discernable. However, some topics or events received only fleeting attention, either in terms of the brief length of the articles or of the infrequency with which the subject matter was addressed. One of these was the Lemko Watra in the Homeland (an annual event), the larger and better known of the two Lemko Watras (the other being in the Lemko Watra in “Exile” - in the resettlement village of Michalow). The Zdynia Watra received attention highlighting the general experience through conversations with participants (“g.j.”/25.VII.89; Zareba/25.VIII.91), or underlying religious and ideological tensions (Kaczynski/28.VII.91; Karolczak/9.VIII.91.)

Assorted other topics included Jaworzno (Chuchowski/20–21.IV.91; Lesniak/20.VII.90) and coverage of an international academic debate on Lecko origins and identity (Zieba/89). The few voices from the Polish diaspora lamented the Lemkos’ tragic history and assimilation, in one case even arguing that Poles were partly responsible for the “ukrainianization” of Lemkos, due to their poor treatment of Lemkos (Makarewicz/23–24.I.88). Pietrykowski (25.XI.87) saw the Lemkos as helpless victims of debilitating conflict, both internal and international.

Finally, what is the “line” of the domestic Polish media toward Lemko affairs? The author of the earlier cited press review could discern no such clear line, and this remains largely unchanged. Broadly, however, some tendencies can be observed. The “ideological” inclinations of the print media, like that of many other countries, is of a “liberal” bent. Thus, one visible tendency is the desire to “right the wrongs” of the communist past. In the case of the Lemkos, this most often means the presentation of them and their difficult past with more sympathy, or objectivity than has been seen in the past.

However, there is still a tangible anti-Ukrainian bias in the Polish press. A journalist’s perspective on the Lemko identity question (as might be gaged through his use of ethnonyms as synonyms or antonyms) is frequently still the best way to gage the nature and level of that journalist’s sympathy toward Lemkos. If a journalist’s use of ethnonyms appeared to suggest a belief that Lemkos are Ukrainians, there was often less sympathy for Lemkos (especially for their having been resettled along with Ukrainians in 1947). If the journalist appeared to regard Lemkos as “something other” than Ukrainian or specifically as Rusyns, then there was generally more sympathy (and expressions of regret). Of course, it is also possible that the Journalists were simply reflecting the prejudices of their informants, be they, say, Ukrainian lobbyists in Warsaw, or Orthodox Lemko parishioners in Hanczowa village.

It is worth noting in this matter of press bias and Ukrainians, that in writing on matters of nation-wide interest, such as the Operation “Vistula” resettlement or the return of confiscated properties, there was an observable tendency to use the “Ukrainian” ethnonym, whereas in dealing with local activities and concerns (such as language schools, religious relations

within a village, or holiday traditions), there was a tendency to favor the “Lemko” ethnonym. This perhaps reflects the success with which the ethnic Ukrainian political lobby has managed to forward a unified community agenda in Warsaw, and to establish with Poles a new common political vocabulary with which to discuss their mutual concerns.

Notations are arranged chronologically by date of their appearance. The dramatic differences between number of works published in earlier and later years has little to do with actual reality and much to do with changes in the author’s ability and opportunity to gain access to press material.

1987

Kiedacz, Witold. 10 September 1987. “Przy Ruskim Lichtarzu.” *Dziennik Polski* (Krakow), n. 210.

A review of poet Jerzy Harasymowicz’s collection “Lichtarzu Ruskim,”

Pietrykowski, Olgierd. 25 November 1987. “Lemkowie.” *Nowy Dziennik* (New York).

A history of Lemkos which portrays them as victims of internal religious divisions and external political conflict between Poles and Ukrainians.

1988

Makarewicz, Roman. 23-24 January 1988. “A co sie stalo z Rusinami?” *Nowy Dziennik* (New York).

The Rusyns of Poland have all but vanished as a result of “ukrainianization.” In their past poor treatment of Lemkos, Poles are partly to blame for this.

1989

Zieba, Andrzej. 1989. “O Lemkach w Honolulu.” *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Krakow), XLIII: 12.

Exotic Honolulu, Hawaii provides an unexpected backdrop for an academic dispute over Lemko ethnic identity on the occasion of the 20th Annual Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS).

Kraj Obywatelski Lemkow. 15 February 1989. “List otwarty.” *Tygodnik ‘Solidarnosci’* (Warszawa).

Protesting what they see as Lemkos traditional “second-class citizen status” in Poland, the group demands, among other things, the return of properties confiscated by the communist government after the Operation Vistula resettlement.

Harasymowicz, Jerzy. 19 July 1989. “Lemkom pod rozwage.” *Gazeta Krakowska* (Krakow), n. 168.

Arguing that the Lemkos are not Ukrainians, the author calls for the establishment in Poland of an Autonomous Lemko Region in order to prevent the group’s “ukrainianization.”

“g. j.” 25 July 1989. “Lemkowska Watra.” *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Warszawa), n. 55. In a brief summary of events five thousand participants from Europe, Ukraine and North America gather to celebrate Lemko culture.

- Piotrkowski, Wieslaw. 22 December 1989. "Przebudzenie." *Konkrety*.
Eyewitnesses recall their experience in resettlement and look at the life of Lemkos resettled to the province of Legnica.
- Kozlowski, Maciej. 1989. "Lemkowskie lasy - spor o sprawiedliwosc." *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Krakow), XLIII:21.
Examination of the legality of Operation "Vistula" under international law. The author finds the resettlement to constitute a grave breach of "all conventions and principles governing the conduct of war."

1990

- Chodkiewicz, Andrzej. 11 February 1990. "O Lemkach." *Lad* (Warszawa), n. 6.
Discussion of the ideological and religious controversies arising at the December 1989 academic conference "Political and Ethnic Identification Among Lemkos in the 20th Century", at the University of Warsaw.
- Skubiszewski, Krzysztof. 11 March 1990. "Akcja 'Wisla' i prawo niedzynarodowe." *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Krakow), XLIV: 10.
Critique of the Kozlowski article, arguing that the conflict between the UPA and the Polish Army and an internal population resettlement are not subject to the international legal norms and conventions on war.
- Misilo, Eugeniusz. 11 March 1990. "Deportacje, oboz w Jaworznie." *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Krakow) XLIV: 10.
A history of the Ukrainian minority's resettlement and internment, spanning the years 1944-49. The author sees these events as different phases of a single effort to eliminate the Ukrainian minority in Poland.
- Zegadlowna, Zdzislaw. 20-22 April 1990. "Sto Lemkowskich Prawd." *Czas Krakowski* (Krakow), n. 17.
Different perspectives on Lemko identity, historical and religious experience, expressed by several community leaders.
- Zegadlowna, Zdzislaw. 20-22 April 1990. "Pomnik Armii Czerwonej na podworoku." *Czas Krakowski*, n. 17.
Controversy surrounds Lemko Cultural Museum curator Fedir Goczys raising of a monument commemorating the Red Army.
- Lesniak, Jerzy. 20 July 1990. "Lemkowie. Miedzy Komancza a Jaworkami." *Gazeta Krakowska* (Krakow), n. 167.
An overview of Lemko history, with specific attention paid to resettlement, the Jaworzno internment camp, as well as some discussion of current community concerns.
- "The Independent." 10 August 1990. "Czekaja na swa godzine." *Tygodnik Solidarnosci* (Warszawa), n. 32.
Polish language reprint of a brief article appearing originally in the London-based *Independent* newspaper, which asserts that a new one-million strong Rusyn nationality is emerging in Poland and elsewhere in Eastern Europe.
- Kutas, Piotr. 7 October 1990. "W trybach historii." *Tygodnik Malopolska* (Krakow), n. 40.
The resettlement of the Lemkos, emphasizing the experience of Lemkos in Gorlice powiat.
- Chabior, Barbara. 11 December 1990. "Wszystko my stratyly." *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Warszawski dodatek), n. 288.
Report on the First Congress of the Association of Lemkos in Legnica.

Walewska, Danuta. 22-26 December 1990. "Konflikty narodowosciowe w Europie Wschodniej i Srodkowej." *Rzeczpospolita* (Warszawa), n. 298.

The author provides a lengthy treatment of potential or current ethnic "trouble spots" in East Central Europe. Rusyns in Slovakia and Hungary receive attention as factors in tensions between Ukraine and its Hungarian and Slovakian neighbors.

1991

Potocki, Andrzej. 18 February 1991. "Stan zawieszenia-zakonczony." *AZ* (Rzeszow), n. 34.

Despite the internment of its clergy, the resettlement of its faithful and the confiscation of its property, the Greek Catholic Church in Poland survives to see its hierarchy and status restored.

Pomykala, Marek. 8 March 1991. "Hostia i proskora." *Dziennik Polski* (Krakow), n. 57.

Impressionistic treatment of relations between four religious communities of Komancza - Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Brzeg-Wielunski, Stanislaw. 16 March 1991. "Odzyskac od pasera." *Gazeta Bankowa* (Warszawa). n. 10.

Denationalization and reprivatization considered, with brief consideration of the return to the Lemkos of forests confiscated by the communist government subsequent to their 1947 resettlement.

Mroz, Wojciech. 20 March 1991. "Byc Lemkiem." *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Krakowski dodatek). n. 67.

Report on the Uscie Ruskie visit of Senator Zofia Kuratowska and interesting insight into the sense of distrust and alienation felt by many members of the Lemko community.

"I Swiatowy Kongres Rusinow." 25 March 1991. *Trybuna* (Warszawa), n. 71.

A paragraph summary describing the event, resolutions passed and the participation in it of Polish Lemkos.

PAP. 25 March 1991. "Rusini przebudzcie sie." *Dziennik Polski* (Krakow).

The overthrow of authoritarian regimes makes possible a Rusyn renaissance. A Brief report on the First World Congress of Rusyns.

PAP. 26 March 1991. "Lemkowie walczą o swoje prawa." *Zycie Warszawy* (Warszawa), n. 72.

Focus on the government's reprivatization program and the Lemko demand for the return of property confiscated in 1949.

"pol." 26 March 1991. "Oddac Lemkom." *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Krakow), n. 72

A brief report on Lemko efforts to lobby parliament for Compensation for properties confiscated after Operation "Vistula".

Lesniak, Jerzy. 28 March 1991. "Poki istnieje Pamiec, poki istnieje narod." *Gazeta Krakowska* (Krakow), n. 74.

"Who are the Lemkos? In Poland they were traditionally regarded as a branch of the Ukrainian nationality. They refer to themselves, however, as Rusyns...." A report on the First World Congress of Rusyns.

Potocki, Andrzej. 28 March 1991. "Wielkanocna magia Lemkow." *AZ* (Rzeszow). n. 62.

The Easter holiday season as celebrated among Lemkos.

"les." 3 April 1991. "Co w lemkowskiem duszy gra..." *Gazeta Krakowska* (Krakow).

Discussion with Lemko poet Piotr Trochanowski, recipient of the im. Pietaka award, about his past and current efforts to standardize the Lemko language.

- Madzelan, Seman. 6-7 April 1991. "I zaplakal pekniety dzwon." *Czas Krakowski* (Krakow), n. 80.

Lemko poet Seman Madzelan recreates the experience of Lemkos resettled from their home village of Florynka to the Silesian village of Michalow.

"saw." 8 April 1991. "Powstaje slownik polsko-lemkowski." *Dziennik Polski* (Krakow).

A report on the First World Congress of Rusyns which reports on the effort to standardize the Lemko language.

Migrala, Leszek. 11 April 1991. "Spojrzenie ku Lemkowszczyzynie". *Slowo powszechne* (Warszawa). n. 84.

Who are the Lemkos? Who do they say they are? Where did they originate? The author addresses the controversies surrounding these questions.

Czuchnowski, Wojciech. 20-21 April 1991. "Tu byli wszyscy." *Czas Krakowski* (Krakow). n. 92.

A history of the Jaworzno prison camp and its use by German Fascists, Soviet and Polish Communists to intern political opponents.

Miklaszewicz, Andrzej. 24 April 1991. "Przypowiesc o trzech kosciolach." *Zycie Warszawy* (Warszawa). n. 87

An examination of the property dispute from its historical roots to the current often conflicting viewpoints of Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Orthodox church representatives.

"k-b." 30 April-1 May 1991. "Lemko nie wraca." *Gazeta Krakowska* (Krakow), n. 100.

The Lemko homeland 45 after the Lemkos' resettlement remains underpopulated. Lemkos are not returning.

Michalczak, Janusz, Bik-Jurkow, Krzysztofa, and Gryzlak, Piotr. 6 May 1991. "Przed lawina". *Dziennik Polski* (Krakow), n. 102

Consideration of the prospects for reprivatization, taking into account Lemko community and individual efforts to reclaim confiscated property.

Szafrański, Maciej. 6 May 1991. "Parafia ludzi z daleka." *Gazeta Nowa Zielonogorska* (Zielona Gora), n. 86.

In the village of Rudna, the Orthodox church is at the heart of the Lemko community, which enjoys good relations with its ethnically Polish, Roman Catholic neighbors.

Murianka-Trochanowski, Petro. 16 May 1991. "Lemko nieustannie wraca." *Gazeta Krakowska* (Krakow), n. 111

Response to the "k-b" 30 April 1991 article "Lemko nie wraca.", arguing that some Lemkos have returned, but for most, return is so difficult as to be impossible.

"pol." 16 May 1991. "Spor o cerkwie." *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Warszawa) n. 113.

Attempts by the Sejm's Committee on Ethnic and National Minorities to mediate the Greek Catholic-Orthodox conflict over properties confiscated 45 years ago.

- Serczyk, Władysław. 24-26 May 1991. "Lemkowie." *Olsztynska* (Olsztyn), n. 100.
Bitter internal divisions and the tragic population resettlements of the Twentieth Century reduce the Lemko community to a mere shadow of its former self in its now largely vacant homeland.
- Bendyk, Edwin. 2 June 1991. "Unicy w Polsce." *Słowo powszechne* (Warszawa), n. 124.
The author traces the history of the Greek Catholic Church from its beginnings in 1595 to the 1991 consecration of Bishop Ivan Martyniak.
- Gryźlak, Piotr. 20 June 1991. "Wycinka." *Dziennik Polski* (Kraków), n. 140.
A look at the 1949 decree confiscating Lemko property and associated Lemko community attempts at gaining compensation.
- Kaczorowski, Andrzej. 27 June 1991. "Sanktuarium unitow podlaskich." *Słowo powszechne* (Warszawa), n. 146.
A history of the church in Kostomłoty village, which currently serves 3 faiths in 3 languages.
- "ABK." 28 June 1991. "Cerkiew lemowska w Skwirtnem." *Dziennik Polski* (Kraków), n. 147.
Brief illustrated architectural tour of a traditional wooden Lemko church in the village of Skwirtne.
- Kostyrko, Weronika. 1 July 1991. "Pod opieka nieba." *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Warszawa), n. 151.
The sad neglect and deterioration of traditional wooden churches of the Bieszczady and Lower Beskid mountains, with discussion of past and current efforts to save them.
- Piatek, Andrzej. 5-7 July 1991. "Głos Kukulki w Bartnem." *Nowiny* (Rzeszów), n. 120.
Interview with Teodor Kusiak, founder of the Union of Lemkos (Zjednoczenie Lemkow), in which Mr. Kusiak recalls his experiences in exile and return.
- Rozanski, Zbigniew. 8 July 1991. "Przebaczyć i zapomnieć." *Kurier Polski* (Warszawa), n. 130.
The Polish army, not the UPA, may have been responsible for General Świerczewski's death. In a first step toward national reconciliation, Poles should condemn Operation "Vistula" and Ukrainians should condemn the wartime murders by the UPA of Polish civilians in Volynia.
- Baczewska, Anna. 13-14 July 1991. "Zawsze czulem sie wyobcowany." *Rozmowa z Włodzimierzem Odojewskim.* *Zycie Warszawy* (Warszawa), n. 163.
Mr. Odojewski suggests that Lemkos were innocent targets of the Operation Vistula population resettlement.
- Kaczynski, Andrzej. 27-28 July 1991. "Lemkow miało nie być." *Zycie Warszawy* (Warszawa), n. 175.
The author tracks the "rebirth" of Lemko culture in Poland beginning with the 1983 founding of the Lemko Watra and concentrates on "ideological" conflicts surfacing there.
- Karolczak, Jadwiga. 9 August 1991. "Walka o świątynie." *Słowo lud* (Kielce), n. 1688.
Insightful look at the religious and "ideological" conflicts costly unseen but sometimes dramatically surfacing on the occasion of the 1991 Lemko Watra in the Homeland.

- "T.R." 12 August 1991. "Mniejszosci narodowe ida razem." *Rzeczpospolita* (Warszawa), n. 187.
For the first time since the Second World War, ethnic minorities, including Lemkos, unite and field candidates for election to the Senate.
- Kaczynski, Andrzej. 16 August 1991. "I zaczniemy czuc sie normalniej . . . ' Rozmowa z poslem Wlodzimierzem Mokrym." *Zycie Warszawy* (Warszawa), n. 191.
Representative Mokry discusses the historical roots of the ethnonyms "Ukrainian", "Lemko". current Lemko-Ukrainian relations and the Orthodox-Ukrainian Catholic conflict.
- Karolczak, Jadwiga. 16 August 1991. "A hory plakaly, jak nas wyganialy." *Slowo ludu* (Kielce), n. 1669.
The author gives an impressionistic account of her encounters with the people and abandoned villages of the Lower Beskids.
- Zareba, Tadeusz. 25 August 1991. "Stacje Lemkow." *Przegląd tygodniowy* (Warszawa), n. 34.
"History did not treat the Lemkos kindly." Reminiscences of resettlement and of the Lemko experience in Poland offered on the occasion of the 1991 annual Lemko Watra in the Homeland.
- Karolczak, Jadwiga. 30 August 1991. "Tu jest wasza ridna zemla." *Slowo ludu* (Kielce), n. 1671.
Impressions of the Lemko Watra (in the Homeland) formed mainly from reconstructed snatches around the campfire.
- Grzegorzewski, Zbigniew. 7-8 September 1991. "Pojednanie." *Glos Poranny* (Lodz), n. 209.
Tadeusz Kielbasinski and the Friends of the Carpathians association (Towarzystwo Karpackie) join Greek Catholic Lemkos and Roman Catholic Poles in making a pilgrimage to the Lemko village of Olohowiec.
- Potocki, Andrzej. 25 September 1991. "Kto zamierza pojsc na Lachy?" 61 (Rzeszow). n. 186.
A history of antagonism between Poles and Ukrainians, which portrays the Lemkos as caught between these two larger neighbors' national ambitions.
- Widel, Jerzy. 13 December 1991. "Lemkowszczyzna przebudzona." *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Krakowski dodatek).
Examines the political and religious diversity within the Lemko community, and their impact on community life and activity, finding general agreement and goodwill.

1992

- Wojcik, Ryszard. 6 January 1992. "Lemek? To bandyta!" *Halo!*, n. 7
Noting that Poles are not very familiar with Lemko history, the author draws on the recollections of several eyewitnesses to recall Operation "Vistula" and the Jaworzno prison camp.
- "Ies." 14 January 1992. "Zakaz wyrebu w polemowskich lasach." *Gazeta Krakowska* (Krakow).
Lemkos attempt to reclaim ownership rights to land confiscated by the Polish communist government after Operation "Vistula.". The author discusses the Sejm and Senate positions on this question at the close of 1991.
- Trochanowski, Piotr. 14 January 1992. "Lemkowszczyzna przebudzona." *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Krakowski dodatek), n. 2.
Response to the Widel article of the same title (13 December 1991), in which

Hr. Trochanowski makes a distinction between Lemko and Ukrainian organizations, revealing a community not at peace with itself.

"k-b." 16 January 1992. "Dwa języki, pięć wyznań." *Gazeta Krakowska* (Kraków). Religion classes at the Uscie Ruskie (after 1947 renamed Uscie Gorlickie) grammar school are provided for five different faiths. Two languages of instruction are offered - Polish and Lemko.

Kosma, Franciszek. 7 February 1992. "Lemkowie." *Trybuna Opolska* (Opole), n. 33. Essentially an introduction to the Lemko community in Poland; discusses the community's recent activity and achievements.

Krzysztof Szmidt, Ireneusz. 7 February 1992. "Lemkowie żyją obok nas." *Ziemia Gorzowska* (Gorzów), n. 6.

A political history of the Lemkos, from the perspective of the Rusyn orientation, and discussion of current community activity prompted by the visit of the Legnica based Lemko Amateur Theater.

Bendyk, Edwin. 7-9 February 1992. "Gdzieś między Gorlicami a Krynica." *Czas Krakowski* (Kraków), n. 27.

A Journalist gives an impressionistic account of his wanderings and chance meetings with Lemkos "somewhere between Gorlice and Krynica."

Fijalek, Krzysztof. 8-9 February 1992. "Niebo i Ziemia." *Gazeta Wuborzca* (Krakowski dodatek), n. 33.

"Roman Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses, Eastern Orthodox Christians, Seventh Day Adventists and Greek Catholics all pray side by side in Uscie Ruskie (Gorlickie). A decade of living together has taught people that religious faith is not reason enough to despise your neighbor."

"B.S." 15-16 February 1992. "W lemkowskiem zagrodzie." *Rzeczpospolita* (Warszawa), n. 39.

An introduction to Fedir Gocz's Lemko Cultural Museum in Zydranowa.

Szymkow, Jan. 21 February 1992. "Lemkowie." *Trybuna Opolska* (Opole), n. 45.

A Lemko writes briefly on the obstacles preventing his return to his homeland.

"luz." 24 February 1992. "Mniejszości przeciw nienawiści." *Życie Warszawy* (Warszawa), n. 46.

Under the auspices of the Polish Helsinki Committee, leaders of Polish ethnic minority organizations, including Lemkos, prepare a report on their common problems and on the situation of minorities in Poland.

"kr." 27 February 1992. "Mniejszości narzekają na władzę." *Kurier Poranny* (Białystok), n. 48.

Brief report on the Polish Helsinki Committee sponsored meeting of Polish ethnic minority community leaders, emphasizing the Byelorussian contribution.

Mazan, Leszek. 8 March 1992. "Andy Warhol Story." *Przekroj*, n. 10.

Pop Artist Andy Warhol's ethnic heritage (Rusyn) receives its 15 minutes of fame.

"Z kart historii." 11 March 1992. *AZ* (Rzeszów), n. 50.

Short tour of Fedir Gocz's outdoor Lemko museum in Zydranowa.

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The author interviews Dr. Stefan Kozłowski, head of the Ministry of Environmental Protection, who supports the return of forests confiscated in the wake of Operation "Vistula" to the ownership of those Lemkos able to document former ownership.

- Bendyk, Edwin. 14-15 March 1992. "Obcy u siebie." *Trybuna Opolska* (Opole), n. 64.
 "Aside from mass murder, case expulsion is the specialty of the 20th century." An impressionistic account of the Lemko resettlement experience, rendered in short story form.
- Motyka, Grzegorz. 27-29 March 1992. "W 45 rocznice smierci. Wokol smierci 'Waltera'." *Polska zbrojna* (Warszawa), n. 62.
 Review of various speculations regarding the March 1947 assassination which was the official justification for the resettlement of the Lemkos one month later.
- "jawro" 30 March 1992. "Lemkowie domagaja sie naprawienia krzywd." *Glos Pomorza* (Koszalin), n. 76.
 Open letter to the Polish parliament from the Lemko Union (Zjednoczenie Lemkow), demanding, among other things, material compensation for the community's losses.
- Szuba, Z. 2 April 1992. "Kosciol obrzadku bizantyjsko-ukrainskiego w Polsce." *Slowo powszechne* (Warszawa) n. 53.
 The author concentrates largely on the last 10 years, including the debate surrounding the Pope's 1992 revisions of the Catholic administrative divisions within Poland.
- Kiklica, Antoni. 4-5 April 1992. "Obcy u siebie." *Trybuna Opolska* (Opole), n. 82.
 Response to 14-15 March 1992 article of the same name, disputing the first's core positive assessments of the Operation Vistula resettlement and of the current material conditions of Lemkos living in Poland.
- Funnemark, Bjorn Cato. 6 April 1992. "Rusin to nie Ukrainiec." *Slowo Polskie* (Wroclaw.)
 The intensifying ethno-political conflict between Ukrainians and Rusyns in Ukrainian Transcarpathia, with consideration of the role of the region's Hungarian minority.
- "Sos." 14 April 1992. "Cerkwie sercem malowane." *AZ* (Rzeszow), n. 74.
 Review of the PTTK ethnographic exhibit "Architektura cerkwi lemkowych" (Lemko Church Architecture).
- "Lwowianka z Bystrzycy Klodzkiej." 13 May 1992. "Akcja 'Wisla' byla potrzebna" *Gazeta Robotnicza* (Wroclaw), n. 112.
 The author of an anonymous letter to the editor argues that Operation Vistula was necessary because Lemkos supported the UPA. Poles were also resettled from the east to western parts of Poland, but they didn't "make such a ruckus about it."
- Kaczorowski, Andrzej. 1 June 1992. "Lemkowska Watra w Zyndranowej." *Slowo Powszechne* (Warszawa), n. 84.
 The author meets Mr. Fedir Gocz, curator of the Lemko museum and host of a "new Lemko Watra" in Zyndranowa village.
- Rytel, Grzegorz and Adam Wagner. 3 June 1992. "Chalupy polskie." *Gromada Rolnik Polski* (Warszawa), n. 45.
 Brief illustrated discussion of traditional Lemko architecture of the Lower Beskids and Bieszczady mountains.
- Tochnan, Wojciech. 11 August 1992. "Byl szynk." *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Warszawa), n. 188.
 The financial and community politics underlying attempt at saving one of the few remaining Jewish historical landmarks on Lemko territory.

Zofia Szanter

An Essay on the Carpathian Church in the Family of European Churches

Among the many questions connected with the culture of the northern part of the Carpathian range is that of why are there differences in the form of church architecture. One would suppose that in a not very large geographic area with a unified culture and economic system religious buildings would have similar shapes. But in the Carpathians four decidedly different types of churches arose which are identified in contemporary literature as churches of the Hutsul, Boyko, Transcarpathian and Lemko types. In this essay I will try to sketch out the reasons for these differences.

As in the question of settlement, much can be explained by a very broad view of the problem. Up to now church architecture in the Carpathians has been presented as a phenomenon not having any connection with other cultural areas, but in fact, things are quite different. Different regions of the Carpathians were culturally connected with foothill regions already under cultivation. Churches constructed in the mountains repeated not only the names but also the forms of religious buildings from the territory from which the settlers came. In this way traditional architectural forms from Moldavia and Rus appeared in the Carpathians. Also it is obvious that the neighboring Latin (Western Church) culture played a role too. Thus the

Mountain churches are a continuation of the development of European Eastern Rite Churches. The arrival and reception of different architectural concepts was possible due to the fact that settlement came from different directions and rather late while in the foothill regions traditional culture was strongly rooted.

In any case, let us turn to a discussion of the different types of Carpathian churches paying special attention to certain elements not yet touched upon, up to now in architectural research. This refers to the role religious art plays, which is different from the Western cultural sphere. Religious art was completely under the influence of religious thought which explains an unusually long use of the same form, something not found in the West. In every object of the religious cult; in Icons, the Ikonostasis and the building

one finds spiritual meanings. In the case of Icons, this basic spiritual meaning is the most important and it's difficult to separate the worldly and the spiritual. In the example of architecture the spiritual element is easier to detect. The spiritual side appears on the inside while the shape and form of the architecture, the material used and the construction itself has in the material world.

In connection with this differentiation between idea and form, ordinarily the exterior is of secondary importance. Stone, brick or wood walls, before everything, are really curtains for covering the internal requirements for performing the liturgy, the holy function with its traditional symbolic meanings. Thus, Eastern Church architecture in different regions must be looked at in a complex way but not by differentiating it based on whether the church is built of wood, cement or stone because the materials used for construction are not important. It sometimes happened that different materials were used jointly, for example, in the eastern part of the Beskid Niski in the 18th c. there existed many wooded churches with cement walled alter areas. The most important thing for a given area was the general concept of the church, the idea which was brought into realization by how it looked internally, while the exterior was of mixed building material.

The main architectural concept, it is true, which would fulfill theological requirements was a cross-shaped building with a cupola. However, the cross was a Greek one, which required a square shaped building. The floor plan thus had four parts and the main cupola was in the middle. It could be accompanied by four smaller ones which sat on each of the four sections. The alter and its ancillary parts was found in the eastern section of the building.

In practice such a form underwent far-reaching modifications, such as in many instances the cross cupola was only spiritually acknowledged internally. Most often the side cupolas were eliminated as well as the side arms of the cross shape thus practically achieving a single long space. The cupola was replaced by a (*skepienie kolebrowe*) or a higher roof or (*strop*). The building could be elongated, even enough to look like a basilica.

In differentiation to the external part, the interior of such a building was, in all the Eastern Christian world, treated as a single unit. This was because of the spiritual point-of-view. The holiest place was the altar area, a place part of the spiritual world. The Icons of the Ikonostasis connected the believers with the altar, which at the same time separated them from the altar. In the nave everything directed one's attention not only in the direction of the altar but also to heaven. That's why it was obligatory to raise the space up, in the form of a cupola. The pre-nave was lower with less lighting and sometimes separated by a low wall with candles. That part of the church was at first for the less privileged and for women.

Particular parts of the interior were figuratively indicated. Just like the Icons painted on wood, certain spiritual meanings were materialized but their secondary nature allowed their placement to be dictated by architectural concerns. In opposition to Latin/Western rite churches in which the

layout of paintings was part of the architectural concept, in Eastern Rite churches painting took a secondary place to the liturgy. The composition was paid out based on the parts of the wall available. Sometimes a scene goes from one level to another. A wall, (sklepienie) or a cupola, are not important as structural components. They exist only for (arektonicznej powloki) and they were completely covered with figurative faces and scenes which speak to the believers. In this way the interior is completely separated from the structural components of the building and the composition of this interior decoration is totally in the spiritual sphere, entirely independent of the material on which it lies.

Of course we're talking here about churches with a fully painted interior, simple parish churches, particularly wooden ones, had to make do with an ikonostasis and a few paintings on the walls, generally in the form of large Icons such as the Last Judgement or the Lord's Sufferings. The interior separated one from the daily world while the exterior was of secondary importance and the exterior didn't have to have much to do with religious thought. Rather decisive for the exterior was the traditional method of construction whether locally or in the neighborhood. The buildings were adapted to the land, more or less, on which they were built as well as to financial and technical considerations. Of course the material to be used in the construction played its part too. This is why there is such a differentiation in the church forms in different regions of the Christian east.

In Europe we may, in general, differentiate two large cultural regions, the southern Balkan-Moldavian one and the northern Rus area. In the Balkans and Moldavia the main form was a building with cupolas with strong local influences, traditional ways of doing things and western cultural influences. We find here different types of elongated (przesklepionej z absyda oltarzowa) buildings. We also meet with churches with extended (byle) which meet religious requirements, only in the Eastern end.

In Rus, on the other hand, the architectural concept is of a cross-cupola building separated in the interior into 3 naves. This type of church is more or less universally used. This traditional form was connected with Georgian and Armenian Christians who penetrated the Rus lands even before the formal acceptance of Christianity. The acceptance of this "central" church probably made easy the reception of religious traditions from neighboring regions of Asia while traditions from Europe penetrated little, if at all. The Eastern Slavs did not have the custom of building prominent temples for their pagan gods and goddesses.

Church architecture in the Carpathians found itself at the juncture of these two traditions and we can see, too, the influence of western culture.

The Boyko churches are a continuation of the Rus' architectural tradition although it's true it's hard to see the similarity between the Holy Wisdom Cathedral of Kyiv and St. Michael's of Krivka at first glance. In fact both these objects represent the concept of the central cross-cupola church.

Of course the Boyko church has passed through many centuries of evolution.

For a few Rus churches the basic and only model was the monumental architecture of the Grand princely church that model was based on the fantastic churches of Constantinople as well as monastic buildings — monasticism had a great influence on Rus. Despite the central cross-cupola.

Through the ages that form of building evolved in two directions either simplification or complication. A complicated form became characteristic for the architecture of the later Russia, parts of the building became so overloaded with decorations that simplicity was lost. In the first half of the 17th c the Patriarch J. Moscow even accepted the notion that a fully correct church should have 5 copulas, for example, the Pokrovsky Cathedral (Sobor) built in that century.

The second stream in the evolution of Church architecture flowed in the direction of simplification and building on a smaller scale. In connection with partial requirements the buildings became elongated. The altar area and the pre-nave were transferred beyond the main body of the building and the idea of “centrality” was limited to the “central” (at the end of the building) location of the altar.

One may suppose that due to such a process this was the initial form of church architecture in the Rus parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. These lands which found themselves in the Polish state from the 14th c. and which were also closely neighboring to Moldavia were the source of a separate cultural development different from that of Russia. The elongation of the church building was in accordance with that of the form of Latin churches and also of Moldavian Eastern Rite church architecture.

The traditional cross-cupola three nave church in the Balkans and Moldavia was often reduced to that of a single nave. The later area and the pre-nave grew so that often they were proportional to the building's elongation. The whole thing was covered under a single roof the central part had the cupola and its four-sided roof area on top, covering the nave. Of equal weight was the traditional church of a completely central shape. Because of the conflict of these two conceptions, the ideal central building and the elongated building which grew out of the central one, the further development of churches in the Rus lands of the Commonwealth went in two directions. From the single roof a great single cupola accenting the nave would grow on a roof with 3 cupolas accessing the three parts of the interior developed. In such a situation the central church disappeared entirely leaving only traces of its existence in the central cupola. As an example of that development we can point to the church in Krechowa (1658), moved in 1720.

A hundred years later the church in Sinkowa (1769) illustrates a further evolution in the direction of increasing the (zwartosci) and (uwysmuklenia) the outline (silowete?).

Thus we have no doubt that the Boyko church stands as a „mountain” version of that form of architecture, built in the area between the Gorgon mountains and the Great (Dzial) to where settlers came from the north, from Rus. The particularity of these churches is mainly decided by the original construction of the (zrebowych) copulas. Many (uskoki) interrupting the continuity of the roof and the richness of the buildings outline. These copulas on the oldest churches, in general, are square. In the 18th c they are square in the bottom parts but on top are octagon which connected with the (stzelistymi) proportions give the buildings a totally new unusual esthetics.

In Hutsul churches, the ideal of a central cross-cupola church was modified under the influence of Moldavia and was open to western European influences. The gothic tradition arrived coming through Transylvania and even in Moldavia gothic buildings, like Franciscan Roman Catholic churches were constructed. Moldavian churches from the 15th and 16th c.

The use of such roofs was caused by the climate with heavy snow falls and long winters.

In the interior was one long room. However, to keep the idea of a cross side spaces just before the altar were added. Thus, the church was centralized on the East side although a central cupola was placed on the building. In the oldest churches the cupola was not visible from the interior, it was covered by the ceiling, for example the trinity church in Siret from the end of the 14th c. In later centuries the churches were further elongated and in monumental constructions funded by the very rich, on the eastern side, were added grave monuments, a treasury and a marthex. The height and width were in the nave and in effect the church became a monolithic block covered by a large roof sometimes divided into segments. The eastern part of the roof was the richest. Sometimes the lower part of the (bebna) cupola

The Hutsul church used the Moldavian feature of a three-ended eastern part. However, in its wooden form their appeared a new feature which is hard to see at first. At their crossing is a copula which dominates the whole. The change of the structure to a central one in the form of a cross is undoubtedly Rus influence of a traditional church, such a set-up is met also in concrete architecture and is more or less identical to the exterior form of Georgian and Armenian churches.

In Transcarpathia architecture developed quite differently although it is a continuation of Moldavian tradition. While the Hutsul church centralized on the eastern part of the building, the Transcarpathian church took on a different character. The geographic situation was the decisive influence. The land settled by Orthodox on the south slopes of the Carpathians was separated from Moldavia by the mountains. Transcarpathia, however, neighbored directly with Transylvania, with its western culture. A relatively narrow belt of Rusyn people stretched to the west along the mountains as far as Spisz in Slovakia. Also in close contact with western culture. Thus, it was not at all strange that there were western influences on church architec-

ture. The extended main body of church was still covered by a sharply inclined roof, but the ridge, resembling a Latin Church, over the altar complex was lowered. The greatest novelty, but not separated from Zakarpathian churches, was a tower/spire with a roof, placed in the western part of the church. This tower, slender and tall in neighboring Transylvania, was bit by bit made smaller such that in Slovakia it sometimes was reduced to a mere shadow of a spire, lost among the other parts of the roof. Nonetheless it was used to accent the Western part of the church, (Topola, circa 1700). Further to the West, around the Dukla Pass, we can see a renewed tendency, starting in the 18th c. to build up and strengthen that form. In comparison with its antecedents as a slender tower new ones were more solid in proportions and approach the baroque style.

The last region, in which arose the most interesting form of the *Carpathian Church* is the *Beskid Niski and Beskid Sadecki* area (along with neighboring parts of Slovakia). This was inhabited by the farthest west projection of East Slavic people. The population settled from south to north, from Slovakia into Poland and some from the East Slavic parts of the Polish Republic. Thus, the traditions of the north and south of the Christian East were joined together.

In church architecture we see a synthesis representing churches of neighboring areas, the Boyko and the Zakarpathian. However, both those regions had church plans based on other substrata. The Boyko church is differentiated in two longitudinal ways; at its basis is a central plan in which the dominant element is the central part. Authentically oblong are, on the other hand, churches from the southern side of the Carpathians.

In effect churches in the Lemko Region became a synthesis of two conceptions of spacial arrangements: the central with a cupola in the middle and oblong with elements from the West. Thanks to this they represent an original shape. Similarly like Boyko churches they are made up of three sections. Above the nave and above the altar area with enclosed frame walls are placed framed cupolas laid out on a square plan. The third architectural element of the church's mass according to Zakarpathian tradition is a larger tower. Its slightly inclined walls are composed of connecting roofing covering the cupola. With such a silhouette the church is dominated by a high tower balanced by a massive oblong nave.

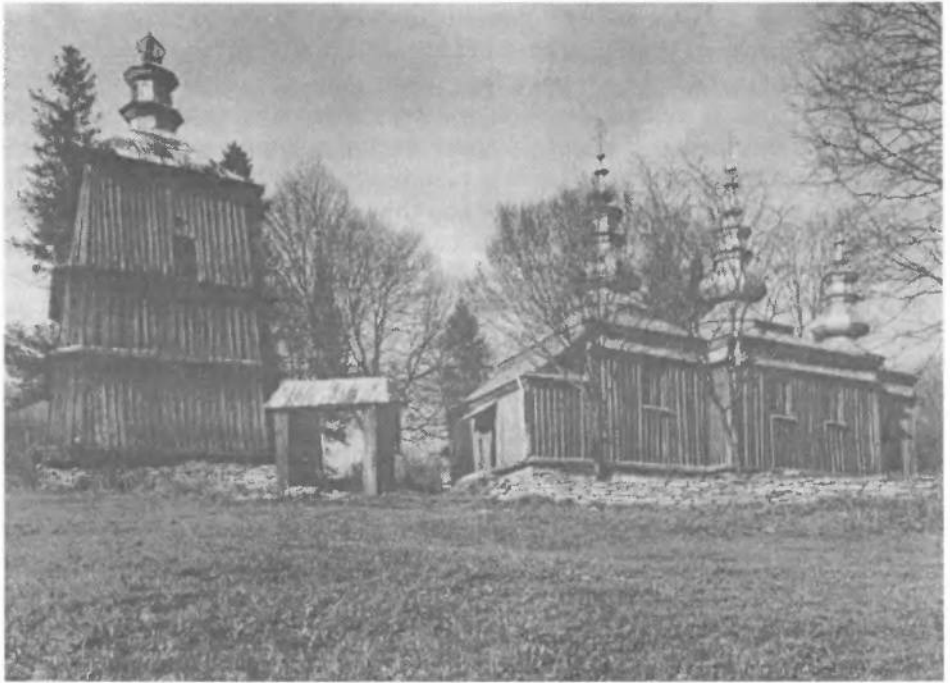
In the interwar period the population in the area accepted the popular name of Lemkowszczyzna (Polish) [Lemkovyna (Rusyn) or Lemkivshchyna (Ukrainian)] and from then on these churches were referred to as Lemko churches. However, this is not a quite accurate term because: 1) in the period of settlement and the building of churches in the XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII and even IX centuries the term Lemko was unknown and the population usually referred to themselves as Rusnaks on both side of the Carpathians; 2) the area in which this type of church is found is greater than and crosses the borders of today's Lemko region.

The use of such terminology began in Poland when research was begun on church architecture and was used to differentiate these churches from other churches found in the mountains. Thus, if we look at church architecture in its widest sense the Lemko Church term cannot be used, and in fact creates a mix-up. Some people try to include all church towers of similar shape which have appeared here and there. However, these towers are evidence of other cultural influences and are not of Lemko origin. This too-broad interpretation is found, unfortunately, in the book by R. Brykowski *Lemkowska drewniana architektura cerkiewna w Polsce, na Słowacji i Rusi Zakarpackiej* (Lemko Wooden Church Architecture in Poland, Slovakia and Zakarpathia) (Wrocław-Warszawa, 1986).

The group of Zakarpathian churches represented, among others, in Kanora (1792) now in the Skansen [outdoor museum] in Kyiv or in Shelestiv (18th c.) are claimed to be Lemko churches by the author. This is not true! Those churches arose as a result of processes analogical to those in the Beskid Niski and Beskid Sadecki. In them we see a joining together of northern and southern conceptions of holy places: along with the three unit style, typical of northern building is added the characteristic Zakarpathian tower. The similarity of proportions and the baroque form of the cupolas on top at first glance lead one to think of the identification with the Beskid churches and they are decidedly different from other Zakarpathian churches with gothic towers and ridged roofs. Their differences are, however, found in the way the tower is constructed which is situated near the western section which is the way used in nearby Transylvania. If that group of churches were really based on the Beskid style then the builders would have used the construction elements from the Beskids, however, there is no repetition other than external similarities.

The appearance of this type of church in Zakarpathia (and in the Beskids) can be explained by the terrain and by history. We meet this type of church along the routes which for centuries merchants used while traveling from Munkach to Halych [Galicia]. They traveled along the valleys of the rivers Latorica, Strj and Opor, passing through the Hungarian Gates [the Carpathian Mountain passes]. Churches in the Latorica valley arose based upon a confluence of northern centralized holy building united with an oblong church with a tower. In effect they ended up looking like, on the outside, Beskid churches but were completely independent from them. In this example, a northern conception passed to the south while in the Beskids a southern idea moved north.

An analogical occurrence, the union of a tower with a centralized oblong church, we meet for centuries on the borders of Christian culture of the East and West, for example: Stanimak, 1231, in Bulgaria; Sopocani, the monastery of the Holy Trinity (in the 1260s), in Yugoslavia; Gurasada, the second half of the 18th c. and 1765, in Romania; Homel, the church of St. Ilija, 1794, in Poland.



Helena Duc-Fajfer

Contemporary Lemko poetry¹ and the problem of so-called "Lemko Separatism"

"A writer belongs to a certain national community which besides the language has common ideals, often beliefs, certain specific mentality ("the national character" of Poles, French or Russians used somewhat figuratively), and most of all common experience fixed in tradition, experience which attached the members of this community to certain values and models connected with some historical events, personages or causes important for this nation. The emotional and intellectual attitude to these common values is an element that unites the nation. A writers work is by no means unaffected by this sphere of social life. Especially at times when the national survival is in danger or independence at stake is this sphere directly reflected in literary works. One could say that the conditions of national existence make writers obligated to deal with matters that are of vital importance to the society.²

This quote, taken from "An Outline of the Theory of Literature" by M. Glowinski, like others cited in the following article, has been used to show certain general regularities in the interaction between literature and social life. The topic we would like to present here is strictly connected with this matter. Thus, first the problem of involvement of contemporary Lemko writers in Lemkos social life will be generally outlined to further show how literary work affects the particular spheres of the consolidation of this groups

- 1 By "contemporary Lemko poetry" I understand mainly the literary works written in the Lemko language after WW II, but also the poetry written by the Lemko authors in other languages. The problems I analyze in particular are those that shape the contemporary literary life of the Lemkos in Poland. This review of this literature to be found: H. Duc, *Zycie literackie Lemkow w Polsce po II wojnie swiatowej* (Lemko Literary Life in Poland after World War II), MA thesis manuscript, Institute of Eastern Slavonic Philology, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, 1985; H. Duc-Fajfer, "Glowne nurty wspolczesnej poezji lemkowski" (The Main Trends in the Contemporary Lemko Poetry) in *Roczniki humanistyczne – Słowiaoznawstwo* (Humanities Annuals – Slavonic Culture and Language), 1991 (in press).
- 2 M. Glowinski, A. Okopien-Slawinska, J. Slawinski, *Zarys teorii literatury* (An Outline of the Theory of Literature), Warszawa 1986, p. 22.

sense of ethnic separateness. The interrelation society — writer and writer — society will be analyzed. The main emphasis will be placed on those aspects of Lemkos literary life that result from or affect the contemporary image of so-called “Lemko separatism”. In order to fully understand certain facts from social, cultural and political life of the contemporary Lemko Region it is necessary to briefly outline the important facts from Lemkos history, especially those that affected the formulation of their sense of separateness.

I. What is so-called “Lemko Separatism” and what is its contemporary aspect³

The term “separatism” is usually used to call endeavors after cultural, social or political independence of certain social communities by those who deny them a right to such independence. This term is usually given pejorative connotations by treating such endeavors as disintegrating activities. In this way, for instance, national trends in Ukraine in mid 19th c were called by some Polish, Russian and Old-Rusyns.⁴ In the same way Hungarians called the national aspirations of Slavs in the Habsburg monarchy at that time.⁵

“Lemko separatism,” as K. Nowakowski⁶ rightly observes, started at about the same time as the Ukrainian nation, i.e. in the period of national revolutions in Europe. Similarly, in mid 19th c names Ukraine — Ukrainian, Lemko Region — Lemko became more and more commonly used.⁷ This fact is important to understand the essence of “Lemko separatism” because it originated at the same period of time and probably for the same reasons and due to the processes that resulted in the development of a number of modern Slav nations. However, when at the

beginning of the revolutions of 1848 the Slav national movements changed into movements typically political, which meant the development of

3 More details on the subject in: H. Duc-Fajfer, “Lemkowie w Polsce” (Lemkos in Poland) in *Magury* '91, Warszawa 1992. The problem, as one of the dominant ones in the contemporary Lemko reality, is dealt with in the majority of articles and dissertations on the current situation of Lemkos in Poland. Since it is impossible to quote them all, I will give only two examples, showing the problem in extremely different interpretation: M. Dolynskiy, “Lemky – tobtu rusyny-ukrajinci z Beskydu Nyzkoho” in *Zustriczi*, No. 19, 1989, pp. 58–3; P. R. Magocsi, “Nation-Building or Nation Destroying?: Lemkos, Poles and Ukrainians in Contemporary Poland.” In *The Polish Review*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, 1990, pp. 197–209.

4 M. Dolynskiy, *Lemky ...*, p. 60; J. Kozik, *Ukrainski ruch narodowy w Galicji w latach 1830-1848* (Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia in years 1830-48), Krakow 1973, p. 15.

5 J. Kozik, *Ukrainski...*, p. 15.

6 K. Z. Nowakowski, “Sytuacja polityczna na Lemkowszczyźnie w latach 1918–1939” (The Political Situation on Lemko Region in years 1918–39) in *Lemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat* (Lemkos in the History and Culture of the Carpathians), part I”, Rzeszow 1992, p. 314.

7 The term “nation” is used here in the contemporary meaning, that is national rebirth. On the name “Ukraina” see W. Scrzyk, *Historia Ukrainy* (The History of Ukraine), Wroclaw 1990, pp. 9-10. On the name “Lemko”, “Lemkovyna” see B. Struminski, *Nazwa ludej i kraju in Lemkiwszczyna. Zemla, ludy, istorija, kultura*, vol. I New York 1988, pp. 11–12.

nations in the modern sense, Lemko aspirations (the whole region, including the Southern part) remained at the stage of literary, linguistic and ethnographic activities.⁸ The most advanced national actions should be considered the cultural and educational actions undertaken by so-called “Wakeners” — Alexander Dukhnoyich, Alexander Pavlovyich and others assembled in so-called “Liternaturne Zaviedienije Priaszewskie” (Presov Literary Group).⁹

In Galician Lemko Region the “separatist” way of thinking and attitudes in the second half of the 19th c were manifested by the attempts to create Lemko literary language undertaken in so-called “Old-Rusyn circles”¹⁰ as well as dissertations on Lemko language as separate from both Russian and Ukrainian.¹¹

In the battles for control in Lemko Region between the pro-Russian and national Ukrainian parties from the late 19th c till WW II¹² Lemkos most often tried to find the possibility to “be themselves,” they declared themselves on that side which ensured such a possibility. For example, Kachkovsky libraries, of Russophile orientation, according to J. Moklak “played an important role in creating the separate Lemko consciousness and preserved many cultural features characteristic only of Lemkos”.¹³ Pseudo-Russophile newspaper “Lemko” was in Lemko language. Lemkos, on the other hand, could not find the support for their aspirations among the national Ukrainian group. This group, particularly in the inter-war period “started vigorous indoctrination in Lemko Region, first of all by Greek Catholic church and educational association

“Proswita. This action, demanding much effort, was based on a tactically wrong basis that Lemko dialect and culture are contaminated and need ukrainization, which meant de facto eradication.”¹⁴

8 J. Kozik, *Ukrainski ...*, p. 21.

9 On the subject of literature, attempts to create a grammatical system and folklore records see M. Dzwinka, “Literatura piwnicznych zemel” (Literature of Northern Lands) in *Lemkiwszczyna ...*, pp. 379–415; J. Sirka, “Literatura piwdennych Lemkiw” (Literature of Southern Lemkos) in *Lemkiwszczyna ...*, pp. 416–464; P. Trochanowski, “Wokol Tadeusza Andrzeja Olszanskiego i jego (?) spraw” (About Tadeusz Andrzej Olszanski and His (?) Affairs) in *Magury '90*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 151–2.

10 O. Rudlowczak, “Priaszewska literaturna spilka Duchnowyczs i literaturni problemy” (Duchnowyczs Presov Literary Circle and Literary Problems) in *Dukla*, vol XIII Presov 1965, No. 56–66.

11 This was the language, called “yazychie”, that the most outstanding Lemko prose writer, W. Chylak (Geronimo the Anonymous) used.

12 M. Astriab, “Kolko slow o lemkowski biesiedie” (Some Words about the Lemko language) in *Uczytel*, No. 48, 1871.

13 K. Z. Nowakowski, *Sytuacja ...*; J. Moklak, “Political Orientations among the Lemkos in the Inter-war Period (1928-39)” in: *Contributions of the Carpatho-Rusyn Studies Group to the IV World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies*, Nev Haven 1990.

14 J. Moklak, “Mychajlo Kaczkovskiy i czytelnic jego imienia na Lemkowszczyznie” [Mykhailo Kachkovskiy and Reading Rooms of His Name in Lemko Region] in *Magury '87*, Warsaw 1987, p. 63.

The Lemko aspirations suffered a severe blow from mass arrests of Rusophiles by Austrian authorities during WW I. In the camp in Talerhoff a large number of Lemko intelligentsia died. Despite this, during the interwar period the autonomous movement was considerably activated. It was strongly manifested by the creation of Rus National Republic of Lemkos in Florynka in December 1918. The main postulate was to create one integral Lemko Region either as an autonomous socio-political organism, or as an independent territory within some other country, best in Czechoslovakia. Contacts were made with Rus National Council in Presov and indirectly with Czech government. The Republic was terminated when its leaders were arrested in March 1920 by the Polish authorities on a charge of treason. However, they were acquitted as acting not from wrong motives but fulfilling “the will of the people”.¹⁵

One of the causes of so-called “religious war” that began in Lemkovyna in 1926 was Lemkos protest against strong pro-Ukrainian propaganda of Greek Catholic priests. To stop extensive changes from Greek Catholic to Orthodox rites, at the beginning of 1934, there was formed Apostolic Administration of Lemko Region, independent of the Przemyśl Bishopric.¹⁶

The Lemko autonomists managed in 1934 to carry out their postulate of teaching at schools in Lemko Region from Lemko books (“Bukwar” -Dictionary and “Lemkiwsky Czytanky” — Lemko Readers — edited by M. Trochanowski) and founded “Ruska Bursa” in Gorlice.

We should also mention here “Lemko Soyuz” started in 1933 with its press organ “Lemko” the publications of which in Poland and the USA greatly helped in the development of written Lemko language. It is due to “Lemko-Soyuz” that the majority of writings by Wania

Hunianka (Wislocki) and Ivan Rusenko were published. Their works, especially Rusenkos, are of highest importance for the standardization of modern Lemko language and development of Lemko patriotism.

The most important aspects of Lemkos autonomous aspirations till WW II mentioned in the article give an overall picture of what has been called “Lemko separatism”.

At present, in completely different Lemko reality this trend is also there and, which seems to surprise sociologists, since early 1980s has become intensified in outward aspects of activities.

The years of deportations 1945–47 destroyed the ethnographic Lemko Region but, as it turned out, did not destroy the Lemko people. After the first stage of deportations to the Soviet Ukraine, there remained 30–40 per cent Lemkos in Poland. They were to be assimilated with all the Ukrainians on the territory of Poland. Since the deportations were forced and the Lem-

15 T. A. Olszanski, “Drogi tozsamosci Lemkow” (Routes of Lemko identity) in *Magury* ‘90, Warszawa 1990. p. 44.

16 A. Zieba, “Poland and Political Life in Carpatho-Rus and among Carpatho-Rusyns in Emigration in North America (1918–39)” in *Contributions* pp. 26–7.

kos did not feel guilty of the charge of support for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), they strongly resisted the assimilation. Families cared for the Lemko traditions and language: "With admirable obstinacy, against any logic and desperate hopelessness, these people taught their children the Lemko language. They told us as much as they knew themselves whenever they found a breathing space",¹⁷ says one of the leading "separatists" — Jaroslaw Hunka.

After the Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Association was formed in 1956 Lemkos, who contributed to its creation, received some autonomy within the organization as so-called "Lemko Section". The weekly magazine "Nasze Slovo" (Our Word) included the "Lemkowska Stroniczka" ("Lemko Page") which greatly helped in the development of Lemko culture and its "separatism". For many years it was the only place where texts in Lemko language could be published in Poland. Looking through all the issues of "Nasze Slovo" one can see how "besida" (language) on "Lemkowska Stroniczka" becomes standardized, how many authors begin to use identical grammatical norms and spelling. Texts that were a paragon of Lemko patriotism and attachment to the national tradition were frequently published here. Most contemporary Lemko poets published their poems on "Lemkowska Stroniczka", and the writings of some, e.g. Zelem and Holowczak are known to Lemkos in Poland due to these publications.

It cannot be maintained that the Lemko contemporary movement of the '80s sprang up suddenly. Its continuity from before the War till now can be found in poems by Ivan Rusenko or Ivan Horoszczak, in the attempts to form a separate Lemko organization made several times in the '70s and '80s; finally in all the parents who persistently inculcated their Lemko patriotism in their children born in the West, who taught them to think and write in the Lemko language: "As soon as my father unharnessed the horse, made his hands less black in the bucket, ate some bread with garlic, wiped his moustache and finally took me on his lap — everything became alive in that far-away land. And nobody will convince me that there was ever a happier, a more beautiful land. If there were, my dad would have told me."¹⁸

In the '80s, due to less tight state censorship and due to becoming independent of the censorship of the Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Association, the young generation of the Lemko intelligentsia born after the deportations, having reached "the age classical for searching their identity"¹⁹ demonstrated their own vision of Lemko Region. It was demonstrated in volumes of poetry²⁰, during Lemko Vatra — a yearly cultural meeting,²¹ in the ar-

17 K. Z. Nowakowski, *Sytuacja ...*, p. 379.

18 J. Hunka, *Lemkowie – dzisiaj* (Lemkos – Today) . Warszawa 1985, p. 12.

19 P. Trochanowski, "Słowo Lemka o sobie i swoim narodzie" (Lemkos Word about Himself and His People) in *Regiony* Nos 2–4, 1987, p. 2.

20 P. R. Magocsi, *Nation – Building...*, p. 202.

21 So far there have been thirteen volumes of the Lemko poetry published in Poland; see footnote 1.

ticles and publications in leaflet "Holos Vatry" (The Voice of Vatra). After the demonstrations there came a stage of a more systematic work. "An Anthology of Lemko Literature" was prepared²² works on Lemko dictionary began.²³

In 1989 the Association of Lemkos was registered in Legnica — the first post-war Lemko organization, its activities covering all Poland. It has branches in the West and in the mountains. The inscription on the seal and documents are written in the Lemko language. Its aim is the protection and promotion of Lemko culture as national. There is Lemko Theater affiliated with the Association.²⁴ In quarterly "Besida"²⁵ volumes of poetry, some prose pieces, reprints of articles about Lemkos are published. The Educational Section prepares books for teaching the Lemko language at schools.²⁶ In the school year 1991/92 teaching of the Lemko language was started at two schools to include other schools in the following years.²⁷ A grammar of modern Lemko language is being worked on. Two parts — phonetics and morphology have already been done.²⁸

In 1991 the Lemko association "Ruska Bursa" in Gorlice was reactivated. It has started proceedings to regain its property, especially the building of Ruska Bursa. Following the Statute, it is going to run educational programs for the Lemko youth.

The Lemko Association is a member of the World Rusyns Confederacy. A ten-person representation of the Association participated in the 1st World Congress of Rusyns in Medzilaborce, Slovakia in March 1991. The 2nd World Congress of Rusyns took place in Krynica, Poland in May 1993. As we can see the Lemko "separatism" is not so complete. Like the Lemko "separatists" before the War, they keep up national ties with other Rusyn groups. In view of stronger national aspirations of these groups²⁹ a stronger cooperation with them is possible.

22 T. A. Olszanski, "Wokol lemkowski Watr i spraw" (Around the Lemko Vatrás and Maters) in *Magury* '89, Warszawa 1989.

23 For example: J. Hunka, *Lemkowie*; P. Trochanowski, *Wokol*; P. Trochanowski, *Slowo....*

24 It was edited by Piotr Trochanowski. So far it has not been published as a complete version. Some poems, translated into the Polish language were published in 1989: *Lemkowie pisza – wiersze z lasow i gor*, Krakow 1989. (The Lemkos write – poems from forests and mountains).

25 Three versions of the dictionary are being prepared: two as an amateur undertaking by P. Trochanowski and J. Horoszczak; the third one as a regular scientific project carried out in the Department of East Slavic Studies of the Faculty of East Slavic Philology, the Jagiellonian University, Krakow.

26 The theatre, directed by Andrzej Kopcza, has produced performances since 1989. Several plays from the life of Lemkos, such as "Odciete korzenie" (Severed Roots), "Wertep w Karpatach" (Caroling in the Carpathians)

27 Editor-in-chief – Piotr Trochanowski.

28 No citation given.

29 The Lemko language was taught at a primary school in Uscie Gorlickie and Kunkowa villages. The instruction of the Lemko language was officially approved in 1992/93 in a primary school in Krynica.

The “separatists” believe that the only way for Lemkos to escape cultural assimilation is national autonomy. “The Ukrainians probably assumed that the Lemkos, to avoid polonization, would have to yield to ukrainization. (...) It is a wrong assumption. The Lemkos can remain themselves, and if they are to lose their national character — it is polonization. (...) Why then should we become ukrainized if neither we nor our ancestors ever considered ourselves Ukrainians? (...) To tell the truth, there is only one dignified although inconvenient way out. To remain ourselves!”³⁰

Not looking at the problem from the Ukrainian point of view and adopting neutral terminology instead, the whole movement should be classified as Lemkos national aspirations.

It is known from history how important for each reviving or newly formed nation was the task to create national literature with folk language.³¹ It should then be found out what role plays the contemporary Lemko poetry in what has been called Lemkos national aspirations.

II. The role of contemporary Lemko poetry in the development and standardization of the Lemko language

“Literature is an essential factor of integration of a nations language. To a large extent the process of uniting various regional versions of a language into a prevailing system of the general language is carried out through literary works. It is a continuous process, but it is particularly noticeable at early stages of the development of a nations language.”³²

The oldest texts written in folk speech in Lemkovyna refer to the 16th c and the tradition of such writings has been preserved till today,³³ so the patterns of the Lemko written language have existed for a long time. However, the first national wakeners (mainly Dukhnovych and Khylyak) followed the linguistic idea proposed by Dobrovsky and Levytsky who believed that the literary language is a result of a compromise between the speech of the people and the relics of Slav literature.³⁴ This tendency had a negative effect on the development of the literary language of Rusyns – Lemkos. Consequently there was a differentiation into literature for common people written in so-called “low” folk language and literature for educated people written in “high” literary language which was based on Church Slavic with elements of Russian and folk. In this way the Rusyns got a fatal conviction that their dialect could not be used for serious matters and that in education and intellectual questions some “higher” language should be used. At different times such “higher” language was Church Slavic, Russian, Ukrai-

30 The authors: Miroslawa Chomiak and Henryk Fontanski (The University of Silesia).

31 P. R. Magocsi, “Rusyny: novyj cy onovlanyj narod?” in *Rusyn*, No. 2, 1992, Presov 1991, pp. 2–8.

32 J. Hunka, *Lemkowie ...* (The Lemkos), p. 7.

33 This term has appeared in publications on Lemkos (T. A. Olszanski, “Drogi ...”, p. 48; *Magury '91*, Warszawa 1992, p. 5)

34 J. Kozik, *Ukrainski ...*, p. 138.

nian, Polish) Slovak, Hungarian — in case of Rusyn groups outside Poland).³⁵ We find a perfect reflection of this conviction in a poem by Jakov Dudra:

*But what Ukrainian are you
and what education have you,
if the speech is uneducated
like a knot on a knot?*³⁶

At the beginning of the 20th c, especially in the inter-war period, there were attempts made to change this attitude. These attempts include, mentioned before, education of the Lemko language and literary works, especially by Ivan Rusenko. It was him who started to persuade the Lemkos of the value of their mother tongue:

*Our language is dear to us,
Though a little ungrammatical,
Our mother taught it to us,
It is our own, not borrowed.

Though our language is simple,
It can express everything,
Whether we are light in the heart
Whether woe breaks our heart.

So we should respect our word
be it little or high,
everything we have lost,
But we still have our language.*³⁷

And Rusenko can really prove that with a skilled pen you can create in the Lemko language poems of a high artistic class, compose descriptions of impressionist-spatial profundity, filled with emotions. And really masterly are his descriptions of the mountainous landscape, and the atmosphere of homeliness is created by those native words, sounding coarse, adequate to the nature of the mountains:

*Stony roads and rushing brooks,
Birch woods and slumbering forests,
High mountains, green clearings,
Sheer glens, shrubbery ...*³⁸

The linguistic substance of Rusenkos poems is a very good model for standardization of the Lemko contemporary language. It seems that the contemporary poets used him as a base. Otherwise, how can the fact that Ivan Zelem from Wapienne, deported to Ukraine at the age of 20, Ivan Holovchak from Tylicz deported to Ukraine at the age of 16, Pawel Stefanowski from

35 M. Glowinski, *Zarys ...*(The Outline ...), pp. 32–33.

36 M. Dzwinka, *Literatura ...*(The Literature ...); J. Sirka, *Literatura ...*(The Literature ...), op. cit.

37 J. Kozik, *Ukrainski ...*, p. 18.

38 P. R. Magocsi, *Rusyny ...*, p.3.

Bielanka, Ivan Horoszczak from Binczarowa, Jakov Dudra from Losie and many other poets from various places in Lemko Region write using practically identical language norms and vocabulary? Their poems (and not only poems), in turn, published mainly on the "Lemko Page" serve as a linguistic model for other, younger people learning to write in the Lemko language. In this way the written language becomes codified spontaneously, as it were. Since it is easier to publish now, the number of texts written in the Lemko language is considerable. They can, in turn, be used when forming the Lemko standard language.

The poets who can write in Polish, which they usually know at the level of native speakers, often Ukrainian (many of them use it fluently) decide to write in the Lemko, certainly make a conscious difficult choice. It is definitely more difficult to write in a language that is only now being formed than in one that has well established norms, that is taught at schools, heard from mass media, read in books, that is an official language. Feeling the sense of native tradition, native values, the poets want to express them in the language they regard as their mother tongue:

"I write in the Lemko language. It is true that I wrote my first rhymes in Polish, it is true that fate (...) willed it that I learned Russian and Ukrainian and in these languages I wrote what might be called poems. But I soon realized that all those refined and great languages are inadequate to express the Lemko pain, melancholy and everything else ... I write in the Lemko language because in any other language the Lemko symbols, synonyms, all the imagery become wooden. I write in the Lemko language because I feel that only in the Lemko language the falcon really suffers with dignity, the fir soughs with longing, and shepherds song is unrepeatable. I write in the Lemko language because it sounds most beautiful to me.

And I write in the Lemko language also because it is the language of my mother and my father. Because it is my language and my childrens.³⁹

In view of the fact that the writers we are talking about consciously decide to write in the Lemko language, it is them who most need fixed written grammatical norms of the Lemko language. And it turns out that it is exactly from among the Lemko poets and journalists that come those that work on dictionaries and grammar of the Lemko language.⁴⁰

III. Contribution of contemporary Lemko poetry in consolidating Lemko historical memory

One of the basic factors uniting a nation is common historical experiences and memory of them consolidated in the community consciousness. The importance of literature in the process of creating community's image of its national history is fundamental. Literature usually commemorates some her-

39 J. Dudra, "Wyszlo sonce iz-za chmary", in *Urodiwsia ja chlopom* ("And there came out the sun from behind a cloud" see "I was born a peasant"), Warszawa 1982, p. 11.

40 I. Rusenko, "Rik 1945" in *Kalendar Lemko-Soyuza na hod 1960* (Year 1945, see The Calendar of the Lemko Union for the Year 1960), New York, 1960.

oic or tragic events, creates national heroes, exposes turning-points in the history of the nation.

In contemporary Lemko poetry references to the past, sometimes very remote, legendary are an important factor in creating Lemkos ideas about their history. Poets often draw from folklore. The poetic image of the past substitutes lack of teaching national history at schools, stimulates pride in the past, heroes and famous Lemkos.

In the favourite poetic motifs referring to more or less remote history of Lemkos the following can be distinguished:

1. Those that evidence the antiquity of the Lemko origin

This covers mainly all poetic references to White Croats as Lemkos ancestors:

- Born in the Carpathians
- on the wings of Rus
- of forefather Croat⁴¹
- In the forests and along the routes
- The eternal spirit welcomes
- True born
- Croat⁴²

Deriving their roots from proto-Slavonic tribe of White Croats, a belief quite common among Lemkos⁴³, gives the contemporary Lemkos the feeling of antiquity, splendor of their tribe whose origin is hidden in legendary past and the conviction of the autonomy of the native culture from time immemorial.

Such feelings are also stimulated by the belief that the Lemko ancestors received Christianity from Cyril and Methodius.⁴⁴ Evidence of this belief can often be found in the poems of contemporary Lemko writers:

*And my God
among fir trees
and among beech trees lived,
and blessed
Methodius paths,

for generations in their faith
that Cyril and Methodius followed
here, on the Lemko land the people prayed⁴⁵*

41 I. Rusenko, "Lemkovyna" (Lemkowszczyzna) in: *Nasha Knyzka* (Our Book), New York, 1945, pp. 147–48.

42 P. Trochanowski, *Slowo*, p. 11.

43 The reference is made to P. Murianka, J. Horoszczak, H. Duc-Fajfer, J. Zwolinski, B. Gambal.

44 P. Stefanowski, "Lemkowie" in *Lem*, Warszawa 1991, p. 7.

45 I. Zelem, "Hory mojoho kraju" (The Mountains of My Country), in *Nasze Slowo*, No. 31, 1981, p. 6.

Many a time is the right of Lemkos — Rusnaks to live on their native land emphasized, the land on which they have been living for ages, the right to keep their native unchanging traditions:

*We
Lemkos
mountaineers in the Carpathians
We Rusnaks
we are the same
from time immemorial
for ages
we are the same
.....
we were born here
our bread is here
and our land
and forest ...⁴⁶*

Independent of the scientific theory of the Lemko ethnogeny, the social convictions, greatly consolidated by the literature, support the belief in proto-Slavonic origin of the Lemko culture and its hundreds of years old development on its ethnic territory.

2. Motifs connected with emigration to America

In the years 1880–1910 over 842 thousand⁴⁷ people including Lemkos emigrated from Galicia to seek livelihood beyond the Ocean. Some sources even say the emigration to the USA was started in Galicia by a Lemko, J. Kaszynski, from Nowa Wies in 1872, and it is facetiously said that America was discovered by Lemkos.⁴⁸

Emigration, forced by difficult economic situation, was deeply reflected in folk “emigration” songs full of grief and homesickness for their native land. The homesickness, sorrows and great attachment to fatherland that made many emigrants go back home, are also reflected in the contemporary poetry:

*I will not go overseas again
I will plough you my little plot
I will weed you, sow
I will cry with you
and laugh with you
.....
Forgive me my land
that like an unfaithful prodigal
son I went to far-away lands*

46 H. Duc-Fajfer, *Lemkowie ...* (The Lemkos ...), op. cit., p. 17.

47 Ibid., p. 18.

48 P. Stefaniwskij, “Lemko w sudi” (The Lemkos in Court), in *Lem*, Warszawa 1991, p. 37.

*left you my native
I thought I was poor
and naked like Lazarus
the world lured me
with thaler*

*When winter blew in my eyes
with longing
and made me cry
I already knew that I sold you
cheaply*

*I will not find another
like you*

.....
*I am not coming back to you
oh land
because I sweated
no
But because I loved you
painfully loved⁴⁹*

Besides economic importance (the emigrants helped their families that remained in the country), the emigration also considerably raised the level of consciousness. The Lemkos returning home brought back with them progressive ideas from the New World. This fact is reflected in the contemporary poetry. e.g. in Ivan Horoszczaks description of a dispute between

Kundrat and the priest, or in "The grandfather was a worldly man":

*And the grandfathers brother returned
To the country from abroad*

.....
*The boys soon told him
about the priests manners*

.....
*But Kundrat started immediately
What his matter was
Why should the priest interfere
In young peoples playing*

.....
*That socage ended
The time of progress is coming
And the priest lives for the people
Not for business⁵⁰*

49 J. Zwolinski, "Wira" (The Faith) in *Znaky czasu*. Koszalin 1991, p. 12.

50 P. Stefaniwskij, "Prośba lemkiw do urzędu polakiw" (Lemkos Appeal to the Polish Authorities) in *Lem...*, op. cit., p. 40.

3. Motifs commemorating the tragedy in Talerhof concentration camp

The memory of the concentration camp organized in Talerhoff by Austrian authorities during WW I, in which several thousands of Lemkos were imprisoned, mainly intelligentsia (priests and teachers) and peasants leaders is still alive among the Lemkos.⁵¹ It is commonly maintained that in Talerhoff the majority of Lemko intelligentsia died and T(h)alerhof is treated as the greatest (besides deportations) tragedy in the Lemko history.⁵² In many villages there are crosses commemorating the victims of Talerhoff. The contemporary writers often use the symbol of the Lemko martyrdom and innocently spilled blood, the symbol cementing the feeling of the national unity:

*In Lemkovyna and Talerhof
Blood innocently spilt
Let in our hearts always remain
Eternal and holly memory⁵³*

*I here, I — the Truth Sofija
Tortured, beaten — still alive
Talerhof did not destroy me
Tormenting did not kill me⁵⁴*

4. Motifs of Lemkos during WW II

Because of the tragic events in Lemko Region after the war (deportations in the years 1945–47), the atrocities of WW II were not reflected in the Lemko poetry at length. However, many poems were devoted to volunteers from Lemko Region — soldiers of the Red Army, “dobrowolci”, both to those who were killed for freedom “yours and ours” and those who were sent in exile on returning from the front or whose families were deported to Ukraine:

*Thus sang the volunteers — thirty-two of them
Long live Bilcarevo — we are going to a holly act
When we return we will bring freedom
We will plant it in your mountains so that it would abolish slavery
And they rushed into battle
For freedom ours and yours and this homeland⁵⁵*

51 V. Kulczytsky, *Ukrajinska trudowa emigracyja* (The Ukrainian Economic Emigration) in “Ukrajinskyj kalendar 1985”, Warszawa 1985, pp.199–201.

52 Ibid., p. 200; Krasovsky, D. Solynko, *Chto my, Lemky*, (Who Are We Lemkos), Lviv 1991, p. 23.

53 P. Murianka, Son, in *Jak sokol wode z kamienia* (Like an Eagle ...), Warszawa 1989, pp. 176–85.

54 I. Horoszczak, *An Elegy about the Lemkovyna*, manuscript in my private collection.

55 T. Kuryllo, *Talerhofskij Almanach*, Lvov 1930; V. R. Vawryk, *Talerhof w 20-ti rokovyna narodnoi trahedii halytsko-ruskoho naroda*, (Talerhof on the 20th anniversary of the tragedy of the Galicia — Rusyn People, Lvov 1934; P. Stefanowski, “Lemkowie w Talerhofie” (Lemkos in Talerhof) in *Magury* '82, Warszawa 1982, pp. 41–48; T. A. Olszanski, “Krotko o Thalerhofie”, (Briefly about Thalerhof) in *Magury* '82 Warszawa 1982, pp. 49–56.

These poems are devoted to description of heroic fight of the “eagles from Lemkovyna” against the enemy only partly. A sad reflection is always present, reflection on what award awaited them on returning home:

*We were torn by grenades
and bombed by bombs
In return in two years
We were sent in exile*⁵⁶

And a rhetorical question:

*You fought for the freedom of others
For what did you get such a reward*⁵⁷

The emphasis on Lemkos participation in the fight against the invader is particularly important in view of what happened after the war. The officially stated reason of deportations, i.e. the necessity to suppress the support for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) by Ukrainian people, including Lemkos, in view of the fact of their voluntary involvement in the fight against the Nazis, is denounced here as completely untrue. And the deportation itself becomes an act of utmost injustice.

5. Motifs of deportations, returns and other facts from the recent history of Lemkos

All the poetical motifs referring to more remote history are in fact only episodic when compared with definitely dominant motifs of deportations and later life of Lemkos. The most tragic fact in the Lemko history had a fundamental effect on the Lemko culture and is still strongly present in national consciousness. There is no contemporary Lemko poet who did not devote a considerable part of his poetic reflections to deportations, serious destruction and devastation of the present-day Lemko Region.

The deportations of 1945 (to Ukraine) resound in poetry with a tragic emotional tone — the irrevocability of the situation, the pressure, alien land, people and customs they found in the new place, longing for their lost mountains:

*Forget the good times
Of singing, of music,
They will never come back —
Everything was lost in Zaleszczyki

Such conditions we have here,
We have to get used to them,
And we have to dance
To what the musicians play
.....
Let us resign ourselves to our fate,*

56 “Talerhof 1914–84” in *Holos Watry*. (The Voice of Vatra) No. 1, 1984, Krynica 1984, p. 2.

57 I. Rusenko, “Na Lemkovyni” (On the Lemkovyna) in *Nasza Knyzka*, p. 150.

*and everyone will survive,
Although they frown at us,
Although the climate is a bit different*⁵⁸

The poet writes about the poverty, hunger, humiliation the deportees suffered during the first, most difficult years:

*I saw my sons
And my youngest Vania
wandering in torn pants
With his mouth full of hunger he whispered
Dad
Daddy
Eat
.....
For my seed
My flower
That did not take root in the steppe
For Lemko mother with a birds wings outspread
suffering deeply*⁵⁹

The deportations of 1947 (to land formerly belonging to Germans) exterminated the ethnographic Lemkovyna by complete deportation of the Lemkos who were almost 100% of the population of this area.

The poems show both the hard lot of the people “scattered all over the world”, their grief, longing, homelessness, the sense of wrong:

*And we went
on that doomsday
to the unknown
with some livestock
with the heart
broken in two*⁶⁰

and the lot of the sad “orphaned” mountains, Lemko Region crying for her children:

*Outside gray, gloomy,
And in the hut the windows crying, like little children
Who are they weeping for?
For those people who left for the world?*⁶¹

The deportations of 1947 are also a tragic memory of the camp in Jaworzno where, like in Talerhoff, many innocent Lemkos were sent:

58 P. Trochanowskij, from the stage production of “Lemko autumn”

59 S. Madzelan, “Iszly na swiate dilo” in *Nasze Slovo*. No. 21, 1956, p. 6.

60 I. Horoszczak, *Poemat o Lemkowszczyźnie ...*

61 M. Sobyn, “Na hrib Nestora” (On Nestors Grave) in *Holos Watry*. No. 2, 1989, p. 3 (excerpt quoted from manuscript).

*Because they took him to Jaworzno
and tortured him as much as they could.
They kept him for months
before they sent him back home.*⁶²

In the Lemko poetry there are many apocalyptic images of “crosses crying with shreds,” “churches torn by a shot of shingles,” “Madonnas with jabbed eyes,” terrible devastation. But the poems reflect also more optimistic facts — reviving life in Lemko Region, most often with many problems, e.g. in Polany:

*at the church
taken by force
from Lemkos*⁶³

Despite everything there is life and its manifestations such as Song and Dance Ensemble Lemko Region, newly built churches, church fairs on Jawor mountain, Vatra are found in optimistic poems:

*I put my foot
like an infant
step by step
little feet
begging for warming
I am going to you my Vatra*⁶⁴

6. Motifs of famous Lemkos, heroes

Many contemporary poems are devoted to famous people, old heroes or outstanding persons in their native culture or to those often anonymous Lemkos who with their hard everyday life prove the existence and contemporary life of Lemko Region.

From among old, half-legendary heroes Lemko highland robbers are mentioned most often. The names of some of them, such as Sawka Bajus, Czepiec are preserved in court files and folk stories, songs. In contemporary poetry they are shown as a symbol of freedom, haughtiness, a protest against social oppression, religious and national discrimination:

*And I will sing Sawkas song
Shepherds song
robbers song
from age to age
always free
primeval
fatherlands song*⁶⁵

62 I. Rusenko, *Rik 1945*, ...

63 P. Murianka, “Spowid w stepi” in *Jak sokol* ..., pp.192–99.

64 S. Trochanowska, “Sudnyj den”, in *Potem, teraz, przedtem*, Nowy Sacz 1984, p.11.

65 I. Holowczak, “Poroznia chyza”, in *Holos Watry*, No. 4. 1987, Krynica 1987.

The poetry pays the honor to national wakeners:

*Died her confessor
Duchnowycz
in suffering
for Rus⁶⁶*

The poetry commemorates Maksym Sandovych's heroism and martyr's death (in 1914 during Austrian repressions against Rusyns):

*... soul
of Sandowycz
rose to the sky
with his last words
"long live Rus people
and holy Orthodox Church"
Cried his mother
Cried the children
and his father
clenched his fists in pain
in great suffering
of the people
the spirit of freedom
arose⁶⁷*

The poetry also mentions the victims of the Nazis:

*Then they
were tortured by Hitler
.....
their blood was drawn with fangs
of the Gorlice Gestapo
In Jaslo behind the bars
Alexandras, the teacher, portrait
was torn by the dogs
the great Wodzik
was destroyed
at the forest
from hiding⁶⁸*

From among the Lemko artists and people who made contributions to the Lemko culture most often is mentioned Nikifor Drowniak — a world-wide known painter, a natural talent (P. Stefanowski, "Nykyfor", Notyfor; W. Graban, "Drowniak"; J. Zwolinski, "Netyfor"; I. Holowczak, "Lemkiwskij Apollon"). There are poems devoted to Hryhoryj Pecuch — a sculptor; poets: Jakov Dudra, Peter Murianka, Ivan Zelem; in the field of music: Jaroslaw

66 M. Olesniewycz, "Zal", in *Besida*, No. 6-7, 1991, Krynica, pp. 6-7.

67 P. Stefaniwskij, "Lemkowyna" (Lemkovyna), in *Lem* p. 13.

68 J. Szkyrpan, "Idu gu Tobi", in *Holos Watry* No. 5, 1988, Krakow 1988, p. 2.

Trochanowski, Pawel Jurkowski; Teodor Gocz — founder of the Lemko museum, and many others.

Besides these personages there are also mentioned less known people: daddy Wania who defended the church in Polany, granny Kuzma, “uncle Kostia Roman, Wasyl that wanted to become Bazyl and Wlodzimierz that was baptized Wladyslaw”⁶⁹ — characters presenting various problems of Lemkos life, almost symbols of being a Lemko today.

The poets try to commemorate both, show their deeds, fruit of their actions and always emphasize that they are Lemkos, “our people”, “our” representatives.

The poetic vision of the history of Lemko Region presented by the contemporary Lemko writers means, in the present situation of Lemkos, preserving the memory of their national

history and “as long as there is memory, the nation exists”, as reads the title of an article about Lemkos.⁷⁰ As a folk poet, Michal Olegniewicz writes:

*Lemkovyna! Give us hope!
Call our history to mind,
Reach to our memory
And draw us towards you.*⁷¹

The awareness of common past cements and unites a community. In case of the Lemko community literature plays a particular role in continuing this process because “Ideological and cultural consciousness of a society is maintained in history largely due to literary record. This importance of literature is manifested particularly strongly when other social bonds are broken (...) Literature then (...) takes over the functions of non-existent social and political institutions. It can become the fundamental element of socio-national unity.”⁷²

IV. Shaping and consolidation of an emotional model. Type of national mentality in contemporary Lemko poetry

“Literary works consolidate certain common emotions, e.g. national or religious, patriotism, hate for the enemy etc, they even promote their formation.”⁷³

In Lemko poems there is a special atmosphere, a special emotional intonation which reflects “Lemko suffering spirit.”⁷⁴ Depending on the poetic

69 P. Murianka, *Spowid w stepi ...*, p.196.

70 P. Stefaniwskij, “Lemkowyna” ..., p.14.

71 P. Stefaniwskij, “Elahija o smerty S. Sandowycza”, in *Lem*, pp. 52–54.

72 P. Stefaniwskij, “Lemkiwskij dim (Tryptyk)” in *Lem ...*, pp. 15–17.

73 W. Graban, “Ruska wigilia” in *Na kolpaku gor*, Krakow 1991, p. 39.

74 J. Lesniak, “Kongres Lemkow – Poki istnieje pamiec, poty istnieje narod” (A Lemko Convention — As long as there is memory, there exists a nation) in *Gazeta Krakowska*, March 28, 1991, p. 1, 3.

temperament of the author, on the form of the poem or lyrical subject, emotions can be expressed in various ways; the poem may be more or less emotional but as to the quality it is almost always the same category of emotion, the same strictly defined range of feelings. The poet, feeling this psychological determination, writes⁷⁵:

Undoubtedly, these feelings reflect to a large extent the real state of the psyche of many Lemkos who after deportations could not adapt to the new place, their longing, grief, homesickness⁷⁶:

*There is only one thing that pains me
Only one
Torments my soul
Only one —
After you, my homeland,
Despair
And longing
that will never stop*⁷⁷

These are reflected in idealized lyrical descriptions of the beauty of homeland, in talking about the charms and magnificence of former life, in treating Lemko Region as “paradise lost”:

*As a blissful corner,
you — happy memory
.....
There is no forgetting you,
My quiet world, —
I miss you, —
my promised land,
my blessed.*⁷⁸

This emotional tone, more sentimental, nostalgic is characteristic of older poems that could be called “longing for the lost” in the Lemko poetry.⁷⁹ New poems by writers of younger generation, though still operating the same patriotic feelings, express a different attitude to reality. They are not a product of passive resignation and recollections, but more active, desperate struggle for survival. The emotions become more dramatic, tragedy is predominant, we often get the impression of an outcry:

*bounded
in color creation
we are carrying the outcry
of the wounded domes
of Byzantine cross outspread*⁸⁰

75 M. Olesniewicz, *Zal ...*, p. 7.

76 M. Glowinski ..., *Zarys ...*, p. 33.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

78 P. Murianka, “Tamtot gwerc” in *Jak sokol ...*, p. 34.

79 P. Murianka, “Bezsylnist” in *Jak sokol ...*, p. 18. [Helplessness].

It would be difficult to find another poetry that would express so much pain and suffering, so marked with "Lemko painful stigma".⁸¹ "A Lemko has pain in his genes" — says P. Trochanowski.⁸²

It is characteristic that within the range of emotions there is no hatred or wishing for revenge on those that caused the tragedy. These feelings are absent in Lemko psyche. "The is one feeling my parents did not teach me. Hatred. Maybe they did not know it."⁸³

Certain specific characteristics of Lemko mentality are emphasized in various works.⁸⁴ These are diligence, peaceful nature, hospitality, honesty.⁸⁵ They are also expressed in poetry:

For their quiet nature
For their unexpressed opinions
For being silent for hundreds of years
For eagerness for peace

For their intelligence and courage
For skills in everything
For their fine life in the mountains
*For their fondness of what is their own*⁸⁶

Such a straightforward poetic self-stereotype proves that Lemkos have a definite idea of their mentality, their national character as it were, which differentiates them from others. It is a very important element of group integration. Like the awareness of common historic experience, the sense of common characteristics consolidates the group and gives them the feeling of being different than others. Literary works that reinforce this stereotype are conducive to the process of integration.

V. The sphere of sacral values — cultural sacrum, objects of national devotion in contemporary Lemko poetry

In the poetry discussed here there is a certain sphere of sacrum closely connected with the national culture and patriotic feelings. It is mainly making sacred those values that are endangered in some way: freedom, homeland, the faith of the ancestors, language, tradition and customs. This is not a new phenomenon in literature. It was a usual trend in literature when national existence was at stake (e.g. Polish Romanticism). The canonization of the determinants of national culture makes it a bounden duty to cultivate them,

80 K. Pudło, *Lemkowie. Proces wrastania w środowisko Dolnego Śląska* (Lemkos. The process of assimilation in the community of Lower Silesia), Wrocław, 1987, pp. 42–43.

81 I. Zelem, "Bludnyj syn" (The prodigal son) in *Nasze Slowo*, No. 23, 1981, p. 6.

82 I. Zelem, "Wapienne" in *Nasze Slowo*, No. 12, 1978, p. 6.

83 H. Duc-Fajfer, *Glowne nurty ...*

84 H. Duc, "Samy" in *W modlitewnym bluznierstwie* (Praying blasphemy), Nowy Sacz, 1985, p. 3

85 W. Graban, "Mamo" in *Na kolpaku hir*, Krakow, 1991, p. 9.

86 P. Trochanowski, *Slowo ...*, p. 3.

and deserting them becomes a grave sin. The prodigal son from Ivan Zelems poem is such a sinner. But he comes back to repent:

*For my lack of faith,
for betrayal
to lands bosom
I will fall
And tears of repentance
I will shed
And in penitential repentance
I will faint.*

*When I atone
My sin
The mountains will cry:
"Our son!"*

*And those prophetic words
Will take me to the sun
From the night⁸⁷*

The basic value of this sacrum is the homeland — the mountains. The poets glorify both the beauty of this land and its exceptional resources, power and wonderful influence as well as close relationship with Lemkos history:

*My land
My quiet country
My meadow strewn with colors
Many a time our lot was poor
Maybe that is why
I love you so much⁸⁸*

Faith, religion are naturally sacred values. In this case mainly cultural symbols of faith are exposed which point to Lemkovynas relationship with Eastern Christianity, such as three-branched crosses, church domes, icons. Besides the language they are the basic cultural factors that differentiate the Lemko culture against the Polish surroundings, like religion is one of the main aspects of Lemko ethnic identification. These signs remained as evidence of the Lemko cultural development in the Carpathian area even after the deportations.

*There was a beautiful church here
that was called new
It was Lemkos, it had three domes
.....*

87 Ibid.

88 For example: J. Tarnovych, *Ilustrowana istoria Lemkivshchyny* (An Illustrated History of Lemko Region), Lviv, 1936; I. F. Lemkyn, *Istoriya Lemkovyny* (The History of Lemko Region), New York, 1969.

*On the domes really Christian crosses
because they had three arms⁸⁹*

Sacralizing the native language meant giving it supernatural power, magnitude. The causative power of the spirit of the native word will allow Lemkos to build their home:

*There came
time
of longing
for their own
and the great
spirit
of native tongue
came
to build its home
from the abyss
of the ages⁹⁰*

The national customs make the cultural continuity. In the Lemkos struggle against assimilation they were also given sacral meaning as being given by God:

*And my God
.....
Taught us to love the stone
and the soil and the sky,
and the shoes and sheepskin reefer,
and to wear the cape,
and to sing songs,
and to build a house
from wood,
and to bake bread
in sunlight.⁹¹*

Above all these cultural values freedom has the rank of the highest sanctity, the object of longing expressed by the "lyrical ego":

*Before you set, sun
.....
Feed the flowers
in the homeland
warm up my people*

89 On the contemporary stereotype and auto-stereotype of Lemkos: H. Duc-Fajfer, *Konflikt i współdziałanie – analiza stosunków polsko-lemkowskich, maszynopis....* (Conflict and cooperation – an analysis of Polish-Lemko relations.) MA thesis manuscript, Institute of Psychology, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, 1987.

90 I. Horoszczak, *Poemat ...* (Eulogy....).

91 I. Zelem, "Bludnyj syn" ... (The prodigal son).

*with freedom
and only then set*⁹²

The sacrum that was called here as cultural or national, expressed in basic values of the national culture, is predominant in the contemporary Lemko poetry over other forms of expressing sacrum. It is the essence of works of many poets, ideologically involved, patriotic, works in which one value is the most important — the existence of Lemkovyna:

*Oh, son
know jus this
that these are many many truths
only Lemkovyna
only*⁹³

VI. Awakening of confidence in the future, a better lot for Lemko Region

As any literature during times particularly hard for a nation tries to “raise the spirits”, the contemporary Lemko poetry assumes the same function. With all the tragic, pain, suffering emanating from the poems, there is always a clearly perceptible tone of optimism, confidence, sometimes even very strong conviction in the rebirth of Lemko Region:

*My scattered pots
May be lost as a drop in the sea ...
But I believe, Lemkovyna,
Your name will not be forgotten*⁹⁴

The first reason to be optimistic is the fact that Lemkos still exist. After a terrible storm, when ants nest was destroyed, which in Peter Muriankas poems symbolize Lemko Region, we again hear calls from “ants” scattered all over the world to build a common home:

*Hey hey my little sister
Hey hey my little brother
I will not carry the needle
by myself
And here on this little hill
by the fir-tree
we will build our home*⁹⁵

The symbolism of building a home is quite frequent in Lemko poetry, like building a church with Lemko saints in the iconostas, or raising overthrown crosses:

92 M. Sobyn, “Zemlo moja” in *Nasze Slowo*, No. 15, 1975, p. 6.

93 J. Zwolinskij, “Swiate misce” (A holy place) in *Znaky*, ..., p. 10.

94 P. Stefaniwskij, “Pryszol czas” (The time has come) in *Lem ...*, p. 36.

95 P. Stefaniwskij, “Lemko w sudi” in *Lem ...*, p. 38.

*You will find the light of the old days
 You will pick up the trodden honor of your ancestors
 On the paths of your native Lemkovyna
 You will raise the new cross to the sun⁹⁶*

The belief in the future of Lemko Region is mainly based on the confidence in Lemkos ,great attachment to the national values: land, culture, tradition and on the conviction that Lemkos place is in Lemko Region:

*he will return
 on a sunny day
 I believe
 to plough his field
 and to sing his song
 in his yard⁹⁷*

Another reason for optimism is the belief that no evil is everlasting:

*Again I have believed
 no evil is eternal
 I will whittle shingles
 that the stream brought to my feet
 a fir-tree straight as a candle⁹⁸*

However, what decides of the existence of Lemko Region is unshaken will of the Lemkos (Rusnaks) themselves to exist. The will so strong that there is no slightest hesitation as to any other possibility:

*There was always Lemkovyna
 there was a great-grandfather
 there is father and me
 and our country
 will always remain alive
 our lot must be continued
 Rusnaks want it this way
 the Rus saints
 me
 and your hearts
 from iconostas
 our heroes will come out⁹⁹*

“However, you cannot resist a feeling that there is something in this quiet, cheerful people that groans under the storms of history, but it will not be broken. After each storm, here and there somebody rises and begins to look around. Where are our people? Is there anybody left? Yes, there is!!! There they rise ‘young granite ranks’¹⁰⁰ — says J. Hunka, as if collecting thoughts

96 P. Murianka, “Wydirty i hmerty” in *Jak sokol...*, p. 16.

97 P. Murianka, “Neidejnyj wersz” in *Jak sokol...*, p. 128.

98 I. Holowczak, (ja ne skrywlu sia ...) in *Nasze Slovo*, No. 7, 1977, p. 6.

99 P. Murianka, “Murianczysko”, in *Jak sokol...* pp. 170–74.

of those writers who believing in the sense of their existence “shed the grains of hope”¹⁰¹ and create Lemko culture in its new, modern shape. It is a process of interrelation. The firmness of the Lemko spirit builds up writers confidence and he in turn, expressing it in his poetry, consolidates the belief in the sense of being a Lemko.

Only the most important aspects of the influence of Lemko contemporary poetry on the social life of Lemkos have been discussed in the present article. The basic trend of this influence, expressed by the contribution to standardization of the literary language, consolidation of historic memory, creating a model of Lemko mentality, the sphere of national sanctities or arousing confidence in the future, aims at showing the distinctive, unique characteristics and experiences of the Lemko ethnos, which in turn is to promote the integration of the nation. It is not obvious what level of the integration is considered by particular poets. It should be supposed that like in the whole Lemko community there are at least two national options — one tending to integrate Lemkos with the Ukrainian nation and the other one opting to integrate Lemkos as an autonomous nation, the national orientation of writers varies. However, the fact that they write in the Lemko language, for Lemkos, that they support the idea of their cultural and psychic separateness, that they use the term Lemkovyna, refer to events from Lemko history makes their works an important stimulus in Lemkos national aspirations. “A writer often becomes a supporter of certain social forces and opponent to others, often unintentionally or even against his intentions. In this way his writings become one of the factors shaping the social reality.”¹⁰²

The contemporary Lemko poetry has many features typical of writers of the Romantic era which started the national rebirth in many European countries. The great Romantic poets were spiritual leaders of their nations, educators, politicians, mentors of social morality. The poet who is committed, fighting, suffering — this is a model of the contemporary Lemko poet of definitely Romantic origin, he is a bard fulfilling his prophetic obligation:

*Why I write
Is because Lemkovyna
came to me one day
touched my heart
said
write*¹⁰³

100 W. Graban, “Na bilych werchach Lemkovyny” (On the Lemkovyna white mountain tops) in *Na kolpaku...*, pp. 5–6.

101 P. Stefaniwskij, “By zaspivaty swoju pisniu na swoim podwiriu” (If only we could sing our song in our yard), in *Lem...*, p. 21.

102 P. Murianka, “Poema pro buriu” (A poem for a storm) in *Jak sokol...*, pp. 200–205.

103 P. Stefaniwskij, “Jak powstal mij wirsz” (How my verse was born) in *Ikona. Lemkiwskij kraj*, Nowy Sacz, 1984, p. 29.

The role this poetry plays in the Lemko national aspirations can be compared to the significance of Romantic poetry in the fight for freedom and independence of a number of nations during the "Spring of Peoples". The quotes from poetry are leading slogans of many activities undertaken to develop the Lemko¹⁰⁴ national ideas¹⁰⁵. And their authors are symbols of the reviving¹⁰⁶ Lemkovyna¹⁰⁷.

[Editors note: Our special thanks are expressed to Elzbieta Han-Wiercinska, Director of the Department of Foreign Languages of the Cracow Polytechnic for undertaking the very difficult task of rendering the foregoing article into English. As readers may know, translation of poetry is especially arduous.]

104 J. Hunka, *Lemkowie ...*, p. 12.

105 P. Stefanowski, "Lemkowski dom" in *Lem....*, p. 68.

106 M. Glowinski, ... *Zarys ...*, p. 61.

107 . P. Murianka, "Rekomendacyja"(A recommendation) in *Jak sokol....*, op. cit., p. 114.

SECTION III

**Volume 3
of Carpatho-Slavic Studies**

**papers from the
V World Congress
for Central and East European Studies
Warsaw, Poland
6–11 August 1995
and related materials**



Jaroslav Moklak

Lemko — an historical-ethnographic idea

Terminology plays an important role in making any judgment about the Lemko question. “Lemkovyna” (the Lemko Region) today is an historical term, or an historical ethnographic one because the majority of Lemkos today reside outside the borders of the Lemko Region, in northwest and western Poland, western and Transcarpathian Ukraine, in Slovakia and in North America.

It seems, thus, that the idea of “Lemko,” despite its great popularity and living usage, is becoming slowly only historical or rather historical-ethnographic in meaning. People of Lemko extraction, depending on their political sympathies, define themselves as Ukrainians or use one of the names of the movement which I call “Neo Rus”. This movement grew out of the 19th century “Old Rus” or *stricte* Russian (also called Moscovophil) orientation. Followers of this movement regard Ukrainians as a separate nationality [from themselves] the same as, for example, Poles or Czechs.

Attention must be drawn to the fact that the Neo-Rus do not have the specifics of a separate national minority like others — they cannot appeal to any existing state. On the other hand, Ukrainians in Poland can refer to the neighboring country of Ukraine, for there they can get support for their national idea. Here is exactly the difference between the two forces found among the Lemko population in Poland. I see this as decisive for their political development. Thus in both the Ukrainian and Neo-Rus movements, Lemkos remain an ethnic group. In the first case, however, the Lemko-Ukrainians have their own state structure, the others [the Lemko-Rusyns] feel they are part of the Rusyn nation inhabiting the Carpathian mountains in Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine but do not aspire (in the current situation) to an autonomous (state) entity. One cannot exactly tell how strong each of these movements are due to a lack of statistical data.

The social sciences attempt to keep track of social changes, but can history or anthropology easily analyze the above ideas. Contemporary political science or sociology cannot establish a razor-sharp set of distinctions since the research material itself is undergoing change. For example, at the beginning of the 1990s there arose the concept of a Lemko national identity. The Second World Congress of Rusyns which met in Krynica in 1993, re-

jected the word “Lemko” in favor of the name “Rusyn.” I think that one ought to ask what sort of political meaning is hidden under the term “Lemko” and “Lemkovyna?” History, political science, or sociology cannot explain the ethnographic meaning of these ideas.

The notion of “Rusyn” today is, first of all, historical. Rus culture developed in the huge area of Eastern Europe from the Middle Ages and is the foundation of contemporary East European culture: Belarus, Russian and Ukrainian. In Ukraine, and among the Lemkos, the term, Rus culture, was universally used up to the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, we have the two word term “Ukraine-Rus” first used in Galicia by Mikhaiilo Hrushevsky. He used this to indicate a tight connection between traditional Rus and the contemporaneous Ukrainian idea. The change of name (Rus to Ukraine) was a tactical move carried out under the pressure of neighboring cultures, Polish and Russian, because both had pretensions to the Rus [Ukrainian] area. the new name offered the best chance of maintaining the separateness of Rus [Ukrainians] from Russians and Poles. The Poles had continued up into the 19th century a living tradition of *Gente Ruthenus natione Polonus* [ethnically Rus (Ruthenian), Polish in nationality (citizenship)] and thus the term “Rus” was dropped. Ukrainian culture is, in fact, Rus culture under another name.

The process of spreading the use of the name “Ukraine” in the 19th and 20th century (the first time that name appeared was in a Kyivan chronicle in 1187) was not everywhere equally successful. Different areas accepted “Ukraine” earlier and others later. In a few areas the process occurred with great difficulty—as was the case of western Lemko Region. This was true in a few other places as separate as Lviv and Zolochiv. On the other hand in close proximity with the Old Rus and pro-Russian populations there always was a strong group of Ukrainian supporters. Specifically, in the whole of the Galician Rus-Ukrainian ethnic area there were three rival orientations: Old Rus, Moscovite, and Ukrainian.

Among the terms used in the 19th and first half of the 20th century, two have lost all meaning, Moscovite and Old Rus. Their places have been taken by terms now found in the literature, Rusyn, Carpatho-Rusyn, Lemko, which are not equally valued. Followers of the Neo-Rus movement rather use the first two while Lemko is losing popularity. Thus, the question arises, does the term Lemko, which has an ethnographic coloring in the Ukrainian movement, play a similar role among the Neo-Rus? On just what road are those Lemkos going, who not long ago spoke, as some still do, about a Lemko national identity. The answer to that question will certainly get in the future. Today we can only say that the term Lemko and Lemko Region are left strongly connected to an ethnographic meaning. This first occurred in the Ukrainian movement and now we are observing the same in the Neo-Rus movement.

Susyn Y. Mihalasky

Ethnonational Orientation Among Lemkos In Poland: The Results Of A Survey

Introduction

The 1989 collapse of communism in East Central Europe created more “political space” for ethnonational minorities to influence their own destinies. This is particularly so in the case of smaller minority groups, or those which had been denied corporate recognition by the former communist regimes. For these minorities, community issues left unresolved since the onset of communism have reemerged with remarkable speed.

The Lemkos of Poland are one such group. This small ethnocultural group has since 1989 experienced the swift reemergence of the ethnonational identity question, i.e., whether the Lemkos are a branch of the Ukrainian nationality, or of a newly emergent Carpatho-Rusyn people inhabiting the Carpathian Mountains.

What does it currently mean to be a Lemko in Poland? How do Lemkos understand and define what it is to be “Lemko,” “Rusyn,” and “Ukrainian?” What affect is the reemerged ethnonational identity question having on Lemko community life?

Answers to these questions will be considered, drawing on data collected by the author from a written survey distributed among Lemkos residing in Poland in 1991. The survey is part of a dissertation being written on the long-term impact on the Lemko community of the 1947 “Vistula Operation” population resettlement.

The Survey

The questionnaire raises a number of issues, including the ethnonational question, the situation of Lemkos in Poland, and respondents’ expectations for their community’s future within Poland. For the purposes of this paper, the tabulated results of the questions will be presented, along with analytical summaries of the respondents’ extensive comments.

At the start of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to provide basic information for the purpose of generating a statistical profile of the respondent population. These included age, educational level, profession, religious persuasion, and location (province). A profile of the sample follows below.

The Distribution of the Questionnaires

No statistical records on Lemkos have been kept since World War II. Without benefit of such a statistical guide, the author chose to generate a stratified random sample by distributing questionnaires at Lemko cultural festivals and religious holidays. Lemkos of all ages from various parts of Poland attend these events, providing a concentrated, yet mixed population of both traditional faiths (Greek Catholic and Orthodox) and ethnonational "orientations" (Ukrainian and Rusyn). Lemko community events at which questionnaires were distributed included the *Rusalia* (Summer Solstice), the Lemko Vatra in the Homeland (in the Lemko village of Zdynia), and the Vatra "in Exile" (in the Silesian resettlement village of Michalow).

A variety of distributional methods were employed. Questionnaires were distributed directly by hand or in multiple mailings to organizations and individuals. Organizations included: the Lemko Association, Union of Lemkos, the "Hospodar" Rusyn Lemko Democratic Group in Poland, the Ruska Bursa, and the Organizational Committee of the Zdynia Vatra.

The Sample

Of 250 questionnaires distributed, 52 were returned. According to the 5 classifications (age, level of education, religious persuasion, location, and profession), the sample breaks down as follows:

Age	Percent
Born Before 1947 Resettlement	44
First Post-Resettlement Generation	54
Second Post-Resettlement Generation	2

Level of Education	Percent
College Diploma	52
High School Diploma	44
Grammar School	4

Religious Persuasion	Percent
Orthodox	50
Greek Catholic	38
Pentecostal	4
atheist"	4
Roman Catholic	2
"Christian"	2

Returns on province are divided into three categories: territory of historical Lemko settlement (the Lemko region); the territory to which Lemkos were resettled in 1947; and lastly, all other parts of Poland to which Lemkos have migrated from one of the first two regions.

In terms of location, the breakdown appears as follows:

Location	Percent
Historical Lemko Region	50
Resettlement Territories	44
Territories of New Settlement	6

In terms of profession, the skilled trades predominated, followed by the professions and educators. Respondents described themselves variously as accountants, electricians, technicians, engineers, economists, schoolteachers, teaching assistants, doctors, farmers or homemakers. Individually represented were a woodsman, choir director, cleric, veterinarian, university student, high school student, philologist/translator, and ethnographer.

The Questions

Question #1. This question sought to define the outer limits of Lemko identity by asking respondents to think about what in the post-1947 Lemko community is a common phenomenon: a Lemko extensively assimilated into the Polish, Roman Catholic mainstream. This assimilated Lemko is almost entirely lacking in the traditional cultural aspects of Lemko heritage, such as Eastern Christian faith. Is he in the respondent's view "still a Lemko? The survey question, and results appeared as follows:

1. Is it possible for someone who does not speak Lemko, does not live in the Lemko region, is married to a non-Lemko and of a nontraditional religious faith, to be regarded as a Lemko?

Response	Percent
a. Yes	53
b. No	35
c. Difficult to Say	12

A small majority was willing without reservation to accept the hypothetical assimilated Lemko as one of their own. 47% (the 35% answering "no" and the 12% answering — "Difficult to say") either rejected the possibility or at least did not look favorably on the hypothetical Lemko's chances of maintaining his/her Lemko identity. We turn now to respondents' comments.

Most of those respondents who accepted the possibility that the assimilated Lemko could still be considered a Lemko, based their determination of Lemko identity on one of two characteristics: the individual's parental heritage and the presence (or absence) in the individual of an emotional attachment to his/her Lemko heritage.

These comments suggest that the minimal determinants of group identity for Lemkos living in Poland today are having Lemko parental heritage and an emotional attachment to one's Lemko family, heritage, and home-

land. The more “concrete,” material manifestations of Lemko identity, such as language or religious faith, are also very important for maintaining Lemko identity, but are not absolutely necessary. Their absence is not sufficient reason to consider the hypothetical Lemko irretrievably outside of the parameters of what it means to be Lemko.

This broad cultural tolerance, or emphasis on the more subjective aspects of Lemko identity over more concrete, objective aspects of Lemko identity, arises out of the nearly complete destruction of Lemko material and spiritual culture resulting from the 1947 “Vistula” Operation population resettlement. With their churches destroyed, their customs and culture made irrelevant in a new, foreign environment, Lemkos for many years had only family and “feelings” to define themselves to themselves and to one another. In this context, cultural tolerance becomes a necessary cultural survival strategy.

Question #2. Lemko folk culture has been inspired by and celebrates their mountainous Carpathian homeland. As with other agrarian cultures, the connection between the land and identity was for Lemkos a strong and close one. Between the years 1945–1947, the Lemko community was resettled away from its homeland. Those who have since returned found that directed in-migration of ethnic Poles, or simple depopulation of the region, has forever changed the ethnocultural landscape of their homeland.

How has the traditional tie between the Lemko region and Lemko cultural identity been altered since the resettlements? Question #2 probes this question by asking respondents whether or not return to the Lemko region is necessary in order to fully partake of the Lemko heritage:

2. Is living in the Lemko homeland necessary in order to preserve the connection with one’s Lemko heritage?

Response	Percent
a. yes	22
b. no	78
c. no opinion	—

The overwhelming majority of respondents feel that living in their homeland is not necessary to preserve the connection with their Lemko heritage, whereas a smaller number feel that residence in the homeland is necessary.

An overview of the respondents’ remarks suggests that for Lemkos the emotional connection to their Carpathian homeland is still very strong. The function of the homeland remains the same as it was before the resettlements: the Lemko land still serves as a reservoir of past and present Lemko identity. Forced by the reality of resettlement, however, the way in which the land fulfills this function has of necessity changed. Short vacations to the Carpathians have become “pilgrimages to Lemko Region,” during which the Lemko pilgrim” may reestablish contact with an almost lost ancestral past.

Questions #3 and #4. Questions #3 and #4 together ask the respondent to define three ethnonyms which recur frequently in the discussion of Lemko ethnonational identity: Ukrainian, Rusyn and Lemko. Inasmuch as ethnonyms are a form of shorthand for broad worldviews, respondents' interpretation of and use of these terms offer hints as to the evolution in Lemko ethnonational consciousness, as well as insight into what issues comprise the discussion. Question #3 and #4 asked whether or not it was possible to distinguish between three terms: Lemko and Ukrainian; and Lemko and Rusyn. Question #3 asked:

5. Is there any real difference between Lemkos and Ukrainians?

Response	Percent
a. yes	67
b. no	28
c. no opinion	6

As indicated above, 67% of respondents did differentiate between Lemkos and Ukrainians, while 27% felt that these were terms of reference for the same population. Many respondents made frequent reference to more subjective concepts such as "feelings", "mentality", and "character" in support of their opinion. To a lesser extent, respondents drew on historical mythology, or mentioned material cultural traits (e.g., musical traditions, geographic location) as evidence for the correctness of their beliefs. A minority cited political events of the 20th century as a means of demonstrating the validity of their belief regarding Lemko and Ukrainian identity.

The respondents' comments, generally thoughtful and intelligent, suggest that the matter of Lemko identity — whether Ukrainian or non-Ukrainian — is still very much undecided. How do respondents view the matter of Lemko identity relative to the Carpatho-Rusyn identity? We now turn to question #4.

4. Is there any real difference between Lemkos and Rusyns? The results were:

Response	Percent
a. yes	6
b. no	82
c. no opinion	12

The overwhelming majority, 82%, feel that the terms Lemko and Rusyn are synonyms for the same population, suggesting a high degree of unity among respondents. In fact, this apparent unity hides substantial divisions over respondents' understanding of the idea of what it means to be "Rusyn." Some of the respondents of the 82% group regarded the term Rusyn in the aforementioned historical sense — as an earlier historical name for the Ukrainian nationality. Others in the same group interpreted Rusyn as the name of a contemporary distinct Carpatho-Rusyn people, of which Lemkos are seen to be a regional culture.

Question #5. Lemko common folk have historically been indifferent to, or distrusted Lemko non-religious organizations. These organizations have traditionally been perceived as vehicles for self-interested and ambitious individuals, or as promoters of political “agendas” far removed from local, everyday life and from the interests of the Lemko people as a whole. The post 1989 resurgence of Ukrainian and Rusyn orientation among Lemkos has led also to the establishment of several new Lemko organizations. What are Lemkos’ current attitudes toward secular community organizations? Respondents were asked, and the result received, is as follows:

5. Are you a member of any Lemko community organization? If so, which one(s)? If not, why not?

Response	Percent
a. not a member of any organization	57
b. member	43

Through their comments, respondents exhibited a profound distrust of Lemko community organizations and of the motivations of these organizations’ leaders. Attitudes toward and participation in Lemko secular organizations were strongly influenced by a respondent’s ethnonational orientation or religious faith. This was due in part to respondents’ perceptions that the organizations themselves were strongly influenced by these same ideological and sectarian concerns.

Aside from mistrust of Lemko secular organizations, other reasons for non-participation in Lemko organizations included: none available in the vicinity of the respondent (28%) or simple lack of interest (7%). The organizations most frequently mentioned by those respondents who did participate in Lemko organizations, were the Lemko Association, the Union of Lemkos and the Ruska Bursa.

Conclusions

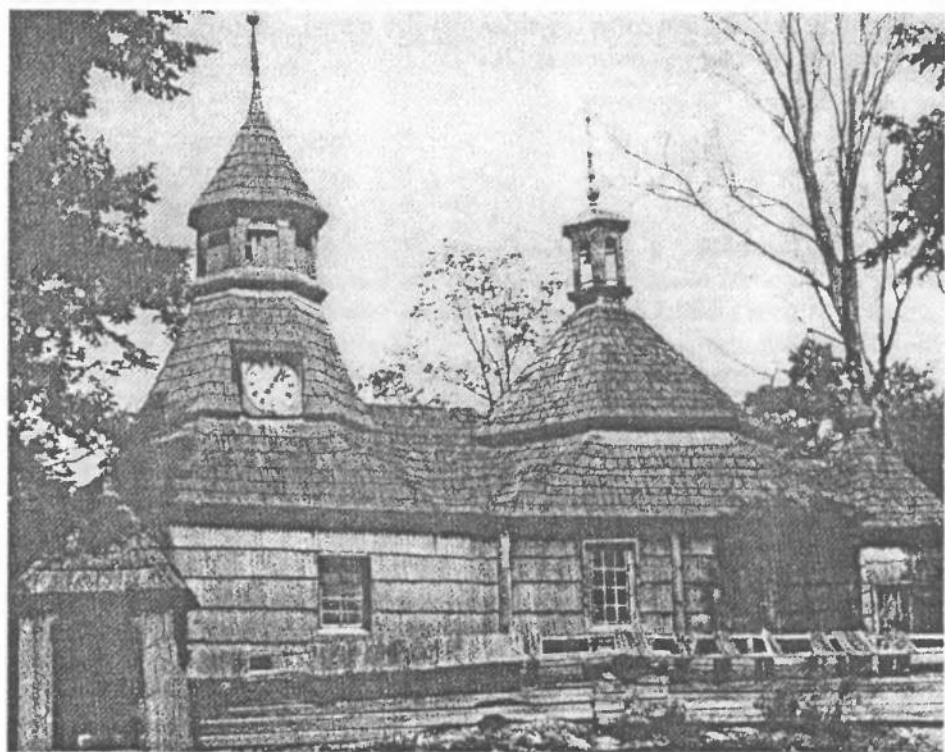
The survey results suggest that the present-day understanding of what it means to be a Lemko in Poland has as a result of the post-war dislocations, been artificially disconnected from Lemkos’ traditional material and spiritual culture. This is seen in the respondents’ high degree of tolerance on the matters of who is a Lemko (question #1); and the diminished importance of the Carpathian homeland as a reservoir of Lemko identity (question #2).

The survey results also suggest that what it means to be Lemko in Poland is undergoing a profound evolution, and is increasingly torn between the Ukrainian and Carpatho-Rusyn orientations. This is suggested by the results to questions #3 and #4, in which respondents asked to define the terms “Lemko”, and “Ukrainian”, displayed a significant disagreement over the meaning of the key term “Rusyn.”

The informed nature of the respondents’ comments suggest that this divergence of opinion is not based on ignorance or lack of historical aware-

ness (many of the respondents are well educated), but on clear and well-developed worldviews.

The stresses of this Ukrainian-Rusyn dichotomy manifest themselves to detrimental effect in Lemko community life. This is suggested by the results of question #5. Lemko secular organizations were viewed by the respondents as divisive on both ideological (ethnonational) and sectarian grounds, causing more than half of the respondents to refrain from participation. Ironically, some respondents appeared to hold the organizations themselves responsible for division within the Lemko community. However, the respondents' own prejudicial comments regarding one organization or another suggests that Lemko secular organization in fact reflect, rather than create, division within Lemko community life.



Oleksandr Zaitsev

The Lemko Problem as seen in the activities of Ukrainian Political Parties in the 1920s and 1930s

There has been little research concerning the political life of Lemko Region, in the 1920s and 1930s, until recently. Among the few works which deal with this theme is an article of Krzysztof Nowakowski [entitled The Political Situation in Lemko Region 1918-1939]¹ and Jaroslaw Moklaks doctoral dissertation at the Jagiellonian University which was accepted in 1993.² The latter is an important addition to the historiography of Lemko Region and in this article I make use of some of the facts and results of this work.

The Lemko problem in interwar Poland was part of the greater issue of the problem of national minorities, that is to say, the non-Polish peoples. One of these groups was the Ukrainian people who were, in fact, a majority in their ethnic territory and who didnt see themselves as a minority. A separate issue was the national self-awareness of the Lemkos in the 1920s and 30s, an issue which was far from being resolved. The Lemko question can be put this way: would the Lemkos become fully Ukrainian or would they self-identity as a Russian people or would they cling to an archaic Rus identity? Depending on each individuals answer to this question about national identity Lemkos adhered to one of three political orientations — Ukrainian, pro-Russian (Moscophil) or Old Rus. These orientations existed not only in Lemko Region but also in Galicia. In Galicia, however, already in the 20s and 30s the Ukrainian national movement was dominant. Lemko Region remained bastion of Moscophilism and the Old Rus. There were two equally important reasons for this.

- 1 Nowakowski K. Z., "Sytuacja polityczna na Lemkowszczyźnie w latach 1918–1939" (The Political Situation in the Lemko Region 1918–1939) in *Lemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat* (The Lemkos in the History and Culture of the Carpathans), vol. I, Rzeszow 1992, pp. 313–350.
- 2 Moklak J., *Orientacje polityczne na Lemkowszczyźnie w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Political Orientations in the Lemko Region in the Second Polish Republic), manuscript of phd thesis, Institute of History, Jagellonian University, Krakow 1994.

First, we must deal with terminological difficulties. In the literature one finds the terms *Moscophil*, *Rusophil*, *Old Rus* often used as synonyms. However, *Moscophil* and *Old Rus* are two different ideas which often were in competition with each other. The *Old Rus* did not feel themselves as part of the Russian national and opposed both *Moscophilism* and the Ukrainian national movement. Some authors, such as Paul Robert Magocsi, propose to see the *Moscophilism* as not possible, rather they use the term *Rusophil* and see it as part of the *Old Rus* idea. This, however, does not resolve the problem because *Old Rus* were *Rusophils* who called upon the tradition of *Kyivan* or *Halytsko-Volynska Rus*. I, however, will let the experts argue about this distinction and will use these terms in the following way, *Moscophil* and *Old Rus* as part of the greater *Rusophil* movement.

In any case in Lemko villages nobody could differentiate *Old Rus* from *Moscophils* anyway. Appeals to the same historical traditions and declarations of the same political aims were made in the interests of the *Rus* peasants. thus, we can talk of a *Moscophil-Old Rus (Rusophil)* camp in Lemko Region. During the 20s and 30s this movement dominated the political life of the region.

In this article I deal with those political parties which were part of the Ukrainian national movement. In Lemko Region their activities can be divided into three clear periods: 1921–1926, 1926–1935 and 1935–1939.

In the first period there did not exist a developed structure for any Ukrainian political party. In 1918-1920 there were in the Lemko area echoes and elements of the Western Ukrainian Peoples Republic, the Polish-Ukrainian War and the Lemko Republic [in Florynka]. The minority of Lemkos foresaw the necessity of doing something and wanted to join with their counterparts on the other side of the Carpathians, which was part of Czechoslovakia. The dominant orientation at that time was *Old-Rus- Moscophil*. Pro-Ukrainian feelings were quite weak with the exception of Sanok County (powiat) where there were more of those attached to Ukraine. Inclinations toward Polish authorities were negative. In 1921 part of the Lemkos together with the Ukrainian inhabitants of eastern Galicia boycotted the Polish census and, in the next year, elections to the Sejm [the Polish House of Commons/Representatives] and the [Polish] Senate. There was also massive draft dodging.

In contradistinction to the past, then, there began attempts to draw Lemko Region into the Ukrainian sphere of influence. Ukrainian speakers from Lviv started, in the 1920s, agitation and propaganda among the inhabitants of the Beskid [hills/mountains in the Carpathian Mountain chain] villages. Firstly, however, communal-cultural organizations and cooperatives, which existed up to WWI, had to be reactivated and/or rebuilt. The *Moscophil-Old Rus* were not caught napping. In 1923 there occurred a schism in the *Halytska-Rus National Organization* into the *Rus National Organization* and the leftist party, the *Peoples Will*. They wanted to increase their influences on the population of the mountain villages of the Lower Beskids (Beskid Niski). In order to spread the Ukrainian idea, in the Lemko Region. Pro-Ukrainian priests trained in the seminaries of Lviv and

Przemysl started to arrive in Lemko Region through the mediation of the Greek-Catholic bishop of Przemysl diocese, Iosafat Kotsylovsky.³

In May 1923 the Halycko-Ukrainian National Labor Party and the Ukrainian parliamentary representatives began to loudly call for the territorial autonomy of all Ukrainian lands in the Polish state. This autonomous territory was to include Lemko Region. In June 1923 the Ukrainian representative Samilo Pidhirsky said Only when the Ukrainian lands of Volyn, Polisia, Pidlasia, Chelm, Eastern Galicia together with Lemko Region are put together in a single political entity can these lands be given national-territorial autonomy.⁴

The unified leaders of the Ukrainian political forces always spoke of autonomy and denied the right of Poland to western Ukrainian lands and from then on to the fall of the second Polish republic spoke of Lemko Region as an integral part of Ukraine and opposed any sort of isolation of Lemkos from the Ukrainian community. Thus, in 1924 when the Borderland Laws of Stanislaw Grabski were discussed in the Sejm, representative Serhii Hrusky protested against the notion that Chelm, Pidlasia and Lemko Region should be excluded because there were no Ukrainians there.⁵

In the second period the building of a Ukrainian political party structure began. Particularly active was the Ukrainian National-Democratic Organization [Union] (UNDO). This activity began after the second party convention (November, 1926). Before the third convention (December, 1928), the Cracow province unit was divided up into five county national committees headed up by trusted men. However, the real influence of the committees wasnt much. The position of the party was stronger in the Lemko area which was part of the Lviv province and Sanok served as the central point. At the third UNDO convention Lemko delegates took part from five districts (Baligrod, Jaslo, Lesko, Sanok, Rymanow-Krosno). Ivan Gyza from Wysowa, in Gorlice county, was elected to the central committee of the party.⁶

UNDO did not recognize Polish rule in the Western Ukrainian lands including Lemko Region. In the programmatic declaration of the Ukrainian Club [a representatives committee] of the Polish Sejm on March 9, 1928 the head of UNDO, Dmytro Levytsky, proclaimed All international acts which deal with Ukrainian lands: Eastern Galicia together with Lemko Region, Chelm, Volyn, Pidlasia, Polisia which were given to Poland according to the Treaty of Riga of March 18, 1921 and afterwards in Paris on the 14 of March 1923 as acts which do violence to the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination, we consider to be without legal force.⁷

3 Nowakowski K. Z., op. cit., pp. 321–323.

4 Sprawozdania stenograficzne Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Stenographic Report of Polish Sejm). Okres I, 42, posiedzenie z 2 VI 1923, sections 71–72.

5 Ibid., 146 posiedzenie z 9 VII 1924, łam 9; Torzecki R., *Kwestia ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923–1929* (The Ukrainian Question in Poland 1923–1929), Krakow, 1989, p. 74.

6 Moklak J., op. cit. pp. 159–160.

7 Sprawozdania stenograficzne..., Okres II, 3 posiedzenie z 29 III 1928, sections 10–11.

At that time the so-called Religious War began in the Lemko Region which occurred when part of the population converted to Orthodoxy. Many Ukrainian politicians and historians believe that this movement was instigated by the Polish authorities. However, as Nowakowski says, the Lviv and Cracow provincial governors on their own authority tried to resolve the religious problem and gave instructions to local authorities to make it difficult for Greek-Catholics to transfer to Orthodoxy. They increased the fees for the form for recognizing officially the change of belief, etc. Nevertheless a majority of Ukrainian politicians believed the source of the religious war lay with Poles.

Nowakowski himself gave the following reasons for this occurrence:

New parish priests, declared Ukrainians, slowly began taking over the places of older priests who bore Moscophil feelings. They began to be more active politically which didnt make them popular. They also raised rates for religious services. In addition conservative Lemkos were unhappy about the use, by some priests, in the Holy Liturgy, of the word *prawowiernych* [true believing] in place of the older word [which meant the same thing] *prawoslawnych*. All this together as well as the influences from relatives from beyond the ocean (US and Canada) who had converted to orthodoxy, led to the outbreak in the Lemko Region of a religious war.

This war broke out in 1926 and was stimulated by the lack of reaction by church authorities in Lviv and Przemysl to protests of Lemko parishioners against the activities of their priests-Ukrainians.⁸

On the other hand, other authors deny that the movement was a reaction to the activities of priest-Ukrainians. They state that most of the forces that crossed over to Orthodoxy, along with priests, were Rusophils.⁹ The transfer to Orthodoxy was a negative reaction to Ukrainian political parties, it was a result of anti-Ukrainian activities of Moscophils with the support of Polish authorities.

The majority of Lemkos remained true to the Greek-Catholic Church. In 1935 of the 145,000 Lemkos on the territory of the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region, there were 18,000 Orthodox.¹⁰

During these years the Old Rus were very active. During the census of 1931, 95% of Lemkos indicated that their native language was Rus. The Kachkovsky [Rusophil] Society reading rooms spread. At the same time a few competing Prosvita [Enlightenment] Ukrainian reading rooms were established. Cooperatives of various sorts also appeared both Old Rus and

8 Nowakowski K. Z., op. cit., pp. 324–325.

9 Hvat I., "Istoriija Pivchnoi Lemkivshchyny do vyhnanja Lemkiv" (The History of Northern Lemko Region up to the Deportation of the Lemkos) in *Lemkivshchyna. Zemliia — Liudy — Kultura*, (New York), 1988, pp. 187–189; Prach B., "Apostolska Administracija Lemkowszczyzny" (The Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region) in *Lemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, pp. 229–300.

10 Kubyovych V., "Lemky" in *Encyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva*, vol. IV, Lviv 1994 (reprint), p. 1277.

Ukrainian. In the elections to the Sejm and Senate in March 1928, circles of Highlanders/mountaineers from the Beskid Sadecki and Niski [hills/mountains] voted for their candidates or for the list of national minorities. Polish and Ukrainian (UNDO and Selrob) political parties also appealed for votes.

From the beginning of the 1930s UNDO put attention on Lemko Region so that the Ukrainian national movement would move forward. In the Situation Report¹¹ of December 1933 the Chief of Jaslo county made note of the Ukrainian question and that local Greek Catholic clerics were supporting Ukrainian representation, especially Senator Kyselevska, a member of UNDO, and that under the influence of their propaganda the Rus population was demanding Ukrainian schools and teachers.¹²

The Polish regime demanded containment of the development of the Ukrainian movement. In order to do this the Rusophil stream had to be supported, even more perhaps to change the Lemkos into a regional group with a Polish national mentality. A Lemko Action was put into effect under the protection of the Ministry of Defense and the Bureau for Nationality Policy of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. In 1934 Lemko Region was separated from the Przemysl diocese and a special Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region (AAL) with a Rusophil hierarchy was established. Ukrainian teachers were replaced by Polish ones and in schools the Lemko dialect was taught using an especially prepared Lemko grammar containing Polish patriotic coloring. The authorities supported the Rusophil-Polonophil organization the Lemko Association (Lemko Soyuz). A weekly newspaper, with a Polish soul, *Lemko* was published. In western Lemko Region Ukrainian cooperatives were removed from the inspection of the Auditing Commission of Ukrainian Cooperatives while most of the Prosvita reading rooms were closed.¹³

The governments policy regarding Lemko Region was met by many protests from the side of UNDO and other Ukrainian parties. The unity of Lemko Region with The rest of the Ukrainian nation was stated in the Sejm by the UNDO representatives Stepan Bilyak, Stepan Baran, and Dmytro Velykanovych, Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party Andrii Hryvnaк and in the Senate by Olena Kyselevska of UNDO and Antin Horbachevsky and the leader of the Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party Ivan Makukh. The Lemko problem was constantly raised during discussion of the budgets of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Justice, Education and Religious Affairs and also Agricultural and Public Works.¹⁴

In any case the Polish government did not react to any of these protests. UNDO did everything possible but it became convinced that it was impossible to get any positive results, but stay in opposition to government

11 Nowakowski K. Z., op. cit., p. 327.

12 Archiwum Panstwowe w Przemyslu (APP), collection 790, sign. 19 c. (cards not pages).

13 Kubyovych V., op. cit., p. 1277.

14 Moklak J., op. cit., p. 166.

policy. In 1935 UNDO initiated an attempt to normalize Polish-Ukrainian relations. UNDO drew up some postulates which were sent to the Polish regime. Among them was a request to change policy towards Lemko Region. Hoping for a new stage of relations, UNDO wanted to resolve the Lemko issue as part of a larger political normalization [Ukrainian political parties had generally been opposed to whatever Polish government there was for nearly 20 years].

The Bureau for Nationality Policy of the Council of Ministers of Poland on the 22 of February 1936 handled the Ukrainian postulates. In the minutes of the session, however, we read, the postulate regarding a change of policy for Lemko Region shall be put aside without discussion.¹⁵

The Polish authorities used their powers to separate Lemko Region from Galicia and not to allow the Ukrainianization of the Lemkos. Characteristically, when Ukrainian students in Cracow decided to pay for 10 copies of the childrens periodical *Dzvinochok* for Lemko children, the Cracow province gubernatorial staff sent a letter to county officials with petitions protesting the distribution of *Dzvinochok* on Lemko territory...¹⁶ A childrens journal had become subversive literature.

In July 1937 the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club, which at that time served as the parliamentary representation of UNDO, wrote the government a memorial entitled the crises in the normalization in Polish-Ukrainian relations. An important part of this dealt with the problems of Lemko Region. The authors of the document wrote: With sadness we must state that in practical action the authorities have not recognized the Ukrainian nation as a single organism. This is shown in the continuous support of Rusophilism in the Lemko region and in the Southeastern provinces and in the attempt to create a separate Lemko nation... (an explanation of General Kasprzycki, Minister of Military Affairs concerning the nationality of the Lemkos). Further the authors complained that the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club was compromised in the eyes of the Ukrainian community because the authorities had promised that the Administrator of the Lemko Apostolic Administration would be a Ukrainian but instead the Rusophil Father Medvetsky got the position and that he persecutes the Ukrainian movement. The anti-Ukrainian policy of the government was listed in five telling points:

- 1) approving, against the resistance of the inhabitants, the distribtion of the Lemko grammar and Lemko language publications;
- 2) forbidding establishment of Ukrainian associations;
- 3) support of Rusophil associations;
- 4) support of a Rusophil press;

15 Archiwum Akt Nowych (Warsaw), collection: Prezydium Rady Ministrów, sign. 64-17, c. 180.

16 APP, collection 23, sign. 8, c. 156.

5) persecution of the Ukrainian press. The Ukrainian Parliamentary Club declared that such a policy would lead to a worsening of Polish-Ukrainian relations and would, of necessity, have to change.¹⁷

Again, the regime was deaf to Ukrainian demands. More than that, it turned to an even more reactionary program of trying to divide up Ukrainian territory into pieces, separating nationally active Galicia from the Lemko and Hutsul regions.¹⁸

Besides that, the Moscovophiles from the Russian Peasant Organization and the Old Rus from the Rus Agrarian Organization protested about the enlarging influence of UNDO. Old Rus complained to the authorities and charged UNDO with anti-state activities, underlining at the same time their own loyalty to Poland. On its own side UNDO stated that Rusophilism served as a pro-community activity. As cited in the previously mentioned Crisis in Normalization... the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club informed the government that all of the Rusophil associations are involved with communist agitation, that they fake loyalty to the government while they propagate communist conspiratorial activities and atheism among the masses. The Kachkovsky Society reading rooms were said to be especially involved in such activities. It was further stated that the weekly *Lemko* published in Krynica, propagates Communism through praise of relations with the Soviet Union, that Rusophil associations, among other things, smuggle across the border illegal communist literature from Czechoslovakia and America.¹⁹

On the 8th of December 1938 UNDO brought to the Sejm a Project of a Constitutional Amendment for the Galicia-Volyn lands. The second section of this project shows how UNDO would draw the border of Ukrainian ethnic territory in the Lemko area: The Galician-Volyn land would include...Lviv province except the countries of Kolbusz, Krosno but including the communes of Polany and Tylawa of Kosno county... from the province of Cracow [included would be] the communes of Gładyszow, Sekowa, Snietnica and Uscie from the county of Gorlice, the communes of Krempna and Zmigrod Nowy from Jaslo county, the communes of Krynica-Wies, Labowa, Muszyna, Tylicz and the cities of Krynica-Zdroj and Muszyna from Nowy Sacz county.²⁰ However, the Marshall [speaker] of the Sejm wouldnt even put the project on the agenda which, of course, convinced UNDO that it was a waste of time to try to normalize Polish-Ukrainian relations: The Lemko question thus stood in abeyance.

On the eve of the Second World War the Lemko question was far from resolved. Ukrainian political parties were not able to gain control of Lemko Region. Just as before political life of the region was dominated by Rusophilism.

17 Derzhavnyi Arkhiv Lvivskoi Oblastii in Lviv (DALO), collection (fond) 1, opys 51, sign. 491, c.(card) 6, 12, 13, 25.

18 Chojnowski A., *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921–1939* (Nationality Policyideas in Polish Governments 1921–1939), Wroclaw, 1979, pp. 212–213.

19 DALO, collection 1, opys 51, sign. 491, c. 12, 13.

20 Centralnyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv (Lviv), collection 344, opys 1, sign. 22, c. 1.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian movement was growing in strength and, what is more important, it attracted the youth. The war created new political situation but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

Translated from the Ukrainian text by Paul J. Best

Agnieszka Korniejenko

Literature of the Lemko Cultural Sphere

There is difficulty in the periodization of Lemko literature in the 20th century because one cannot discern an independent line of development. Most works on this theme merely scrupulously list the names of authors in chronological order, often without giving any reason why a few authors, particularly those writing in other languages, are counted as Lemko writers. This occurs for a few reasons:

Firstly: It is difficult to speak of an independent literature in the case where there is no formal writing scheme or grammar for the language. There exists no centuries old codified literary language, simply put — the correct way to write. Putting it another way, writers use one of several variants of the language, which the given writer identifies with Lemko Region. For Lemko writers this causes a difficult situation because they wish to underline their cultural separateness and their patriotic feelings and to show their national attachment. Only second in order do they take care of the artistic side of what they are doing, not taking into account a particular direction or school of poetry or the program of literary activity. These comments refer especially to literature written in the Lemko language in the first 30 years of the 20th century.

Secondly: Many Lemko writers wrote in two languages. This is not an unusual occurrence because the Pole Boleslaw Lesmian and the Ukrainian Ivan Franko do so, as did the triple-language poet Gabor Kostelnyk who wrote in Bachvan, Croat and Ukrainian — if we speak of recent literature and don't go back to the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. However, rather unusual is the mixing of cultures not only in books written in Ukrainian along with those in a national language but also in stories, for example Mykhailo Pryimak, in which the Ukrainian of the narrator is mixed with the Lemko comments of the heroes. Thus, it would seem that the national self-identification of the writer is the most important and this fact cannot be negated by classifying a Lemko writer as part of Polish or Ukrainian literature. One can compromise by saying such a person is bi-cultural, that he can function in two cultures equally. Bi-culturalism, however, does not mean equality of inspiration for the creative writer. If we look into the situation of such

people writing in two languages, most often Lemko-Ukrainian, as a rule we see that they are in a closed circle and it is hard to find some sort of clear line of development or influences. The only exception that comes to mind is Bohdan Ihor Antonych (Antonycz) who was influential in the poetic languages in which he wrote. This is a rare exception of accepting without difficulty some of the developments of Polish poetry.

Thirdly, it is bad to mix politics and literature. In the example of Lemko Region, which is separated by several political entities, there are at least two regions, the northern part [in Poland] and the southern part [in Slovakia and Transcarpathia (Ukraine)] based on the border along the crest of the Carpathian mountains. The historian of literature must recognize that the development of Lemko literature in the south cannot be separated from the literature of the whole of Transcarpathia. Southern Lemkos and inhabitants of eastern Transcarpathia have for centuries had a common religious life and culture and have shared in common the economic and political fate of the Ukrainian people under different governments¹. We are not interested here to what extent literary contacts were maintained between the two regions. We are interested in the fact that there was no integrating element which would be a common state or a strong language tradition such as that which maintained Polish during the 123 years of partitions. This tradition which had existed for many centuries made it hard for Polish literature to be Russified or Germanized. Today we observe also that another way to maintain a language is by the force of genius, without which like the case of Shevchenko and later Tychna, it would have been impossible to fend off the Russification of Ukraine in the last 70 years. From the point of view of the lack of political integration, in the 20th century, Lemko Region was unable to produce any real influential periodicals. Even the *Lemko* and *Nash Lemko* (Our Lemko) newspapers were not literary periodicals but rather politically active publications which disqualify them as literary-artistic activities. In the post WWII period the deportations of *Akcja Wisla* and persecution prevented a free development of artistic endeavor enclosing the Lemkos in a cultural-national ghetto. Of course this was true too if Ukrainian literature in inter-war Poland and every other national minority also but Ukrainians, at least, had access to nearly 100 periodicals and a very much easier path to publishing their works.

We do have to remember, however, the cultural aspect and that for over a 100 years the Lemko cultural sphere has wanted to emphasize its separateness from Ukrainian literature. This brings to mind the situation of literature written in the Goral [Polish Mountain dialect] language which drew on the forces of many young Polish writers in the inter-war years and several of them translated the Polish national epic, *Pan Tadeusz*, into Goral (J.G. Pawlikowski and J. Wittlin). Analogously the first historical novel of Transcarpathia was a translation of Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis* under the title *Pravda Pobidyla* by Iryna Nevytska. However, a clear separateness, despite the attempt to form an in-

1 J. Sirka, "Literatura pıvdennych lemkiw" (Literature of the Southern Lemkos) in *Lemkiwshchyna. Zemla-ludy-kultura*, ed. B. Struminsky, vol. I, New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto 1988, p. 416.

dependent political unit in 1918, the Zakopane Republic, never occurred and today the Goral movement is a colorful page in Polish literature.

The problem of young literatures is isolation, fear for one's own separateness, not wanting and fearing [outside] influences. Creative writers want their own narrow sphere of readers, not open confrontation with older competing literatures whether Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, or Czech [and Slovak]. Since ordinarily writers and readers come from the same rural situation, the circle of communication is closed. The result is that many poems and stories have decidedly nationalistic flavor — so called engaged literature which may move people in its naivete but, as all engaged literature, does not possess any great literary value. I am thinking here of the pre-war poetry of Mykhailo Voloshynovych, the prose of the afore mentioned Mykhailo Pryimak or the poetry of Priashivshchyna. The movement away from the Yazychya [a 19th century mixture of Old Church Slavonic, Russian, and local dialect used in some Lemko publications] came rather late, only in 1949, in the poetry of Fedor Lazoryk's *Slovo Hnanych i Holodnykh* despite the lack of any Lemko publication after 1945.

If we look over the whole historical literary context only then can we see in what isolation emerged of the Lemko cultural sphere. In the late 1920s and 30s in the Second [Polish] Republic the fullest of modernism developed with the growth of expressionism and symbolism of the Young Poland writers, the First and Second Avangard, experiments, the declaration of Peiper, the poetry of Przybos, futurism, the Skamander group, the fairy tales of Lesmian, catastrophism of Czechowicz and Milosz to name a few important examples. At the same time in Ukraine the neoclassical and futuristic schools of poetry bloomed, Khvylovy called for an opening to Europe and Tychnyna wrote his wonderful little books of verse. In Prague, Czechoslovakian Ukrainians started their university, while in Warsaw the [Ukrainian] Institute of Arts and Sciences began to function and in Lviv literary periodicals from the nationalistic extreme anti-Bolshevik *Visnyk* of Doncov, through the neutral *Dzboh* of Antonych and *Dzvony* to the left-wing *Vikna* (advertised in Poland by *Miesiecznik Literacki* of Aleksander Wat). Poetry groups arose in Warsaw (Tank), Prague (szkola praska), Lviv (Horno). One can cite hundreds of facts which for better or worse indicate around Lemko Region there bubbled and boiled a cultural life while a typical positivism with a thesis started up. I can not say to what extent the situation changed after the war, or putting it another way, did the experimental verses of Rozewicz, called the Polish New Wave, or the Ukrainian renaissance of the 1960s have any echo in the creative writings of Lemkos. Did writers go from positivism to modernism or even farther, to post modernistic tendencies which dominate contemporary literature. A poetry anthology published in Poland in 1958 by the Ukrainian Social Cultural Society entitled *Homin* indicates no.²

The above certainly indicates that it is very difficult to exactly periodize a literature which grew in isolation and independent from other centers of cultural life in the country in which it developed. One way is to begin

2 A similar anthology containing the writings of southern Lemkos was published in Prešov in 1965. See *Poety Zakarpatia. Antolohia zakarpatoukrainskoi (XVI st. --1945 rik)*.

the process with the political division of Lemko Region in 1918 and to use that date as the beginning of contemporary Lemko literature. Afterwards we could use WWII and then post-1945, and what then?

Another way would be to divide the various works into groups based on the language they were written in. Thus we would have Lemko literature in Polish, Lemko, Ukrainian, Russian, and mixed languages. But what would we do with works printed in the Latin alphabet (for example the whole 1928 year of the newspaper *Lemko*)? But that division would uncritically eliminate some writers especially those who were bi-cultural. In that way Franc Kokovsky whose Ukrainian verses were printed in the anthology *Halytska ta bukovynska poezii XX viku* (Kharkiv-Kyiv, 1930), and who never brought up his Lemko origin would be left out.

Even worse would be the use of a thematic approach. In post-war studies about Polish literature there is listed a Lemko School which is based simply on Lemko language writings. However, one of its leaders, Jerzy Harasymowicz, does not want to identify himself with Lemkos or even with Ukrainians. Analogously romantic would be to set up a Ukrainian School in Polish literary studies – there would be a Ukrainian literature written in Polish, and Slowacki himself would become a Ukrainian. As we can see using the above mentioned criteria would bring us to absurd examples.

It is characteristic that the most famous of the writers from Lemko Region Bohdan Ihor Antonych, wrote in Ukrainian and was involved first of all in Ukrainian literary life. When he wrote about a crisis in contemporary literature, he referred to our literature, identifying himself with Ukrainians and he received a literary award in 1936 for his *Knyha Leva* from exactly that group of readers.

The bi-culturalism of Antonycz revealed itself in his poetry, in the Lemko themes of his verses, particularly in the words which he used in folk motifs, Lemko songs, in discriptions of the landscape, in a word, in the special atmosphere which appeared in these poems. From the time of his writing the Lemko verses *Rizdvo* (Christmas), *Try persteni* (three rings) and *Elehii pro spivuchi dveri* (Elegy about singing doors), to the typical urban poetry of the posthumus collection *Rotacii* (rotations), Antonycz walked the long road of different sources of inspiration. It seems this was a road away from Lemko Region.

There is no space here to expand on the whole of Antonych's poetic development.³ Mykola Ilnytsky [in examining Antonych] directs attention to sources of inspiration found first of all in eastern Ukraine: neoclassicists (Drai-Khmara and Rylsky), futurists (Semenko and Bazan), neoromantics (Oleksa Blyzky and Iurii Ianovsky) his latter verses — Tychyny and even the communist poetry of the editor of the Lviv periodical *Vikna* — Vasył Bobynsky.

3 A monograph of Mykola Ilnytsky exists which discusses in detail all aspects of poetic creativity (Kyiv 1991) and indicates different textual perspectives: a collection of Kazimierz Wierzynski, Tetmajer's verses, the work of Majakovsky, poets and other examples from Czech, English and German.

Let me indicate several, as I see it, most typical inspirational moments, in chronological order. The first refers to a rather early creative influence when Antonych developed a pantheistic outlook on the world of poetry – here we can exactly see the influences of the author of *Soniashni Klarnety* (of sunny clarinets). This refers to the Skamander poets reading their new verses in the Warsaw literary café “Pod Picadorem”. We should note that Antonych knew about and commented on them.⁴ I have in mind Julian Tuwim’s *Trawa* (Grass).

*Trawo, trawo, do kolan!
Podnieś mi się do czota,
Żeby myślom nie było
Ani mnie, ani pola.*

*Żebym ja się uzilił,
Przekwiecił do rdzenia kosci
I już się nie oddzielił
Słowami od twej świeżości.*

*Abym tobie i sobie
Jednym imieniem mówił:
Albo obojgu trawa,
Albo obojgu Tuwim*

Doesn’t that verse remind one of the qualifications in *autoportret, proganin, Zachiwycony zawsze / poeta chmielu, Wiosny pedu*⁵ and even more this refers to the verses *Do istot z zelenoji zori* (to the entity from the green stars) where the use of names as a sign of integration with the world was simply repeated:

*Я розумію вас, звірята і рослини,
я чую, як шумлять комети і зростають трави.
Антонич теж звіря сумне і кучеряве.*⁶

Certainly Tuwim wanted to use words so the poet could be joined with the reality which he named. One must go with words, as through a door, to reach true reality. Thus all the neologisms and semantic constructs which are used to create the example, are very difficult to deal with. Antonych uses words to underline a certain situation, using this to distance himself from the world which only understands, hears and sometimes, just as Tuwim,

4 Referred to here is the commentary in the article *Kryza súčasnoi literatury* “The Crisis of Contemporary Literature”, where Antonych speaks about the tendency to be simple rejecting all the higher goals appearing in today’s poetry, thus affirming normal daily life: “One ought to remember, for example, young Polish poets titled their introduction to “Pictador”, here you can hear good poetry, like goods in a store. See. I. B. Antonych, “Kryza súčasnoi literatury” in *Dzwony*, nr 12, 1932. p. 779.

5 B. I. Antonych, *Poezje*, Warszawa 1981, p. 37.

6 B. I. Antonych, *Collected Works*, Edited by Sviatoslav Hordynsky and Bohdan Rubchak, New York–Winnipeg 1967, p. 138.

becomes one with reality. For example in *The Garden*, verses about biology, the author [Antonych] says:

*Кімната нам заміниться в вітчастий сад,
і сплетемось, обнявшись кучерявим листям.
Вросту, мов корінь, в тебе, й спалахне роса
на наших ясних снах, омаєних сріблисто.*

*Нас двоє — два кошлаті й сплетені куці,
і усміх наш — метелик ніжний і крилатий.
проолені думи, мов бджоли на дощі,
тріпочуться, на гостре терня міцно вп'яті.⁷*

In short, most often integration with the world occurs through description of the particularities of reality, at least as seen by the eyes of the poet — part and sign are identified in a straightforward way by identifying with the thing.

It is difficult to say in what direction the creative talents of the prematurely deceased Antonych would have gone. We can say, though, that in his last booklet of verses (1938) one can detect the influence of followers of Baudelaire (the poetry of things). For example in *The Ballad of sky-blue death*, several times in different ways phrases were repeated which occur in [Baudelaire's] *Flowers of Evil*. We can compare the Parisian *Spleen* with that of Lviv:

*Pluviôse, irrité contre la ville entière,
De son urne à grands flots verse un froid ténébreux
Aux pâles habitants du voisin cimetière
Et la mortalité sur les faubourgs brumeux.*

*Mon chat sur le carreau cherchant une litière
Agite sans repos son corps maigre et galeux;
L'âme d'un vieux poète erre dans la gouttière
Avec la triste voix d'un fantôme frileux.⁸*

Antonych replies in *the Vigil* of 1935:

*Примарні каменниці і коші подвір'їв,
мов нетрі мороку, вузькі і мокрі сходи,
провалля ночі, що його ніхто не зміряв,
і смуток темних брам, і цвілі млосний подих.*

*Зім'ятий і заляпаний паперу клаптик,
коротка, проста записка: «Ніхто не вилен,
злочинця не шукати!» Йде у тихих лаптях,
мов мудрий кіт, дахами місяць, нетля лине.*

7 B. I. Antonych, *Collected Works*, Edited by Sviatoslav Hordynsky and Bohdan Rubchak, New York–Winnipeg 1967, p. 151.

8 Ch. Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*. Paris 1927, p. 87.

much as Western Ukrainian writers were ever more sharply cut off from Soviet Ukrainian literature of that time can be doubly said about Lemko literature remembering that often the path of the writer led through Ukrainian cultural territory. The best example of this fate is Franc Kokovsky (Kokowski) who was involved in the activities of Young Muse and who was reluctantly noticed by B. Jakubsky who called his work of little interest and without any originality.¹⁰

A better fate awaited Antonych for he received a favorable review of his *Zelena Evanhelija* (Green Gospel) and *Rotaciii* (*Rotations*) in the *Lviv periodical Dzvony* (Bells in 1938. However his Lemko origin was never mentioned. In a similar way his necrology in the same publication read:

“In the beginning he had trouble with the Ukrainian literary language because he came from Lemkovyna and in his childhood used the Lemko dialect. Nevertheless he buckled down to work and studied all the important Ukrainian dictionaries and the best works of the Dnipro writers, making exact copies, grouping together synonyms and placed emphasis on accents (Lemko is completely different). Thanks to his constant work he came to know the Ukrainian language well along with a wide vocabulary. Among other things one can learn a correct Ukrainian accent from his verses.”¹¹

As we see Lemkos assimilated in Ukrainian literature are treated as simply Ukrainian writers. Antonych himself was involved in that community and didn't reject such a classification.

Jevhen Malaniuk expressed a different view of the literature which developed in interwar Poland, when he wrote in 1932 in the Polish periodical *Wiadomosci Literackie* (Literary News) that poets in emigration have important influences on their homeland both political and cultural and in this way take part in the life and process of national development... emigrant literature spreads through Ukraine in copies just as Shevchenko's verses did. You can see influence, in some domestic poet's work, from one or another of emigrant brothers. One can't say, however just how true that information was or what Malaniuk understood the meaning of the phrase poetry of emigrants was. Did he mean all, everyone outside of Soviet Ukraine, the whole diaspora, or only those creative writers who, like himself, had come from the eastern Ukraine and for whom Warsaw was only a stop along the road to further emigration to the west. Bearing in mind the tone Malaniuk used in reference to Doncov and Doncov's periodical, we can only say that he was not objective.

The only apparently optimistic comments regarding the silence about Lemko literature appear in a review of the *Almanakh Pidkarpatskykh Ukrainskykh Pysmennykiv* (Almanac of Transcarpathian Ukrainian Writers) published in 1936 by Sevlisch.

10 See "Preface" B. Jakubski in *Halytska ta bukovynska poezia XX viku*, Kharkiv-Kyiv 1930, p. XXXIV.

11 Cyt. Khronika. Bohdan Ihor Antonych (1910–1937), P.I., in *Dzvony*, 1937, p. 279.

Transcarpathia for many years has suffered from a severe bout [disease] of Moscovism. The younger generation, in the last few years, has started to turn to the better. Students and teachers have come out publicly for the Ukrainian way and their work unites them with Ukraine. Now it is not a few people here and there, but a whole national movement. One of the strengths of this progressive movement is found in literary activity, especially of the young... Secondly, and this is a very hopeful sign, is the desire to write in a pure literary Ukrainian language.

Further, the reviewer speaks of 21 authors who took part in putting together the Almanac (the majority of whom later one can find in the names enumerated in the monograph *Lemkivshchyna* (Lemkovyna)). Among others listed are the poets Zoreslav (pseudonym of Stefan Sabol), Grendze-Donski, Bortosh-Kumiatsky, Poida, Hrycak and prose writers Vorona, Popovych and Nevytska. The opinion of Pelensky nevertheless is clear:

“It is true, from the point of view of contemporary all-Ukrainian literature, that they do not come up to that standard, with the exception of Zoreslav and Vorona, but the very fact of the appearance of the *Almanakh* speaks for itself. If we wanted to use some high level of achievement as a criterion and applied it to contemporary Galacian literature, then there too we would have to throw out nearly a hundred writers and limit ourselves to only a few” [names].

It looks like the best action, in the eyes of the Ukrainian critic of the writers mentioned, is complete assimilation with his culture and in this way to raise the cultural level of the writers from Transcarpathia.

It seems that after the WWII little has changed. Lemkos have put out few significant cultural publications, not literary works, in poetic anthologies or individual booklets of verses, even in two language editions (*Lemkowie pizsa* — Lemkos write), and edited their own page in the periodical *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word) [a Ukrainian language newspaper published in Warsaw]. If they do not drown in separatist squabbles, we perhaps shall soon have a second Lemko Antonych.

Translated from the Polish text by Paul J. Best

Bernadetta Wojtowicz

The Role of Religion in the Development of National Consciousness Among the Lemkos

Introduction

Certainly one has to recognize that besides tradition and language a leading role in the development of national consciousness is played by religion. Jozef Chlebowczyk has pointed out that in the first phase of a national movement the local parish priest has a great meaning.

He could nurture in an institutionalized form, if not yet in a national form, a feeling of linguistic-ethnic separateness, in a given territory.¹

Research on religious influences on the degree of national unity reflect on the role also of religious organizations. At the local commune/village level the rectory was the central point of reference and the rector/priest was in charge. The village rector directed the social, cultural and economic life with the boundaries of a village community. Believers were not only connected by a common religious ritual but also other commonalities like festivals, church activities, etc. Thus, the village priest had a sacred character as the focus of religious activities from cradle to the grave. He also handled economic activity like controlling the income and outgo of various brotherhoods and organizations. Of all of these activities, church fairs played the most multi-sided mission-amusement, handicraft/productive and commercial.

The person of the parish priest had the most decisive of influence thanks to his great authority among the believers. The exercise of leadership by the priest and also the recognition of this leadership by his village created a priest dominated society. The religiosity of the Lemkos was demonstrated in their way of life, in the nearly theatrical activity within the church, in the three barred cross, in roadside chapels and religious figures along the roads

1 J. Chlebowczyk, *Procesy narodotworcze w Europie srodkowo-wschodniej w dobie kapitalizmu (od schylku XVIII wieku do poczatkow XX wieku)* (Processes of national formation in East Central Europe in the era of capitalism (from the turn of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th c)), Krakow 1975, p. 215.



(the work of stone masons from Bartne), in the massive attendance at church festivals and the general way in which they greeted each other.

The emotional bound of the greeting *Slava Isusu Chrystu* (praise be to Jesus Christ) is demonstrated in the case of Anna Burczak from Jaworki (1936). Anna Burczak was the mother of an elementary school girl. She rejected the order of a teacher forbidding the use of a religious greeting and was jailed for three months. She was finally released from the Nowy Sacz prison and the regional school inspector annulled the teachers rule.²

Among the Lemkos the tradition of holy places was quite strong. A great role in this was played by pilgrimages, which crossed state frontiers. For example the priests from Tylawa and Swiatkowa took groups to Kyiv and other Orthodox centers.

All the familial occasions — birth, marriage, illness, death — were tied to the church. The Lemkos took great pains to hold on to their traditional magical-religious system. If any of the required ceremonial acts were omitted, then ill-luck would follow.

A large part of the inhabitants of a village took part in familiar festivals. It was such a great honor to take part that many families were put in distress and their houses or lands had to be mortgaged in order to celebrate these familiar festivals which created a real binding between neighbors inside the village community. The Lemkos, living in out-of-the-way mountain valleys, were long isolated from urban influences and continued all the original forms of annual activities. The passage of the year was marked by festivals. Life's rhythm began with *Rizdvo* (Christmas) and continued with *Welykoden* (Easter). Attached to these festivals were ancient magical practices which [were supposed to] affect one's health, luck and success at harvest. Many magical rituals were focussed on the family circle and others had a village-wide character, affecting the whole community. One went from house to house in Christmas songs.

These beliefs, combined with the language and tradition identified with them, created the foundation for the development of a national character.

The Confession Problem in Lemko Region and the Development of National Consciousness

The Lemkos formed a Ukrainian ethnic group which lived on its own territory until 1947. It was a classical case of a group on the East European-West European speech and national boundary. Their area lies between the Polish and Slovak state and was at the end of WWI a point of contention between three political movements: Polish, Ukrainian and pro-Russian. The rivalries between these ideologies had a long tradition, having started in the 19th Century. Here the Habsburg monarchy clashed with pan-Slavic ideology and the Orthodox church which was bound with it. In the same way the uniate

2 *Nas Lemko* (Our Lemko), Lviv, No. 20, p. 6.

or Greek-Catholic church stood at the head of the Ukrainian national movement.

The isolated people living in the mountain valleys and mountain passes of Lemko Region had nothing to do with the new political directions which the Danube Monarchy or the Eastern Ukrainians were manifesting. An exception was the church hierarchy, both the Ukrainian-Catholic and the Orthodox, which not only knew about political events but actually formulated them.

The first political whispers of a modern national consciousness was an activity of local councils of the Ruthenian Advisory Council of Lemko Region, with offices in Jasliska, Sanok and Labowa. Through the intermediary of these local councils, the first political, Ukrainian newspaper *Zoria Halycka* (The Star of Galicia) was issued. The publishers of *Zoria Halycka* spoke in an anti-Polish tone, with proclamations, warnings and instructions. A reader would be informed not only about the most important developments in the Habsburg Empire but also about the latest news from different segments of life. Thus it was that in the edition of September 12, 1849 appeared a letter from Gorlice (Western Lemko Region) in which the Lemkos wrote

“Even though we are far from the center of Rus and find ourselves on the very borders, we are able to handle the Rus Language. In our schools we use the Rus language... children read ... [and] write cleverly and quickly can do national anthem which despite the difficulty involved, gives us great happiness.”³

Many people who were active in the general religious life in Eastern Galicia from the 19th and 20th century came from the Lemko Region. Among others we can list: Toma Polansky (1796–1869), a Przemysl bishop; Iosyf Sembratovych (1821–1900) an Archbishop of Lviv and Metropolitan of Galician Rus; Sylwester Sembratovych (1836–1898), Cardinal and Metropolitan of Galician Rus; Julian Pelesh (1843–1896), a Bishop of the Diocese of Stanislaw; Iosafat Kotsylovsky (1876–1944), a bishop of the Przemysl Diocese. These persons were tied in with the national-Ukrainian movement and were representatives of the Greek-Catholic church.⁴

Lemko Region joined the Uniate Church (also known as the Ukrainian-Catholic or Greek-Catholic Church) in 1681. In that year the Bishopric of Przemysl, which was in control of Lemko Region was attached to the Union. The adherence to the Union by the Lemkos created no great problem although the later susceptibility to the various streams of propaganda in the 19th and 20th centuries shows that the Union did not strike deep roots in Lemko consciousness.

After the strengthening of the Greek-Catholic Church in the second half of the 19th century it came into conflict with the various political ideologies and with other religious confessions. This new situation collided with the

3 *Zoria Halycka* (Galician Star), 31 August 1849, Lviv, p. 433.

4 See T. Kuryllo *Lemky kniaziamy cerkvy* (Lemko Princes of the Church), Lviv 1937, p. 7.

political interests of Poland and Russia. The national awaking of Ukrainians and the growth of their modern national consciousness was a challenge to Russian propaganda, to the idea that Ukrainians were little Russians, part of the Russian people and that the Uniate church was their political enemy. Pro-Moscow propaganda and the Orthodox church posited the Ukrainians as a separatist and anti-Russian element:

The worst blot on the body of the Russian nation is the Ukrainian... that is a freakish occurrence from which Mother Russia must disassociate herself.... The Mazepaists [people who think of an independent Ukraine] are our greatest enemy.⁵

On the other hand, growth of the Ukrainian-Catholic church was not without conflict. A part of the clergy wanted to free their church ritual from Latin [Western Church ritual] influence and sought to model their liturgical practice on that of Orthodox Russia and there was strong agitation by the Moscophil flock to abandon the Catholic [Byzantine] ritual altogether.

In Lemko Region this problem came to the fore at the beginning of the 20th Century. Moscophil agitation used the catchword where the Russian is, there is Orthodoxy, too. At the same time those Lemkos who found themselves in the immigration milieu in the USA were influenced by a stream of orthodoxy. This factor was the explanation why at the beginning of the 20th century, at the time of a massive Lemko return from overseas work, a part of the inhabitants who formerly had no national consciousness came out for a Russian rather than a Ukrainian nationality. The Lemkos called themselves Russian rather than Ukrainians or Ruthenians (Rusyny, Rusnaki) or Old Rus. The awakening that occurred in the 19th century in Ukraine did not reach the Lemkos. The fault was not only the geographic situation but also a lack of attention by Ukrainian activists who didnt take Lemko Region into account. Pro-Russian agitation found a fertile field.

The Ukrainian-Catholic bishop of Przemyśl knew of this situation and issued in 1909 an ordinance entitled: In the matter of Russian Schismatic Agitation in America.

This ordinance was valid in the Dukla district [Deanery] where an Orthodox movement existed. The Greek-Catholic priests were warned and instructed about returnees. The emigrants were to be carefully watched and the priests to take care that their parishioners did not take part in orthodox holy days and that have anti-Catholic printed materials.

The pro-Russian movement was neutralized during WWI. For example, Maxim Sandovych, the first Lemko Orthodox priest, was shot without trial at the beginning of WWI. The Greek-Catholic priest Petro Sandovych, along with his son, was also jailed for his political beliefs and his connection with the Moscophil movement, in this case after a formal death sentence. Over 2,000 members of the pro-Russian movement were placed in a concentration camp in the village of Thalerhof near Graz. The Russian occupation [of most

5 *Lemko*, 11 December 1913, Gorlice, p. 2.

of Lemko Region] which was accompanied by severe repression did much damage to the legend of Russian might, a legend which grew out of the march of Russian forces through [the Carpathians in 1848 enroute] to putting down the Hungarian revolt and destroyed much pro-Russian sympathy. A greater supply of energetic Ukrainian priests filled with nationalistic ideology would have strengthened the Ukrainian movement.

[After the war] the Polish state wanted to stem the idea of Ukrainian influence and it supported the Orthodox church by way of allowing a propaganda campaign for conversion to orthodoxy from Catholicism. Orthodox priests carried on this action under the patronage of the Warsaw metropolitan Dionizy Waledynsky (Waledynski) with the silent approbation of Polish authorities. This campaign began in 1924 and was well organized. Frequently the means [to an opening] was offering to perform religious services at a lesser price than was demanded [by Greek-Catholic priests]. Stefan Haida, the village priest of Krempana from 1910–1928 wrote in his parish chronicle [The Lemkos] officially registered as Greek-Catholics, do not possess a catholic soul, are not in Union, and ordinarily feel themselves as orthodox.⁶

Today it is difficult to say whether Lemkos felt more orthodox than Catholic. Certainly it can be said that the pro-Moscow action showed [church] union was not strong.

In November 1926 after a public demonstration the whole village of Tylawa went over to Orthodoxy. Propaganda for conversion was carried out under the guidance of prominent persons: a representative to the Polish parliament Serebrennikov, an orthodox bishop from the USA, AvraamFylypovsky (Filipowski), the teacher from Tylawa, Mykhailo Kopchak and the pro-Orthodox Greek-Catholic priests from Mszana Daliowa and Olchowiec. In the next year (1927) the same occurred in the parish of Swiatkowa. In July in Swierzowa Ruska, Swiatkowa Mala and in September Swiatkowa Wielka went over to Orthodoxy.

According to Vasył Mastsiukh (Masciuch) in the period 1926–1932 19,000 Greek-Catholic believers changed their church, the majority in Jaslo County (50%), Krosno (45%), Gorlice (30%), and Nowy Sacz (20%). This movement didnt have much success in Sanok and Eastern Lemko Region which shows that greatest influence of orthodoxy in Western Ukraine was to be found in Lemko Region.

There was a struggle over the use of church buildings. This battle was called the Religious war in Lemko Region and this is what J.F. Lemkin (Polanski) wrote about it:

The orthodox, armed with clubs and axes, started to attack catholic churches, breaking the locks and stealing the liturgical implements claiming that since they had been purchased by their offerings they were their property. Injured Catholics, the next night armed with other better weapons, attacked orthodox churches and took back the materials. It so

6 V. Jaroslavyc, *Najdavnisa doba* (The Ancient Era), Lviv 1933, s. 29.

happened that the armed sides fell into bloody battle. There was hatred toward one another and they did damage to each other. They broke each others windows, threw manure into wells, etc.... It all ended with long court trials, verdicts, imprisonments and fines. It was one of the saddest pages in the history of Lemko Region.⁷

The Polish government had signed a Concordat with the Vatican on February 10, 1925 [which gave the Catholic Church the right to ownership of its properties]. This forced the orthodox to build their own churches and chapels [they could not take over Greek-Catholic ones]. Thus it was costly for the New Orthodox to operate. The Cracow provincial governor wrote in this report of March 3, 1930 that the [new] Orthodox are mulling it over and the Old Rus up to now inclined to orthodoxy are beginning to critically examine orthodox priestly agitation.⁸

Just what role the financial aspects of the religious movement in Lemko Region played is the subject of another report of the same governor (of May 29, 1933): In the village of Skwirtne the orthodox priest Filypovsky is discouraged because he is receiving only natural products for support and many believers are returning to the Greek-Catholic church. The priest Filipowski is tired of his believers and intends to leave the village.⁹

One can say, then, that the religious war came to an end in 1934. A halt was called by the Orthodox hierarchy due to the increasing listlessness of their believers, on May 30, 1933, by a decision that further agitation among the Greek-Catholic inhabitants of Lemko Region will cease and a restriction on further acceptance of converts is announced.¹⁰

Finally, during the Religious War some Lemkos wanted to change to the Latin Rite. It is known that a delegation from western Lemko Region went to Warsaw with a request that their area be attached to the Latin bishopric of Tarnow. [The book] *The Lemko Problem* explained this incident this way: The Lemkos wanted peace of both soul and conscience from the Religious War and they felt if they went over to the Latin Confession they would finally find peace of mind.¹¹

Polish authorities looked with neutrality on all these incidents up to the moment when the Rusophils were able to change the position of the Greek-Catholic Church. The Polish governments equanimity between the two confessions [Orthodox and Greek-Catholics] was changed when the Vatican decided to establish a new Greek-Catholic canonical unit.

The papal legate [to Poland], Archbishop F. Marmaggi, who had gone to Krynica-Zdroj (Krynica Springs) for a rest-cure, met with 1500 Lemkos in

7 I. F. Lemkin, *Istoriya lemkiwiny* (History of Lemko Region), New York, p. 163.

8 Urząd Wojewodzki Krakowski (UWKr), sygn. 272, Sprawozdanie sytuacyjne miesieczne z zycia spol.-politycznego i mniejszosci narodowych (Monthly report on the social and political life of nationala minorities), Krakow 9 marca 1930.

9 *ibid.* 29 May 1933.

10 *ibid.* 30 May 1933.

11 *Lemkiwska problema* (The Lemko Problem), Lviv 1933, p. 4.

nearby Krynica Wies (Krynica Village) on August 8, 1933. At this meeting Mykola Hromosiak presented a memorial which protested against the pro-Ukrainian policy of Bishop Kotsylovsky and which sought a separate bishopric for the Lemko region.¹²

In this same year a Lemko- Russian delegation went to Warsaw with a request for an independent bishopric. At the delegation head stood Ludwik Kukis, a Pole from Szczawne — and a former secret agent Stefan Makukh, a communist.¹³

According to the *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* (the Illustrated Daily Courier)[newspaper] of July 5, 1933, the erection of a new diocese does not present a problem to Polish authorities as long as it guarantees that Polish state interests are not in any way compromised.¹⁴ Thus it came about that the Polish government agreed, on February 10, 1934, to the creation of an Apostolic Administration for Lemko Region (AAL) with its seat [first in Rymanow-Zdroj then later] in Sanok. This new church administrative unit encompassed nine deaneries [sub-units of a diocese] of the Przemyśl diocese, namely: Muszyna, Grybow, Gorlice, Dukla, Krosno, Bukowsko, Dynow, Rymanow and Sanok. In these deaneries there lived 127,000 Greek-Catholics, 17,500 Orthodox and 298 people who belonged to various sects (Baptists, Adventists).

The AAL was ended by the outbreak of WWII. Up to that date administrators were: 1) Vasył Mastiukh (January 1935-January 1936), 2) Ivan Polansky (March 1936-October 1936), 3) Jakov Medvetsky (October 1936-September 1939). They pursued an anti-Ukrainian policy — the clergy were forbidden to:

 speak about Ukrainian issues

 to perform weddings during Polish national holidays

 to purchase liturgical wine from the Ukrainian cooperative Torhovlia

 to sing the national hymn *Boze Welyky* (Great God protect Ukrainian)

 to subscribe to *Nash Lemko* (Our Lemko) [a pro-Ukrainian newspaper] and *Ukrainskyi Beskyd* (Ukrainian Hills)[a publication of the Przemyśl diocese].¹⁵

The form of the AAL was a compromise which was supposed to satisfy the Moscovites by having a friendly Greek-Catholic priest as its head.¹⁶

The setting up of the AAL just made religious life more confused. The majority of the population was lost in a new situation, and more schisms and new hatreds arose.

One analysis of the situation in 1933 is given by the anonymous author of *Lemkivska Problema* (the Lemko Problem), he wrote:

12 UWKr., op. cit., Nr BB I/1/a/2/8/33, 9 September 1933.

13 *Nas Lemko*, Lviv, Nr. 10, 1934, p. 1.

14 *Lemkivska problema*, p. 4.

15 *Nas Lemko*, Nr. 17, 1936, p. 12.

16 *Lemkivska problema*.

In a single family there were different confessions and national identifications: Greek-Catholic, Lemko-Ukrainian, Orthodox Lemko-Ukrainian, Greek-Catholic Lemko-Ruthenian, and Orthodox Lemko-Ruthenian. All this was exacerbated by Polish propaganda in favor of Latin Catholicism which created yet another religious group — Roman Catholic Lemko.¹⁷

The situation was certainly complicated and it happened that villages in which there was a more or less equal amount of both confessions, for example Uscie Gorlice [formerly Uscie Ruska] with 317 Greek-Catholics and 417 Orthodox, that families were divided by faith and neighborly relations of Orthodox villagers with uniate ones were ruptured.

Another example, the Orthodox village of Snietnica bordered with Greek-Catholic Stawisza and Orthodox Florynka with Brunary and Orthodox Kamiana with Greek-Catholic Berest.

The Polish state was extraordinarily interested in the political-religious situation and encouraged agitation against the strong stream of pro-Ukrainianism. A. Bartoszek wrote in his book *Lemkowie-zapomnieni Polacy* (Lemkos-Forgotten Poles), Rome was concerned about the fate of Lemko Region and expressed this by taking it out from under the jurisdiction of the Lviv Metropolia [Archdiocese] and placing it under an independent Apostolic Administration.¹⁸

Ukrainian nationalist activity was taken into account so that:

In the year 1937 state authorities moved against the leaders of the Ukrainian movement and the biggest chauvinists...the most aggressive Greek-Catholic priests were removed from Lemko Region and after the departure of the main leader of the Ukrainian-movement, the Priest Kachmar, in 1936 the Ukrainian movement lost its dynamism not only in the Nowy Sacz district but also in other districts of Cracow province...the flood of Ukrainian literature in the form of brochures, pamphlets and newspapers which was due to priests receiving them has been broken. The Apostolic Administrator has forbidden the reading and distribution of these publications by the Greek-Catholic priests and Polish authorities also have hampered their being spread about in Lemko Region.¹⁹

The resettlement of Greek-Catholic priests out of the region occurred due to the intervention of provincial authorities with the Apostolic Administrator. This is clearly indicated in the case of Stefan Dziubynas a Priest from Zdynia who was removed in May 1939 and Greek-Catholic believers were displeased by the transfer of Father Bilyk from Krynica.

17 *ibid.* p. 34.

18 A. Bartoszek, *Lemkowie — zapomniani Polacy* (Lemkos — Forgotten Poles) Warszawa 1939, p. 11.

19 Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warszawa, zespol: Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnetrznych, sygn. 1058, Sprawozdanie z dzialalnosci Komitetu d/s Lemkowszczyzny za czas 21 maja 1937 do 21 maja 1938 (Report of the activities of the Lemko Region Committee from May 21, 1937 to May 21, 1938).

In the years 1932–1933 the Polish authorities solidified their measures concerning Lemko Region. Governmental organizations were given to understand that, The Polanization of the Lemkos is not possible but their feeling of ethnic separateness from Ukrainians is a reality...making them into an ethnically and culturally separate group from Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians should be considered.²⁰

The organ to carry forward this idea was to be a Lemko Committee, under the leadership of the Council of Ministries, the Interior Ministry and the educational departments of Cracow and Lviv provinces. Activities were begun in October 1933 under the direction of the Company for the Development of the Eastern Territories.

Firstly Polish authorities were to be careful to protect the Polish inhabitants from Lemko influences and to start to Polonize the Lemkos. For example in villages where Poles were using the services of the Greek-Catholic churches this was increasing the count of Greek-Catholics, so the Lemko Committee set about building Roman Catholic churches (Wysowa, Skalnik, Labowa) and organizing religious meetings for small groups of Poles and even single families. At the same time there were propagandistic activities such publishing a brochure mentioning Greko-Polak [Greek-Pole]. This brochure also cited the 1931 census as indicating 500,000 Poles of the Greek-Catholic faith. The number of Polish Greek-Catholics was further thought to be enlargeable by using Polish as, at least, a second language. Thus Rusyn was to be seen as a confessional name not a national one. In summary, the brochure held that the people ought to be protected from aggressive agitation and perverted priests and not be seen as Ukrainians but as Rusyns, in whom a Polish nationality can be found.²¹

The Moscophil movement was to be weakened by forbidding Orthodox religious instruction in Russian. Further Greek-Catholic instruction was not to be in Ukrainian. Instruction in the Greek-Catholic or Orthodox religion must be given in the Lemko Dialect, on the other hand, the Lemko dialect was to be used in Lemko schools and a lessening of Lemko language used and an increase in Polish use.²²

From 1931 the number of Ruthenian teachers was reduced and those who knew Ukrainian were transferred out and their places were taken by Polish Roman Catholic ones. This situation called forth an immediate reaction and, among others, a letter from Karlikow read:

In August [1934] the School Committee received a letter from the School Inspectorate in Sanok stating that our best teacher for unknown reasons, was to be removed, and that a Roman Catholic teacher would be sent. We couldnt understand on what ground there should be a Roman Catholic

20 J. A. Stepek, "Akcja polska na Lemkowszczyźnie" (Polish activity in the Lemko Region), in *Libertas*, Warszawa 1986, p. 28.

21 *Nas Lemko*, Nr. 10, 1936, p. 3.

22 Biblioteka Jagiellonska, sygn. P 64/64, Zagadnienie Lemkowskie w Polsce (Lemko Questions in Poland), p. 19.

teacher in our village.... We want our children raised in the spirit of our fathers in our Greek-Catholic rite and our national culture. Our priest teaches two hours weekly which is too little.... If we have a teacher...of our confession we would be satisfied. We cannot allow a teacher of another confession and nationality because our children will not understand in the same way as with a teacher of the same confession.²³

In this letter the position of the Lemkos towards a notion of separate faith and a separate culture is indicated. Both nationality and the Greek-Catholic faith are identified. Roman Catholic was foreign, coming from a foreign cultural area.

The term Lemko was more often used than Ukrainian or Rusak or Rusyn to create a separateness. The ideological struggle between orientations in the case of Lemkos was characterized by conservatism. In the 1931 census of 1931 it was clearly shown that in the Cracow province 97 percent (58,300) of the Ukrainian-Ruthenian Speech group said they spoke Ruthenian and only 3 percent (2,100) said Ukrainian.

This general situation...lasted until the outbreak of WWII. Assimilation [of the Lemkos] reached its high point in 1947 with the deportation of the Lemkos [to Western and Northern Poland]. The Greek-Catholic church was dissolved by the Lviv Council of 1946 and Ukrainian priests from Poland were banished to Siberia.

Summary

The process of transformation of the ethnic consciousness of Lemkos into a national one is complicated. The basis lies in the rivalry between three different political movements: the Moscophil, Ukrainian, and Polish. In the 19th century Moscophilism dominated and in the 20th century the Ukrainians became stronger. The activity of both pro-Russians and pro-Ukrainians were hemmed in by Polish policy. Nonetheless, in the 1930s the Ukrainian side became stronger and Polish Lemko conflict also became stronger. Factors such as speech, religion and culture (tradition) were part of the inter-play.

Without a doubt the most important process in the building of national consciousness was the element of religion which was tightly bound to the linguistic and traditional elements. There was political manipulation in Polonization and Latinizing the eastern rite. The conversion of many Lemkos to Orthodoxy as a blow against Ukrainian influence was encouraged by Moscophil propaganda. This mass apostasy showed that the people had no clear understanding of the differences.

In research about the national consciousness of the Lemkos, we note that most often inhabitants of eastern Lemko Region identified as Ukrainians while those of the Western part as Rusyns. These two sides indicate that among some there was a tendency to separateness and a Lemko [only]

23 J. A. Stepek, op. cit. pp. 33-34.

self-identification. The result of the different political ideologies lead to different national identities in such a small group of people.

The process of building a national identity among the Lemkos is not completed. A part of this population assimilated after deportation in 1947 another part continues a separatist Lemko movement, the rest identify with the Ukrainian nation.

How national self identity will develop in the future depends on the activities of Lemko and Ukrainian organizations and on emigrant centers and also on the policy of the Polish state.

Translated from the German text by Paul J. Best

Paul J. Best

The Apostolic Administration Of The Lemko Region 1934–1944¹

Summary

The Union of Brest had many aspects including a possible political motivation — that of Nation building. The historian Edward Keenan of Harvard University has publicly speculated that one of the motivations of the Union was the implicit wish of at least some of the bishops to create the foundations of a Rus political entity within the Polish Lithuanian commonwealth, that is, a third unit of the here-to-fore bilateral Rzeczpospolita (Republic).

In any case, in the western-most extreme of East Slavic territory, the Lemko Region, the idea of common East Slavic unity stretching from the Carpathians to Kamchatka long endured (the so-called Russian Ideal) even into the 20th century.*

Therefore when the Greek/Byzantine rite Catholic Church centered in Lviv, evolved into a *Ukrainian* Greek Catholic Church at the turn of this century not many in the Lemko region were enthused. Thus, just before World War I a “return to orthodoxy” movement began in that area. After the war, the movement was revived and in the 1920s a religious struggle developed in the hills and mountains of the Lemko region, pitting adherents of an orthodox Rus/Russian movement against those of Byzantine Catholic/Ukrainian orientation.

In order to stem the tide of conversions to orthodoxy, parishes of the western deaneries of the Przemysl/Peremyshl diocese were removed from Bishop Kotsyloskys control and placed under an Apostolic Administrator, originally seated in Rymanow Zdroj and later in Sanok.

1 Prepared for the conference: The Catholic Church Unions in Central and Eastern Europe Idea and Reality, Przemysl, Poland, October 25–27, 1996, this paper appeared as part of an article “Some Additional Light on the Lemkos” in *The Polish Review* (Vol. 44, No. 1, 1999, pp. 59–63), and will appear in Polish as “Apostolska Administracja Lemkowszczyzny” in *Polska-Ukraina: 1000 Lat sasiedztwa* (Vol. 4) (Przemysl: South Eastern Research Institute).



Several administrators struggled to maintain the religious union, until the advent of Soviet power in the region in 1944.

This paper discusses the meaning of the Administration and makes a few comments on the lessons of its existence.

In the summer of 1993, at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute's Summer intensive program in Ukrainian Studies, Professor Edward L. Keenan, Harvard University's Andrew W. Mellon Professor of East European History, was asked by a student to comment on the Union of Brest. Not wishing to go into the theological aspects of the question and positing the good will of the participants in the Union, Prof. Keenan speculated that, among other reasons, there may have been a desire for nation building involved. Perhaps some of the Ruthenian bishops wished, at least implicitly, to create a third side, a Ruthenian side, to the heretofore two-sided/two-parts of the first Rzeczpospolita (Republic). Certainly this notion did occur where at the end of the Bohdan Khmelnytsky period, Hetman Vyhovsky signed the Treaty of Hadiach (September 16, 1658) which held for a Grand Duchy of Rus equal to the Polish Crown territory and Lithuanian.²

In practical fact the treaty's terms were never carried out.

In any case, as is well known, not everyone was happy with the Union of Brest. For several centuries there was this tendency of opponents to look to Moscow for support. Out of this tendency developed two movements, the so-called "Old Rus and the Moscophil. For purposes of simplicity we can define the Old Rus movement as one where there was a longing for common East Slavic unity, a general desire for a Kyivan Rus rooted religious identity. This sort of feeling was not unusual for Greek Catholic adherents even up to the end of the 19th century. The other movement, the Moscophil one, was much more focused on the Russian state and the Tsar as its leader.

The Ukrainian movement sprang up in the first half of the 19th century and made rapid progress not only in Imperial Russia but also in Austrian Galicia and even in Hungarian Subcarpathia. In the latter two regions there was a strong countervailing force represented by powerful Old Rus and Moscophil elements.

When at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the Lviv based Greek Catholic church in Austrian Galicia shifted toward becoming a *Ukrainian* Greek Catholic Church there was strong resistance by some Galician clergy and the strongest resistance of all was found in the central and western parts of the Lemko Region.

In the first decade of the 20th century a strong pro-orthodox feeling developed there based on two supports coming from one source. This source of influence was the Synod of the Russian Orthodox church which acted through North America where, due to the resistance of Latin Catholic bishops, the Greek Catholic church's ability to do missionary work among

2 *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 108-109.

Greek Catholic immigrants was greatly impeded. This led to a church schism and the transfer of many, including priests, to the only Slavic Eastern rite jurisdiction available; the Russian Orthodox church. Through reimmigrants from this group of converts and through correspondence of immigrants with the homeland, orthodoxy was re-established in the Lemko region before World War I.

The other source of orthodoxy was direct considering that the Russian border was relatively close by and that the Russian-Austrian frontier was quite porous, many Lemkos went on pilgrimages to Russian Orthodox holy places and received literature in their homes from orthodox sources. Beyond that, as the bishops Przemysl began to apply the rule of celibacy and began to receive into the seminary only convinced Ukrainians, followers of the Old Rus idea gravitated toward Russian orthodoxy and some went to orthodox seminaries.³ Some even claim that orthodoxy was always an underlying element in the Przemysl diocese and this is why orthodoxy so easily came back after the long years of the church union.⁴

In fact, the Przemysl diocese *was* the last to join the union (in 1681) but to claim pro-orthodox sentiments remained over 200 years later is difficult to believe.

In any case, just before World War I began, a few ordained Lemko orthodox priests returned to the region. The most famous of which, Maxim Sandovych, was shot by Austrian authorities in Gorlice right at the beginning of the war, for Russophilism. In fact, Father Sandovych is one of the newest saints of orthodoxy, this being proclaimed in the new orthodox cathedral in Gorlice recently.

World War I was a disaster for many of the non-Ukrainian persuasion since the Austrian Gendarmerie already knew who the old Rus or Moscovite were and they didn't distinguish between the two. Mass arrests occurred and tens of thousands were taken away to internment camps. If one survived the rail trip one might well perish in the camps due to typhus, brutality, or starvation. The most infamous camp, named after the village it was in, Thalerhof bei Graz, claimed thousands of victims. Those of Ukrainian orientation were accused by survivors as having turned them over to Austrian authorities. As a result, in the immediate post-war period when Przemysl Greek Catholic bishop Iosafat Kotsylovsky renewed the Ukrainianization campaign, there was a revolt, beginning in 1926, and many Lemkos converted to orthodoxy.⁵ To be sure, this mass conversion was assisted by the Orthodox church.⁶

3 Jaroslaw Moklak, *Orientacje Polityczne na Lemkowszczyźnie w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Phd thesis] (Institute of History, Jagiellonian University, 1996) p. 28–29.

4 See Marian Bendza, *Prawosławna Diecezja Przemyska w latach 1596–681* (Warsawa: Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 1982) p. 267.

5 See Anna Krochmal, "The Greek Catholic Church and Religious 'sects' in the Lemko Region, 1918–1939" *Carpatho-Slavic Studies* Vol II, 1993, pp. 93–110.

6 Jaroslaw Moklak, "The Phenomenon of the Expansion of Orthodoxy in the Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemysl: Missionary Action of the Orthodox Church, 1918–1939": *Carpatho-Slavic Studies* Vol II, 1993, pp. 71–92.

Thus the Greek Catholic church had to do something quickly.

On February 10, 1934, the Holy Congregation for the Eastern Church issued a decree separating the nine western most deaneries of the Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl — containing 203 churches and chapels, with approximately 150 clerics — from their bishop and established an Apostolic Administration depending directly on the Holy See.⁷

The reason for this occurrence was the request of Old Rus priests who wished to stem the orthodox tide by creating a diocese for “us,” the non-Ukrainian oriented population. Their appeal to the Polish Primate and the Apostolic Nuncio for such a diocese happened to fit nicely into the plans of the Polish government for splitting up and destroying the Ukrainian movement in inter-war Poland. Thus, with the support of the Polish state and the Roman Catholic church, the Apostolic Administration was established, but without a bishop but with an “Administrator” who more or less acted like one.⁸

After some considerable delay because of the refusal of the first nominee to accept the post of Administrator, Vasyl Mastsiukh accepted the position and was installed on January 19, 1935.⁹ Doctor [of Theology] Mastsiukh established his seat in Rymanów Zdrój and started to energetically weed out Ukrainian oriented priests and to make pastoral visits to his parishes. Unfortunately, Mastsiukh died within 14 months (March 12, 1936) and his activity as a Rusyn, Russophil, Old Rus, or at least anti-Ukrainian, came to nought.

The priest Jan Polanski, a very strong anti-Ukrainian and one of the primary instigators of the Apostolic Administration concept, succeeded Mastsiukh as a temporary Administrator. He lasted only six months but he was instrumental in putting together a complete *Shematizm*, that is, a book describing the Apostolic district.¹⁰

Dr. Jakov Medvetsky (Medwecki) became the second full Administrator. He was accused of being a full-blown Russophil because he cooperated with the pro-Russian Kachkovsky Society and the *Lemko* newspaper, which supported a local Lemko national orientation. Medvetsky forbade the clergy from subscribing to pro-Ukrainian publications, even *Ukrainski Beskid* put out by Bishop Kotsylovsky in Przemyśl. Medvetsky died in Cracow after World War II began (January, 1941) and was succeeded by Alexander Malynovsky (Malinowski), who attempted to reverse the anti-Ukrainian activity of his two predecessors.¹¹ Malynovsky survived in his post until 1944 when the Soviets arrived in the region. He eventually escaped to England where he died in 1957.¹²

7 See Zdzisław Konieczny “Materials in the Polish State Archives in Przemyśl concerning the Lemkos” *Carpatho-Slavic Studies*, Vol I, pp. 1–8.

8 Bogusław Prach, “Apostolska Administracja Lemkowszczyzny” in Jerzy Czajkowski (ed.), *Lemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat* (Rzeszów: Editions Spotkania, 1992.) pp. 299–300.

9 Prach, p. 301.

10 *Shematizm Hreko-Katolitskoho Duchoven'stva Apostolskoi Administratsii Lemkivshchyny*, Lviv, 1936, p. 178.

11 Prach, pp. 305–306.

There were several Vicar Generals who attempted to continue the Apostolic Administration after Malynovsky departed, but since it was established originally as a temporary measure for ten years, the Administration should have (and *defacto* did) go out of existence in 1944. In any event, the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church by the Soviet authorities made the whole idea of an Apostolic Administration in the Lemko Region moot as also did the "ethnic cleansing" of the area during Akcja Wisla in the Spring of 1947.

Did the Apostolic Administration succeed in saving the population of the Lemko Region for Greek Catholicism and the Union? The answer is ambivalent. In the view of this writer, once the Greek Catholic church went Ukrainian in the Lemko area it lost, for historic reasons, those of non-Ukrainian orientation. This can be seen in the post-1989 period where those of Lemko Carpatho-Rusyn views tend to attend the Polish Autocephalic Orthodox church with its fairly new Przemysl-Nowy Sacz diocese, while convinced Ukrainians belong to the restored and enhanced Greek Catholic (Ukrainian) archdiocese of Przemysl-Warsaw.

The present writer feels that the route taken in North America, which established a separate Byzantine Catholic diocese for the Eastern Slavic Byzantine rite Catholics not of the Ukrainian persuasion is correct. Once a church takes a political/national stand it excludes those who do not agree with that stand. In fact, one may note that one result of the Ukrainianization of the Greek Catholic church was the mass defection of adherents in North America, and that maybe 75 percent of members of the American Russian Orthodox church have familial roots in the Carpathians and Galicia.¹³

12 *Schematizm*, 3rd unnumbered page of the "Vstup do Druhoho Vydannia Lemkivskoho Schematizmu", printed in Stamford, Connecticut, USA, 1970.

13 Paul J. Best, "Moskalofilstwo wsrod Ludnosci Lemkowskiej w xx wieku", in Michal Pulaski (ed) *Ukrainska mysl polityczna w xx wieku* (Krakow: Uniwersytet Jagiellonski, 1993) p. 146.



Paul Best

The Rusyn Movement A Ten Year Retrospective 1989–1999

*Ya Rusyn byl, yesm, i budu
Ya Rodylsya Rusynom
Chestnyi moy rod ne zabudu
Ostanus yeho synom*

*I was a Rusyn, I am and I will be
I was born a Rusyn
I shall not forget my nation
I will remain its son
Alexander Dukhnovych*

These famous lines from the man identified as the Carpatho-Ruthenian national awakener, whatever he may actually have meant by them, form the foundation of the Rusyn movement. This movement thought to be a long dead movement sprang back to life at the fall of communism.

By 1989, the three orientations of Carpatho-Ruthenians: Ukrainian, Russian and Rusyn, seemed to have been reduced to one, Ukrainian. The Russophil orientation, in steep decline in Europe since the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917, had only the faintest of echoes in North America at the beginning of the 1990s. Even Professor Paul Robert Magocsi, the author of the seminal monograph *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus: 1848–1948* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1978) seemed certain that the Soviet administrative fiat in 1945 assigning all Rusyns in the Transcarpathian Province and in the Presov Region of Slovakia and the Lemko Region of Poland, a Ukrainian nationality had settled that issue, while the forced resettlement of Lemkos and Ukrainians in Poland in 1947 had either condemned the Lemkos to assimilation to the Polish majority or had thrown them into the arms of the Ukrainian social-culture organization of Poland where they maintained a marginal existence on the “Lemkivska Storinka” (Lemko Page) in the *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word) Ukrainian weekly newspaper published in Warsaw since 1956.

But along came 1989 and the fall of Communism power in Central Europe. Suddenly, as the old saying goes, “like mushrooms after rain” up popped a number of non-Ukrainian organizations, throughout the Carpatho-Ruthenian Region.

Pro-Ukrainian Carpatho-Ruthenians were shocked. How could this happen? What was going on here? Surely this is all a KGB/Slovak/Hungarian/Polish/anti-Slavic/anti-Ukrainian intrigue. Charges flew about “foreign money” inventing and /or artificially stimulating the Rusyn movement. In Ukraine, Oleksa Myshanych, supported by the International Association for Ukrainian Studies, the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences and the Committee for Scientific and Cultural Contacts with the Ukrainians Abroad, published several versions of a booklet about, and publicly lectured on, *Political Rusynism-A Ukrainian Problem*. In the 31-page 1996 edition, Mishanich identifies the Rusyn idea as a separatist movement against the interests of the Ukrainian state. Specifically he states that the “Society of Transcarpathian Rusyns” in Uzhgorod formed on February 20, 1990, which called itself a provincial cultural educational society was really all about forming an autonomous republic based on Ukrainophobia; all this leading to an independent Carpatho-Rusyn state to be carved out of Ukraine. He accused Rusyns of appealing to Russia for help and claimed that there were certain elements in Slovakia and Hungary which backed this idea. Starting on page 21 is a full frontal assault on the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center of North America which he says is based on a false idea, “anti-Ukrainianism,” and misuse of an old archaic term “Rusyn.” The foreign instigator of all this is one Professor Paul Robert Magocsi of Toronto University, Canada, who has gathered a few other professors together for his anti-Ukrainian and separatist purposes. Mishanich further claims that all true scholars reject the notion of separate Rusyn people, a separate Rusyn history, a separate Rusyn culture, and a separate Rusyn language because it is all really a subset of the greater Ukrainian culture and, anyway, Rusyn is just another name for Ukrainian. Dr. Mykola Mushynka of Shafarik University in the Presov led the attack against a revival of Rusynism in Slovakia. With the support of the Foundation for Research about the Lemko Region in the USA [an affiliate of the Committee of the Defense of the Lemko Region Western Ukrainian which is attached to the Shevchenko Scientific Society of New York City] he published a 12 page brochure *Political Rusynism in Practice* in 1991. In it he uses the same ideas as Mishanich. Interestingly enough *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* published an article by Raymond A. Smith, “Indigenous and Diaspora Elites and the Return of Carpatho-Ruthenian Nationalism, 1989–1992.” This article probably completed in 1993 or 1994 appeared in Volume 21 number 1/2 dated June of 1997, pages 141–160, but the issue actually appeared only in Fall of 1999 [this journal is years behind in publication]. In it the author gives a more refined and more academic explanation of Rusyn revival in the Carpathian region since 1989. He explains that certain North American academics, Prof. Magocsi and the present writer among others, for personal and career reasons decided to support the Rusyn movement. He does, however, admit that there is an indigenous Carpathian elite which seized upon the freedom offered by the collapse of communism to further its cause. There was a convergence of Diaspora and native religious, professional and opportunistic

elements that served to support and develop the Rusyn movement. Thus the author admits that there is some internal/indigenous support of the Rusyn movement. It is not all an external/foreign intrigue. In short, “to assert that elites make instrumental use of nationalism is not a value judgment...nationalism does not ‘just happen,’ it is made to happen.” (p. 155).

In late 1999 and early 2000 a two volume collection of polemics, essays, and lectures of Paul Robert Magocsi was published by East European monographs of Denver, Colorado. These volumes are distributed by Columbia University Press. Entitled *Of the Making of Nationalities There is No End* volume one is subtitled *Carpatho-Rusyns in Europe and North America*, while volume two has the subtitle *Speeches, Debates, Bibliographic Works*. These two volumes collect in one convenient place the whole argument about the existence, or the non-existence, of a Carpatho-Rusyn people. The reader’s attention is particularly drawn to pages 486–536, which contains a complete list of 30 years of Professor Magocsi’s publications wherever printed and in whatever language they appeared. Without a good long look at these volumes one can never understand the whole Carpatho-Rusyn question.

Let us, then, look at just what did happen after 1989.

In the Transcarpathian Province the Society of Transcarpathian Rusyns did come into existence in 1990, as mentioned above, as did other Rusyn oriented organizations in later years. In Transcarpathia several newspapers are published in Rusyn: *Podkarpatska Rus* (Subcarpathian Rus), *Rusyns’ka beshida* (Rusyn word) and *Rusyns’ka Hazeta* (Rusyn Gazet). There is also a religious paper printed in Rusyn, *Kristiyans’ka Rodina* (Christian Motherland), published by the Transcarpathian Orthodox Society of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. Also, codified language standards are being finalized; i.e. *Materins’kii Yazik* (Mother Tongue), (Moskva: Obshestvo Karpats’kych Rusynov, 1999).

In Eastern Slovakia, the Presov region, the first non-Ukrainian organization to come into existence after 1984 was the Rusyn’ska Obroda (Rusyn Resurrection) which became opposed to the already existing, and previously official, Soyuz Rusyniv-Ukrainciv (Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians). Rusyn’ska Obroda publishes a very professionally prepared bi-monthly *Rusyn: Kultur-no-Khristiyan’skii Chasopis* (Rusyn: a Cultural-Christian Periodical), which carries information about the Rusyn movement not only in Slovakia but also wherever it exists. It is the official organization of the World Council of Rusyns. This is the best single source for what is happening in Rusyn affairs. To supply the domestic Slovakia market and to a lesser extent nearly Poland and Transcarpathia is the weekly newspaper, *Narodni Novinki* (Popular News) a “cultural-social weekly for Rusyns in the Slovak Republic.” Since Rusyn’ska Obroda is recognized by the Slovak Ministry of Culture as a representative organization of a national minority it receives some Slovak state report. A codified Slovak-Rusyn (Pravila Rusyn’skoho Pravopisu)

exists. There are also a number of other allied Rusyn organizations in Slovakia.

In Poland, prior to 1989, an annual campfire (Vatra) summer festival had already come into existence. Held in the central Lemko Region near the villages of Zdynia and Bartne this several day event features folk dancing, songs, a language contest and discussions. Eventually, by the late 1990s, this event was captured by pro-Ukrainian Lemkos gathered in the Union of Lemkos (Zjednoczenie Lemkow (Polish), Obyednania Lemkiv (Ukrainian)). With tens of busses coming in from Ukraine carrying hundreds of Ukrainian the non-Ukrainian Lemkos felt pushed out and the previously minor Vatra-in-Exile meeting at Michalow near Legnica in Lower Silesia has come to play a major role in the life of Lemko Rusyns. Thus in regard to Lemkos we have the following organizations:

The aforementioned Pro-Ukrainian Union of Lemkos whose headquarters are at:

Zjednoczenia Lemkow
Zarząd Główny
ul. Broniewskiego 9/7
38–300 Gorlice
Poland.

This organization runs the July Vatra event now permanently held in Zydnia, a town just south of the city of Gorlice. It publishes, in standardized Ukrainian and Polish, the newspaper/newsletter *Vatra*.

The pro-Rusyn Lemko Association (Stovarishinia Lemkiv (Rusyn))/Stowaryszienia Lemkow (Polish)) is located in Lower Silesia at

Zarząd Główny
Stowaryszienia Lemkow
Ul. Z. Kossak 5–6
59–220 Legnica
Poland

This organization publishes the monthly *Besida* (speech) written in Rusyn, an annual *Lemkivskii Kalendar* (Lemko Calendar) and runs the Vatra-in-Exile. The codification of a Lemko-Rusyn language, originally undertaken at the Department of East Slavic languages at the Jagiellonian University under mentorship of Prof. Ryszard Luzny (deceased 1998) is said to be somewhat near completion. The Lemko Region, a folk ensemble, has existed for several decades in Poland (and other lesser Pro-Rusyn social, political, and cultural organizations also exist).

A Society of Rusyns in Hungary has been formed, which produces brochures and pamphlets plus a codified grammar of the Rusyn language. Several universities in Hungary maintain Slavic departments that deal with Rusyn problems — Pecs, Debrecen, Budapest, see especially, *Studia Ukrainica et Rusinica*. In Europe there are also societies for Rusyn advocacy in Prague, Germany and in the former Yugoslavia, for example:

The Society of Rusyn Language and Literature
(Druztvo za Ruski Jazyk I Literaturu)
Bulevar Oslobodjenja 81
21000. Novi Sad
Serbia-Yugoslavia

which publishes the *Ruske Slovo* (Rusyn Word) newspaper in the long recognized as a literary language local Rusyn. There is a Rusyn Language and Literature Faculty in Novi Sad. This small Rusyn community is in a precarious position in the sea of violent Serbian nationalism which exists in that area of the world.,

In North America there are three organizations of pro-Rusyn Orientation: the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, 1380 SW 86 Lane Ocala, Florida 34476–7006 USA, an organization wholly controlled by Prof. Magosci, not open to external application for membership; the Carpatho-Rusyn Society, 125 Westland Road Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217, USA which publishes in English and some Rusyn the bi-monthly *New Rusyn Times*, and the Rusin Association, 1115 Pineview Lane North, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55441, USA which publishes the occasional newsletter *Trembita* (trumpet) in English. The latter two organizations are open to anyone who would like to join.

Perhaps the most important success of the Rusyn movement is the successful holding of world congresses every two years since in 1991.

Congress I: Medzilaborce, Slovakia (at that time still Czechoslovakia) hosted by the Slovak Rusyn Renaissance Society, March 23–24, 1991. Representatives came from Slovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Transcarpathia (Ukraine), USA and Canada. A world Council of Rusyns was formed with a president, Vasyl Turok of Slovakia, and an Executive Committee made up of Representatives of all Rusyn organizations, and a basic set of by-laws. The bi-monthly *Rusyn* became the official publication.

Congress II: Krynica, Poland May 22–23 1993, hosted by the Polish Lemko Association headed by Andrzej Kopcza. Representatives also came from Hungary and Romania [a Romanian pro-Rusyn organization had yet to be formed]. Speeches and lectures filled the two-day meeting and the Alexander Dukhnovych Theater from Presov played the famous didactic Duchnovych play, “Virtue is more important than Riches.” (see the introduction to and translation of this work by Elaine Rusinko, East European Monographs, New York: distributed by Columbia University Press, 1994).

Congress III: May 20–21, 1995 Ruski Kerestur, Vojvodina, Serbia, Yugoslavia during the turmoil of Ethnic cleansing, then occurring in Bosnia.

Congress IV: May 29-June 1997 in Budapest hosted by the Rusyn Society of Hungary headed by Gabor Hattinger (Magyarorszaggi Ruszinok Szervezete). The meetings were held in the Hungarian Cultural Foundation in the Budvar (old city) section of Budapest. Again the meeting consisted of

scholarly presentations, folk and cultural presentations, literary activities, and the chance to meet other Rusyns.

Congress V: Uzhgorod, Transcarpathia, Ukraine June 24–27, 1999. The local Society of Carpatho-Rusyns hosted the gathering. Most active were Prof. Ivan Turianytsia of Uzhgorod State University and Father Dimitrii Sidor of the Orthodox Church of the Exaltation of the Most Holy Cross. Beyond the usual scholarly, literary, and social events the Congress was capped by a four-hour display of Rusyn folk dancing and singing groups from the Transcarpathia Region.

Congress VI: is expected to take place in Prague, Czech Republic in Spring 2001, and a future Congress is planned for North America. The present writer was able to attend Congress II, IV, and V. In his observation, while Prof. Magocsi gave keynote addresses at each of the Congresses, the Executive Committee of the World Council of Rusyns and the local authorities were clearly in charge.

Summation What is one to make of all this? Clearly there is a strong movement among Carpathian East Slavs to be “Ukrainian No more” (to use the title of a panel session at the American Association of Slavic Studies annual meeting in St. Louis Missouri in November, 1999). Where will this movement lead? All the participants in the Rusyn movement that the present writer knows, proclaim that they are part of a social, cultural, and even national movement which intends to consolidate Rusyns into a community. There is no desire or plan to have Rusyns form a state entity — i.e. they will remain “stateless.” There is a great deal of hope that as Europe unites in NATO, Poland and Hungary already in, Slovakia a candidate and Ukraine affiliated in the Partnership of Peace program and as Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia (and eventually Ukraine) join the European Union, borders will become meaningless and a Europe of the Regions will appear. Thus a Carpathian-Danubian Basin Region would become a *de facto* Rusyn region. Whether any of this will happen or whether the Rusyn movement will eventually wither away cannot be predicted. However, it is certain that the Rusyn movement will continue to be viewed by those who wish it ill, as a nefarious plot of Moscow, Budapest, Berlin, anti-Ukrainians, secret police, secret societies, Diaspora and local elites, anti-Catholics, anti-Orthodox, anti-Christians, Jews, Wall Street bankers, opportunists, capitalists and imperialists (take your pick).

Paul Best

Resources for Lemko Studies English Language Print and Non-print Materials

There are plenty of printed materials dealing with Lemko Studies available in variations of the Cyrillic alphabet, in Russian, Ukrainian and several codified and uncoded versions of Rusyn. In the Roman alphabet information can be found in Polish, Slovak, German, Hungarian and English. A complete bibliography of printed Lemko studies in all languages would require an entire volume, thus we will confine ourselves here to a rather eclectic, preliminary 60+ position listing of resources for those who can understand standard English.

Readers are invited to forward to this writer additional citations, whether print or non-print, that can be included in future versions of this bibliography.

Folklore

(Books)

1. Bogatyrev, Petr *Vampires of the Carpathians: Magical Acts, Rites, and Beliefs in Subcarpathian Rus*, Stephen Reynolds and Patricia A. Krafcik trans. (New York: East European Monographs, Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1998). A rather nice collection of what the title says. There is no reason not to believe they don't apply to the Lemko Region, too.
2. Kulikowski, Mark. *A Bibliography of Slavic Mythology* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1989).

(VHS format video cassettes)

3. *Lemko Wedding* available from the Lemko Association (see item #38)
4. *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* available from Prolog Video, 774 Broad Street, Suite 1115, Newark, NJ 07102-3892. A 1984 film about Carpathian Hutsul customs which are similar to Lemko ones.

(Audio Cassettes)

5. Jumba, Jerry. *Carpatho-Rus Songs and Dances* (2 cassettes, available from author @ 512 Hamilton Street, McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania 15136, USA) "The Music was recorded by a 10-piece folk orchestra and 44 singers. A complete songbook with translations is included" (*Orthodox Herald*, May 1996, p. 2).

(CD-ROM)

6. *Lemkos' Folk Music* Polonia Records. Recordings of the Lemkovyna folk group's repertory, Vol 1-3, available from Polart, see item #25.

History

7. Bonkalo, Alexander. *The Rusyns* (Ervin Bonkalo, Trans.) (New York: East European Monographs, Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1990). A pro-Hungarian work favoring the Rusyn-Magyar connection.
8. *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1984-1993), 5 volumes. Many entries carry Lemko region information.
9. Gudziak, Borys A. *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metopolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1998). A definitive apologia for the church union of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church with Rome.
10. Hrushevsky, Mykhailo. *History of Ukraine-Rus*. (Edmonton, Alberta & Toronto, Ontario: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and University of Toronto Press). Mykhailo Hrushevsky is the greatest of Ukrainian historians. His nine volume work entitled *Istoriya Ukraini-Rus* is now being translated into English. Volumes 1 and 7 are available already (Spring, 2000). These translations are checked thoroughly and additional notes added. The end product, thus, being superior to the original.
11. Magocsi, Paul Robert. *A History of Ukraine* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1996). This nearly 800 page book covers nearly 2,500 years of the history of territory either incorporated into present Ukraine or claimed by some Ukrainians. Thus there are a number of comments about the Lemko region.
12. Magocsi, Paul Robert. *Our People : Carpatho-Rusyns and their Descendants in North America*, 3 editions, 3rd=1994. This and many other publications are available from the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. See item #36.
13. Piotrowski, Tadeusz. *Ukrainian Integral Nationalism: Chronological Assessment and bibliography*. (Toronto: Alliance of the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1997). Polish justification for Akeja Wisla is based on a reaction to Ukrainian nationalism and ethnic cleansing in Eastern Poland during WWII. This book gives the Polish view of that nationalism. See items 17 and 52 for a discussion of the destruction of the Polish community in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia.
14. Potichny, Peter J. (ed.) *Poland and Ukraine Past and Present*. (Edmonton, Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980). A general discussion of Poles and Ukrainians which has relevance for Lemko region.

15. Pysh, Simeon (trans. Andrew J. Yurkovsky). *A Short History of Carpatho-Russia* (USA: Andrew J. Yurkovsky, 1973). This work, 48 pages in the English translation, was written by a Lemko scholar in support of the Russophil view of the place of the Lemkos in East Slavic history (a hard to find position).
16. Radziejowski, Janusz. *The Communist Party of Western Ukraine: 1919–1929*. (Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983). A translation from Polish about the phenomenon of communism in Ukraine, including the Lemko Region.
17. Terles, Mikolaj. *Ethnic Cleansing of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia: 1942-1946*. (Toronto: Alliance for the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1993). (see also items #13 and #52).

(Ukrainian Microfilming Project)

18. *A Guide to Ukrainian American Newspapers in Microform* (University of Minnesota: Immigration History Research Center, 1998). Despite its title, this booklet also covers Rusyn language publications. (see item #22)

Internet Sources

19. <http://www.carpatho-Rusyn.org> A Carpatho-Rusyn oriented site which has a Carpatho-Rusyn knowledge base and is related to the Carpatho-Rusyn Society. It has genealogy, tours, religious information and crafts plus history. Has a Lemko page site, maintained by Gregory A. Gressa.
20. <http://www.legacyrus.com> Legacy Rus deals with the common East Slavic heritage. This website counts four East Slavic peoples: [Great] Russians, [Little Russians] Ukrainians, [Carpatho-Rusyns] Ruthenians and [White Rusans] Belarusians. It has a very interesting take on the name(s) for Carpathian East Slavs. Site maintained by David G. Matvey.
21. <http://www.Lemko.org> An excellent site of Ukrainian orientation which includes Polish, Ukrainian, the “Lemko Dialect” and English language material. Has maps, music, history and literature. Maintained by engineer Walter Maksimovich.

Language

22. Bidwell, Charles E. *The Language of Carpatho-Ruthenian Publications in America*. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh University Center for International Studies, 1971) a large format 68-page study of Cyrillic and Roman alphabet publications.
23. Golab, Zbigniew. *The Origins of the Slavs: A Linguist's View*. (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1992).
24. Schenker, Alexander. *The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology*. (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1995). A very well-received overview of the subject.

Maps and Atlases

25. “Classified Maps of the Polish Military,” available in 70k (44mile) x 140k (88 mile) segments with English subtitles, 9 of which cover the Lemko Region – contact: Polart, 5700 Sarah Avenue, Sarasota, Florida 34233-3446, USA.

26. Hupchick, Dennis P. and Harold E. Cox. *A Concise Historical Atlas of Eastern Europe*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.) A smaller and shorter atlas than Magocsi's using only three colors. Despite title, the atlas covers only East Central Europe not Russia.
27. Magocsi, Paul Robert. *Carpatho-Rusyn Settlement at the onset of the 20th Century with additional data from 1881 and 1806*. (Toronto, Ontario: Cartography office, University of Toronto, 1996, 1998). This is by far the best map of the Lemko region, giving place names from the 19th and 20th centuries. It is 45cm (30') x 100cm (40') in size and is bi-lingual, Rusyn and English; and is accompanied by an explanatory 30-page booklet "Mapping Stateless People's: The East Slavs of the Carpathians." A must purchase – from the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center.
28. Magocsi, Paul Robert w/Geoffrey J. Matthews. *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe*. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1993) 218 pages of maps and tables in multicolors which describe the East Central European area from 400 A.D. to the present.

Miscellaneous

29. Hann, C. M. *The Skeleton at the Feast: Contributions to East European Anthropology* (Canterbury England: Centre for Social Anthropology and Computing University of Kent, 1995). See especially "Ethnic Consciousness in Lemkovina," Chapter 8.
30. Magocsi, Paul Robert. *Of the Making of Nationalities there is no end*. Vol. 1 & 2 (New York: East European Monographs, 1999). Over 1,000 pages of polemics and discussions about the Rusyn movement in North America and the Carpathian mountain area, including the Northeastern Slovak, Transcarpathia and Lemko regions.
31. *Tourist guides in Poland* which are available in English for light reading.

Organizations – which have some interest in the Lemko Region

32. Association for the Study of Nationalities, c/o Harriman Institute, Columbia University, 420 W. 118th Street, 12th floor, New York, NY 10027, USA.
33. Canadian Association of Slavists, c/o Department of Modern Language, Arts Building, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2E6, Canada.
34. Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 352 Athabasca Hall, Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2E8 Canada.
35. The Carpatho-Russian American Center (Lemko Hall) [formerly Yonkers, New York], c/o PO Box 156, Allentown, New Jersey 08501, USA.
36. Carpatho-Rusyn, Research Institute, Inc. 7380 SW 86 Lane Ocala, Florida 34476-7006, USA. Has the most complete set of English language Rusyn materials.
37. Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1583 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138, USA.
38. The Lemko Association of the United States and Canada, Inc., c/o PO Box 156, Allentown, New Jersey 08501, USA.
39. Lemko Research Foundation, World Lemko Federation, Organization for Defense of Lemko Western Ukraine, Inc. (attached to Shevchenko Scientific Society), PO Box 7, Clifton, New Jersey 07011-0007, USA.

40. The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, 208 E. 30th Street, New York, NY 10016 USA .
41. Rusin Association, 1115 Pineview Lane, North, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55441, USA.

Periodicals – which occasionally publish Lemko materials

42. *Canadaian Slavonic Papers* of the Canadian Association of Slavists, publishes materials such as Elaine Rusinko, “The National Awakening in Subcarpathian Rus.”
43. *Carpatho-Rus/Karpatska Rus*, a bilingual newspaper, lately published bi-weekly by the Lemko Association of the United States and Canada, published since 1927. The oldest continuously published Lemko paper in North America. Carpatho-Rus, PO Box 156, Allentown, New Jersey 08501, USA.
44. *Carpatho-Rusyn American. A forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Cultural Heritage*, (1978–1997) ceased publication. A quarterly, 8–12 pages each. An invaluable newsletter format publication with an enormous amount of information on Carpatho-Ruthenia—some touching specifically on the Lemko region. It is likely the 80 issues will be published in a single volume by the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. (see item #36)
45. *Diakonia: Dedicated to promoting a knowledge and understanding of Eastern Christianity*. A quarterly published by the Center for Eastern Christian Studies of the [Catholic] University of Scranton, deals with Byzantine and Oriental Christianity. Occasionally it carries notes and articles which relate to Lemko Studies. For example: Joseph Wieczerszak “Moving Back History: An 1866 Document Concerning Greek Catholics in the United States.” Vol. 33, No. 1, 2000, pp. 85–96.
46. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* a semi-annual published by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute for nearly 24 years. This periodical is regularly 2 or more years behind in publication, nevertheless it does carry valuable scholarly information. For example: Raymond A. Smith “Indigenous and Diaspora Elites and the Return of Carpatho-Ruthenian Nationalism: 1989–1992”, Vol. 21, No. 1/2, June 1997, pp. 141–160.
47. *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* a semi-annual published since 1975. Carries articles that do touch upon the Lemko Region. For example: Mark Barker: “Lewis Namier and the problem of Eastern Galicia,” Vol. 23, No. 2, Winter 1998, pp. 59–104, especially page 100.
48. *Lemkivshchyna*, published quarterly by the Organization for the Defense of the Lemko Western Ukraine since 1979. Some English language content.
49. *Nationalities Papers*. Published quarterly by the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Inc.
50. *The New Rusyn Times* a bi-monthly publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Society, now in its 7th year. Mainly concerning Presov and Transcarpathia, available from Carpatho-Rusyn Society, 125 Westland Drive, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania 15217, USA
51. *The Orthodox Herald*, a monthly newsletter, soon going into its 50th year, of religious and ethnic information. Published by the Strogens (priest and wife) from: PO Box 9, Hunlock Creek, Pennsylvania 18621, USA.

52. *The Polish Review* published by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, see especially Tadeusz Piotrowski "Akcja 'Wisla' – Operation Vistula' 1947: Background and Assessment" Vol. 43, No. 2, 1998, pp. 219–238, about the depopulation of the Lemko region.
53. *Slavic Review*, q quarterly, since 1941. Published by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.
54. *Trembita* an occasional periodical published by the Rusin Association of Minnesota. This paper carries information and translations mainly about the Transcarpathian and Presov regions. Address: Karen Varian, 1817 121st Avenue, NE, Blaine, Minnesota 55449

Religious Information

55. Blazejowskyj, Dmytro. *Historical Sematism of the Eparchy of Peremyshl including the Apostolic Administration of Lemkivscyna* (1828–1939). (Lviv, Ukraine: Kamenyar Press, 1995). No matter what one's religious affiliation, or lack thereof, this compilation and translation into English of Shematisms (Sketches/outlines) of the Przemysl Diocese of the Greek Catholic church is invaluable to the researcher since it collects into one place information difficult to find anywhere else. Despite the eclectic transliteration, it is well worth while to obtain a copy of this 1,000 page work. Unfortunately only 1,000 copies were printed in Ukraine. It may be a copy is obtainable from Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church bookstores in North America.
56. (Disks) *Carpatho-Ruthenian Plain Chant*. TransWorld Distributors, 24 West Sheffield Avenue, Englewood, New Jersey 07231, USA, 1970. Five 12" disks of the Liturgy.
57. Iwanusiw, Oleh, *Church in Ruins* (St. Catherines, Ontario: St. Sophia Religious Association, 1987). A beautiful lovingly prepared picture album of churches of the Lemko region, many now destroyed.
58. Klosinska, Janina (trans. Magda Iwinska and Piotr Paszkiewicz) *Icons From Poland* (Warsaw: Arkady Publishers, 1989). An unusual, difficult to find, 150 page book filled with pictures of looted/confiscated icons from the Lemko region.
59. Kucharek, Casimir. *The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Combermere, Ontario: Alleluia Press, 1971). "This book is the most comprehensive work on Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgy that has ever appeared in any modern language."
60. (Cassette audio tape). *The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, sung by the archiepiscopal choir of the Exaltation of the Most Holy Cross Orthodox Cathedral, Cyril and Methodius Square, 7, Uzhgorod Transcarpathia, Ukraine. The complete long Byzantine liturgy, a very clear, very beautiful, rendition.
61. Roccasalvo, Joan L. *The Plain Chant Tradition of Southwestern Rus.* (Boulder, CO, East European Monographs, 1986), explains special Eastern Christian music of Carpathian area, should be combined with #48 above.

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Subtitles to figure 1.

Distribution of early middle ages settlement, 6th to the first half of the 13th c., in the eastern part of the Polish Carpathians.

- a. settled territory
- b. fortified town older than the turn of the 12th/13th c.
- c. the border between Poland and Rus before 1340
- d. the further western continuation of Rus Ethnic elements to the end of the 19th c.
- e. single Rus enclaves surround by Polish at the end of the 10th c.
- f. terrain higher than 350 meters above sea level
- g. the northern edge of the Carpathians
- h. the contemporary state border

B — Biecz

P — Przemyśl

S — Sanok

JS — Jasło-Sanok group of settlements

RP — Przeszów-Przemyśl group of settlements

TN — Tarnów-Nowy Sącz group of settlements

Translated from Polish text by Paul J. Best

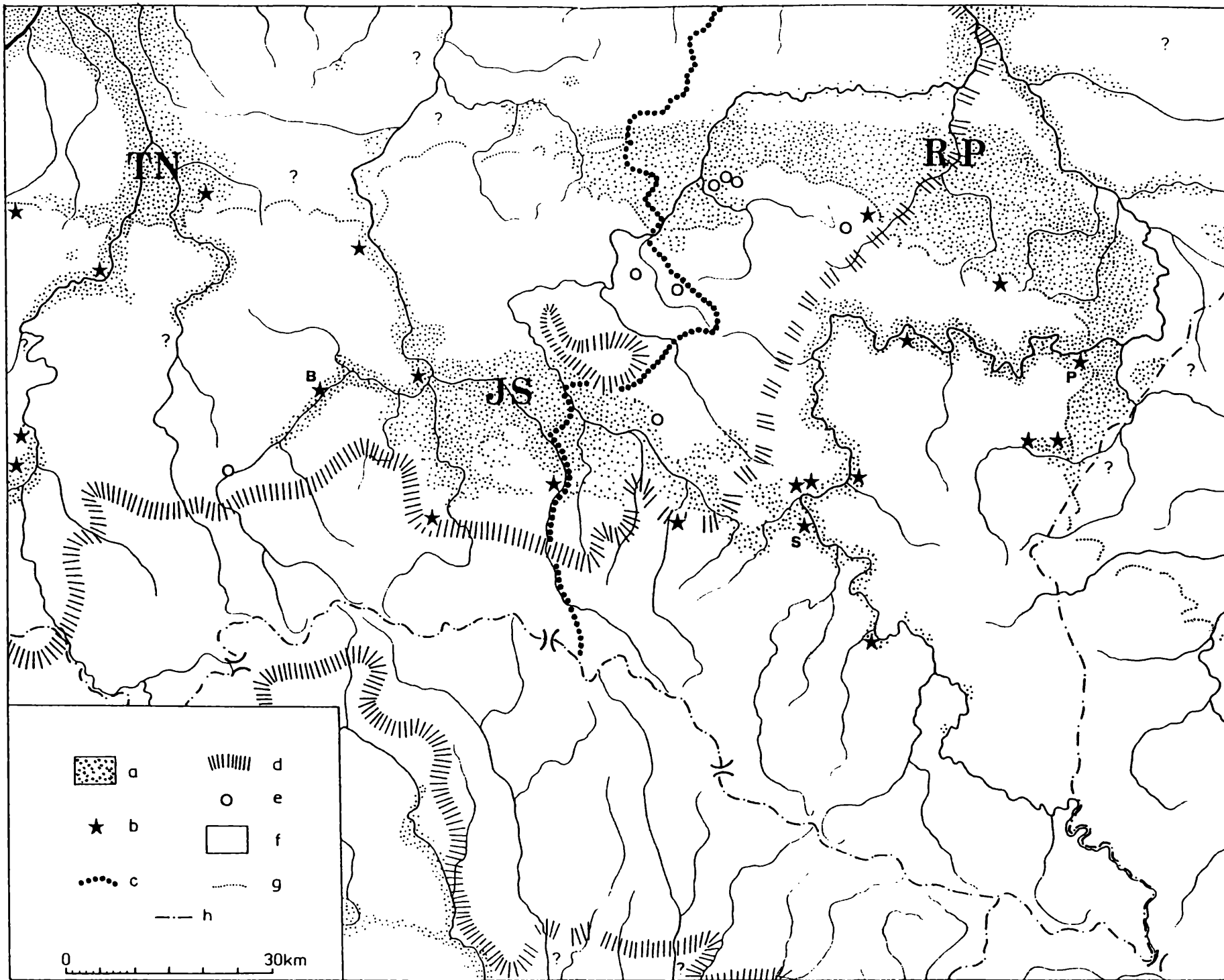


Figure 1. Distribution of early middle ages settlement, 6th to the first half of the 13th c., in the eastern part of the Polish Carpathians.

MAP 1.

WESTERN EUROPE

EASTERN EUROPE


20

10

0

50

60

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN
REGION = 

Scale of miles

0 100 200 300 400

50

50

40

40

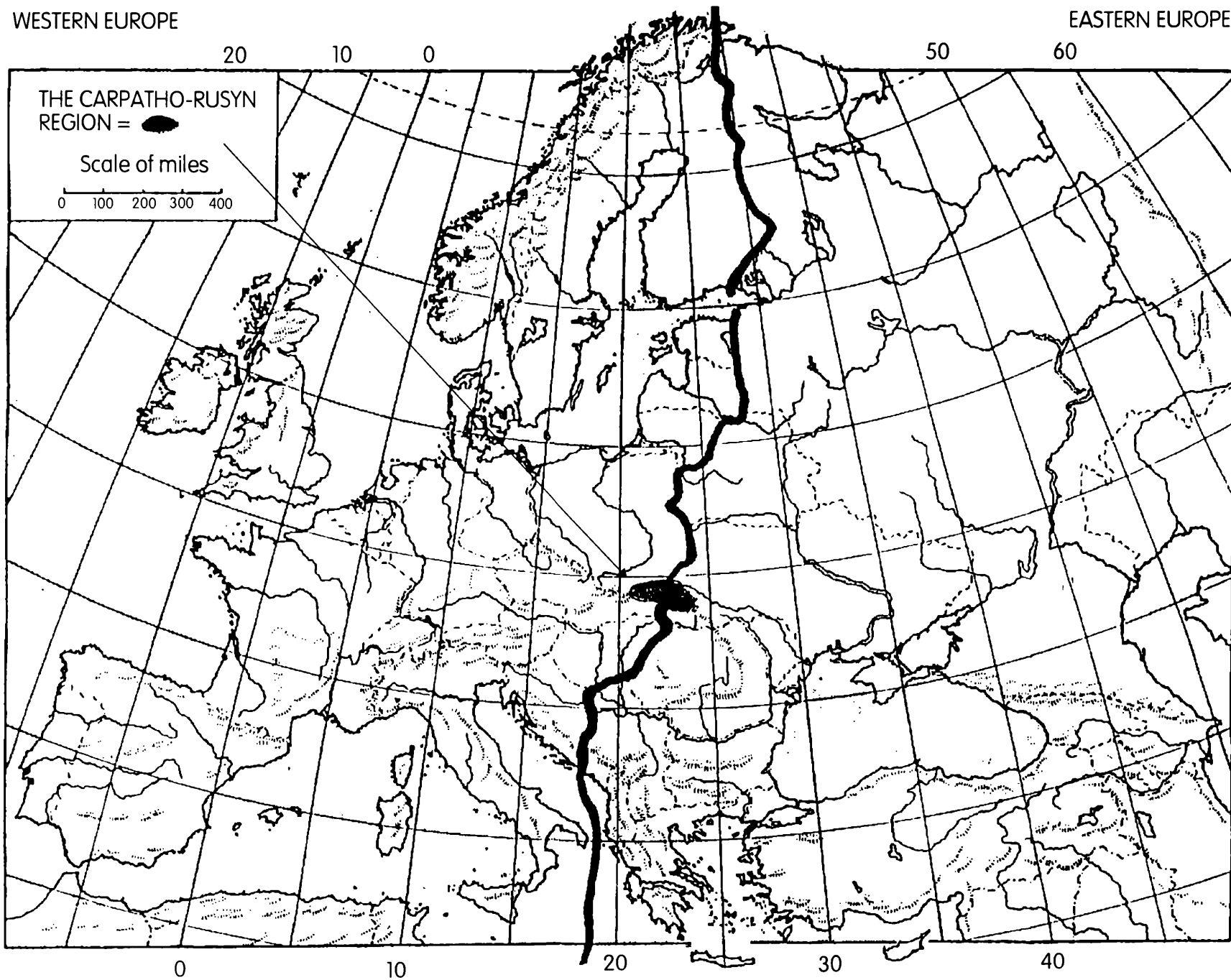
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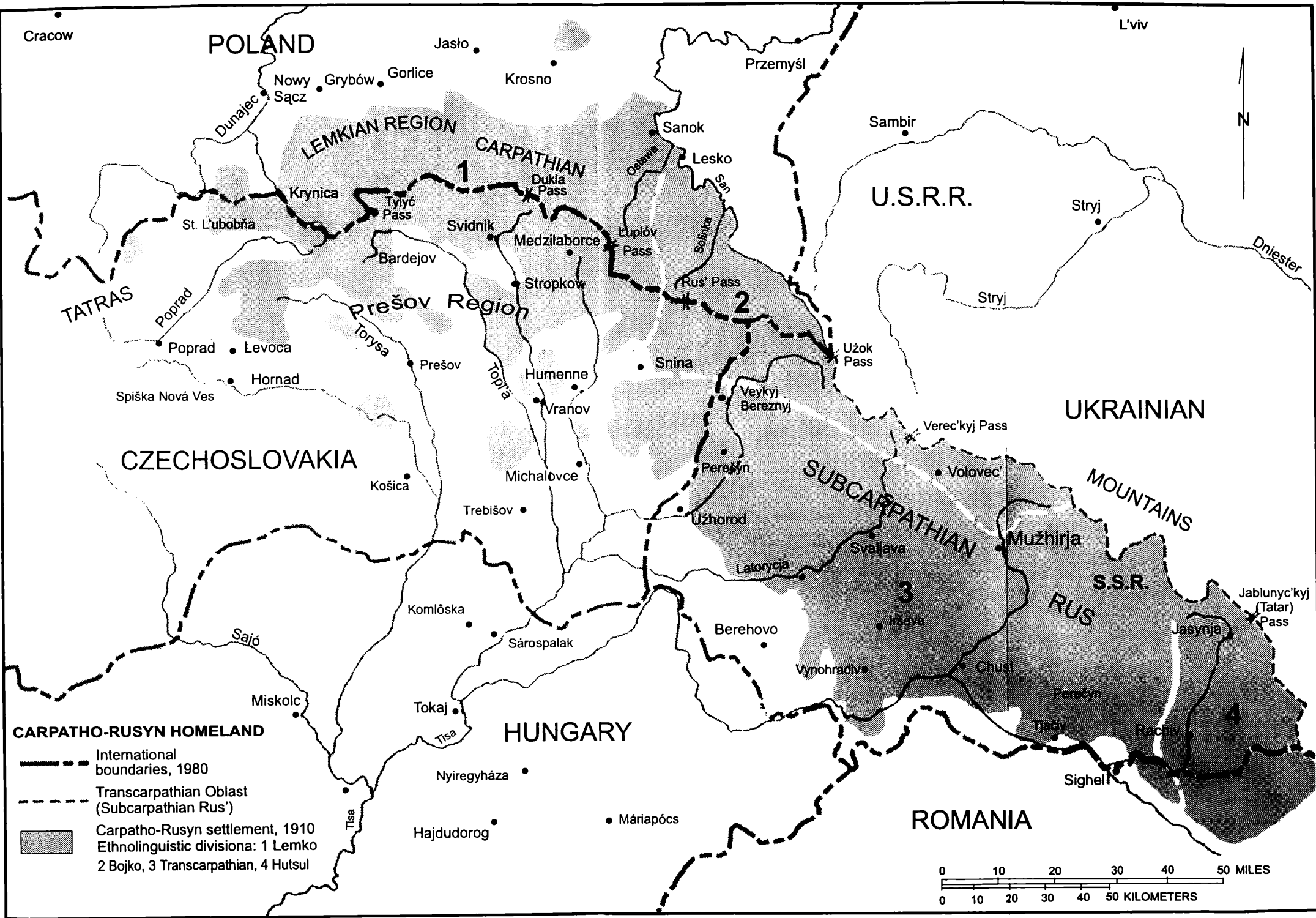
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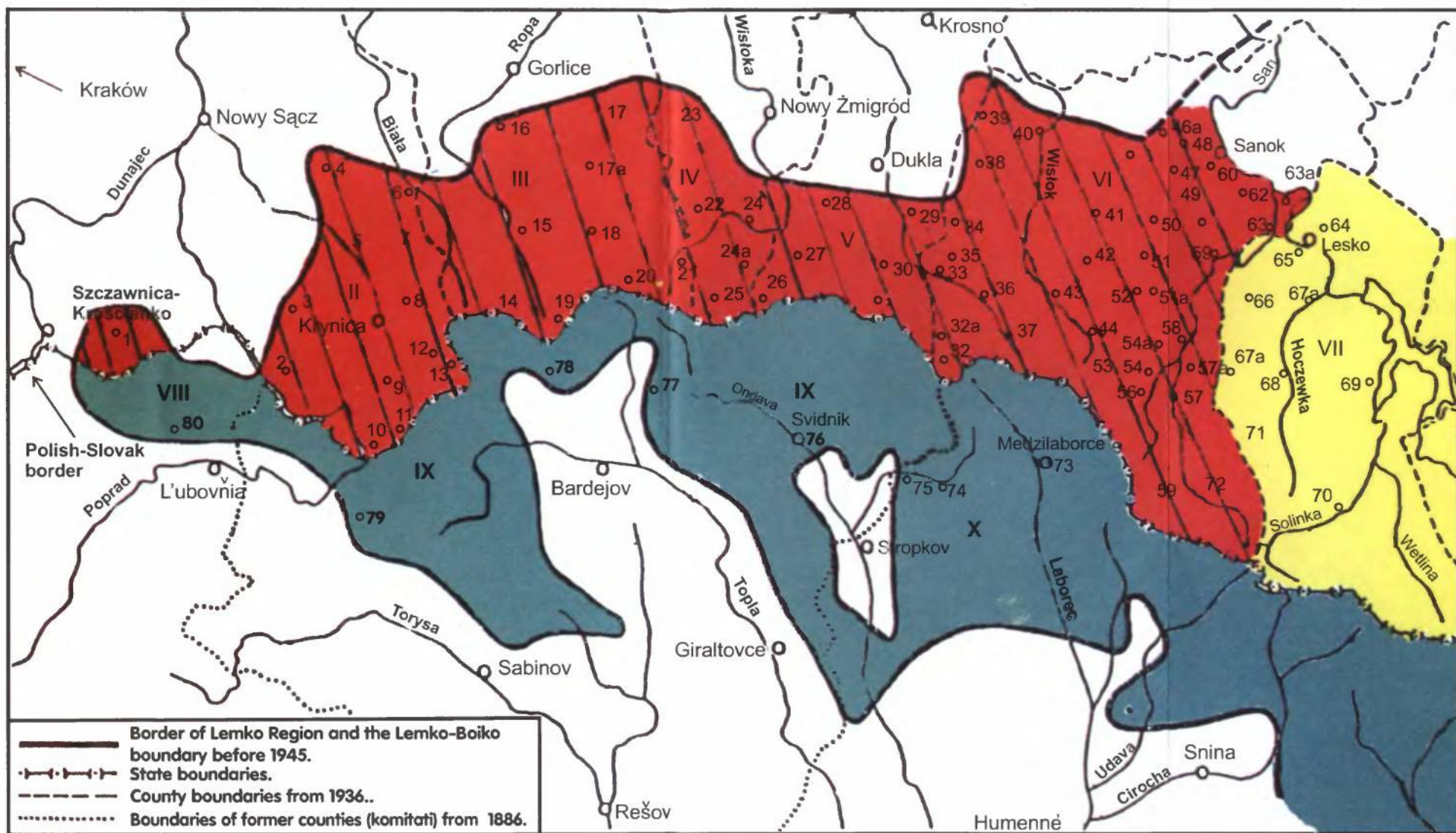
MAP 2.



Map used in many different articles and books of Paul R. Magocsi. Also found in various issues of Carpatho-Rusyn American. A cyrillic version was published by the Lemko Association of the United States and Canada in 1930s.

MAP 3 THE LEMKO REGION

Zdzisław Stieber *Dialekt Łemków* Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich - Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław 1982



THE LEMKO AREA IN POLAND



THE LEMKO AREA IN SLOVAKIA



THE BOIKO AREA

Please Photo Copy

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This book deals with the East Slavic population which until 1947 was the majority in the mountains of today's Southeast Poland.

These articles and essays give a broad overview of the Lemko question as it exists at the turn of the millenium.

The editors anticipate that the next book in this series *War and Occupation in the Lemko Region in WW II* will appear in 2002.

Paul Best is Professor of Eurasian Studies in the Political Science Department of Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, USA. He has been collecting materials on nationality questions and specifically the Lemkos since 1965.

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