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## **BORDERLANDS OF NATIONS, NATIONS OF BORDERLANDS**

National, ethnic and religious minorities  
in the Polish space – selected issues

**REGION AND REGIONALISM**  
**No. 13 vol. 2**

edited by Krystian Heffner and Brygida Solga

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## FOREWORD

The next, 13<sup>th</sup> volume of *Region and Regionalism* publication series, is focussed on contemporary socio-economic, political and cultural issues occurring with various intensity in the areas separating nations and nation states. Some of them are perceived as homogeneous in terms of national and religious character of the state (Rykała 2014), however in regional approaches, especially in borderland areas, their structure is explicitly more complex (Barwiński 2015). This situation is typical of many areas of peripheral characteristics in Poland<sup>1</sup>. Hence, the growing interest of scientific, political and economic circles in nations, as well as ethnic and religious groups operating in the borderland areas (*Borderlands of nations, nations of borderlands*). Economic, social and cultural phenomena as well as processes that are often invisible in their central parts are often revealed in the areas associated with borders of individual states. This concerns both the issues of functioning of national and ethnic minorities, and also the sustaining (or very weak) shortage of cross-border co-operation and integration in border areas that is still in its initial stage. This situation hampers creation of cross-

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<sup>1</sup> It is worth mentioning that two earlier volumes of the *Region and Regionalism* series were also devoted to similar issues: *Multicultural regions and Cities*, series: *Region and Regionalism* No. 4, M. Koter and K. Heffner (eds.), University of Łódź, Silesian Institute in Opole and Silesian Institute Society, Łódź and Opole 1999; *The role of ethnic minorities in border regions. Forms of their composition, problems of development and political aspects*, ed. by M. Koter and K. Heffner, University of Łódź, Department of Political Geography and Regional Studies, Governmental Research Institute Silesian Institute, Silesian Institute Society, series: *Region and Regionalism* No. 6 vol. 1, Łódź and Opole 2003; *The role of ethnic minorities in border regions. Selected problems of ethnic and religious minorities*, ed. by K. Heffner and M. Sobczyński, University of Łódź, Department of Political Geography and Regional Studies, Governmental Research Institute Silesian Institute, Silesian Institute Society, series: *Region and Regionalism* No. 6 vol. 2, Łódź and Opole 2003.

-border structures that enable benefitting from the advantages of location and functioning at the state border by ethnically and socially diversified inhabitants.

The eleven texts are divided into three parts, the first of which, *Minorities in the face of migration problems* is focussed on the issues of depopulation and migration in the minorities regions in Poland, with special emphasis on Opole Silesia and the German minority (Krystian Heffner and Brygida Solga), the forced dislocation of Polish citizens to the Soviet Union during the Second World War, and their extremely difficult living conditions in the detention places (Olga Sikora, *Climate zonation as a factor differentiating the detention places of Polish citizens in the USSR*).

The second part of the series, *Region and Regionalism*, collected in the second volume, section 13 is entitled *The weaknesses of national and ethnic minorities in the Polish space*, and focuses on the problems of functioning of the Ukrainian minority in the context of the activity and actions of local governments (Wioletta Szymańska, *The Ukrainian minority and the activity of local governments in Poland*), linguistic issues related to the Polish-German cultural heritage in Warmia and Masuria (Izabela Lewandowska, *Warmian dialect as a manifestation of intangible heritage in the Polish-German borderland culture*) and in the Kashubian region (Krystyna Krawiec-Złotkowska, *The reception of the first literary text edited in the Kashubian language in the context of the so-called "Kashubian issue"*). Two successive texts are focused on the borderland in the context of evolution of spatial structures of rural settlement in Volhynia and Polesia (Tomasz Figlus, *Spatial structures of rural settlements in Western Polesia and Volhynia in historico-geographical perspective*), and the effects of the peripheric character of western borderland in political, national and economic sense in the context of Poland as a whole (Andrzej Rączaszek, *Economic consequences of the transformation in Poland's selected border areas*).

The third part (*Meanders of the existence of religious minorities in Polish space*) also focuses on the issues related to the functioning of national and religious minorities, but in the approach of Polish space shaped in the new range after the Second World War. The article by Andrzej Rykała (*Multicultural heritage of the borderland – Old Believers in Poland*) is an attempt to explain the origin of the Old Believers in Poland and the nature of their spatial distribution, as well as their socio-religious organization, especially in the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Also, Anna Majewska's paper deals with the minority, but here it is the Jewish minority in Upper Silesia during the period of division of this part of Polish space by the partitioning states (*Jewish sepulchral heritage in Silesian Voivodeship divided by the borders similarities and differences*). Demarcation of nations (Polish and Czech) in the Upper Silesian region, in the

former Duchy of Cieszyn, is the focus of Anna Kruś's paper (*Borderland of nations and denominations – the case of Duchy of Cieszyn*). On the other hand, Magdalena Zdyb's paper concerns geographic, political and social determinants of the rise of religious minority in the Łódź region (*Geographical-political and social aspects of the origins of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the region of Łódź*).

The issue of functioning of national and religious minorities, and the formation of their borderlands by nations and their state structures is often discussed by both Polish and foreign researchers. Complex political processes overlap with frequently difficult socio-economic and cultural issues associated with the integration of the countries of Central Europe in the European Union. Their effects are clearly apparent in border regions of Poland and neighbouring countries (e.g. Galent 2013, Buchowski and Chlewińska 2012).

The editors of the volume believe that the compiled materials will inspire further research on border areas and the functioning of national minorities in Poland, especially because the development problems of these groups overlap with constantly observed effects of the peripheral location in the structure of Central European countries.

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Section 1

**MINORITIES IN THE FACE  
OF MIGRATION PROBLEMS**





## **INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND POPULATION DECLINE IN THE REGIONS WITH NATIONAL MINORITIES IN POLAND ON THE EXAMPLE OF OPOLSKIE VOIVODESHIP**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Poland is a country with a uniform national structure; only 3% of citizens declare non-Polish nationality. However, there are regions with a significant share of national minorities. Opolskie Voivodeship, which is the home to the largest statutorily recognized national minority in Poland is the region of considerable ethnic and cultural diversification. The German minority plays an important role in the socio-economic development of the area. Opolskie Voivodeship is also the only region in Poland, where organizations representing the German minority have such a considerable political significance.

However, numerous studies have shown that the ethnic diversity of the region is additionally linked with unfavourable demographic trends, and the international migration is extremely important. In major part of Opolskie Voivodeship, a depopulation process has been long-term and advanced. Central and eastern part of the region, inhabited mainly by the German minority, is characterised by the greatest population loss. Progressive decline in population is caused by long-term emigration of the representatives of this minority and negative population growth. This situation also affects all areas related to the functioning of minority and seriously undermines political representation at local, regional and national level. In addition to depopulation problems, economic and political consequences of this process for the development of the region, including the functioning of the German minority, are among major challenges for the regional policy (Heffner 1994a, pp. 179–200).

## 2. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE GERMAN MINORITY IN OPOLSKIE VOIVODESHIP

Opolskie Voivodeship is an ethnically diverse region. The results of the Polish Census of 2011 showed that out of approximately 1 million inhabitants of Opolskie Voivodeship<sup>1</sup>, more than 78,000 declared affiliation to the German minority (in 2002 it was approx. 104,000 people<sup>2</sup>). In the area of 36 out of 71 municipalities, at least 10% of the population declared a nationality other than Polish. The area of residence of the Germans in Opolskie Voivodeship is clearly spatially concentrated. They mainly live in the central and eastern part of the region, i.e. municipalities in the counties of Olesno, Opole, Strzelce, Krapkowice, Kędzierzyn-Koźle and Kluczbork (fig. 1).

Starting from 1990, when the German minority in Poland was formally recognized, it has been actively involved in various spheres of socio-economic

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<sup>1</sup> It should be clear that there are differences between the actual population reported by Central Statistical Office of Poland, and the number of resident population. In 2013, in Opolskie Voivodeship the number of resident population according to registered population movement was approximately 897,000 people, whereas the Central Statistical Office adopted a number of actual population exceeding one million inhabitants (1,004,400) as the basis for the forecast (population forecasts for the years 2014 to 2050, CSO, Warsaw 2014), i.e. over 107,400 more. This difference represents 11.97% of the resident population, or 10.69% of the accepted state of actual population. It means that CSO forecasted number of state population in 2030 at the level of 902,000 residents was already reached in 2012. Moreover, it indicates that if the current trends that show the decrease in the number of resident population in the years 2002 to 2011 will continue, it is possible to achieve an actual state of population of Opolskie Voivodeship below 800,000 not in 2045 as forecasted by CSO as for the actual population, but already in 2030. For more information see: R. Rauziński et al. (2015, p. 81).

<sup>2</sup> Such a significant discrepancy in the number of people declaring German ethnicities in the period between the two censuses is explained in various ways. It shows, for example, that the decline results from growing interest in the Silesian nationality (A. Saxon 2012). Additionally, it can be assumed that in a situation of decreasing political support for the German minority electoral committees, committees promoting the Silesian nationality could gain importance. In fact, Silesian Autonomy Movement registered their lists in all districts of Opole, but received only 5,702 votes, i.e. 2% of the support in the region. M. Barwiński (2014) and M. Mazurkiewicz (2015) on the other hand notes that the results of two censuses are extremely difficult to compare since they were conducted using completely different methods. During the census of 2011 it was possible to declare two nationalities, and it was possible to allocate people who beside Polish identity declared the "minority" identity as a second choice, to a national or ethnic minority. Declarations with Silesian and "combined" Polish-Silesian, Silesian-Polish, Silesian-German or German-Silesian identity represented 847,000 at national level.

life of the Opolskie Voivodeship. The minority participates in the management of local and regional development and has a great political significance (Heffner 1994b, pp. 79–80). The German minority is characterised by extensive organizational structure, including the level of villages (local groups), municipalities (municipal boards), counties (county boards) and voivodeship (state government) (Mazurkiewicz 2015, p. 95). In the region, there are 330 DFK local groups, i.e. DFK – Social and cultural associations of Germans in Opole Silesia, bringing together more than 40,000 members (Cordell 1996, pp. 269–285, Bartek 2015, pp. 205–211). Non-governmental organizations associated with the German minority are also keenly operating, mainly Foundation for Development of Silesia and the Local Initiative Support (FRS), and Caritas Diocese of Opole. FRS focuses on supporting the economic and cultural actions of the German minority, among others, the construction of water supply system, sewage network, water supplies and sewage treatment plants.

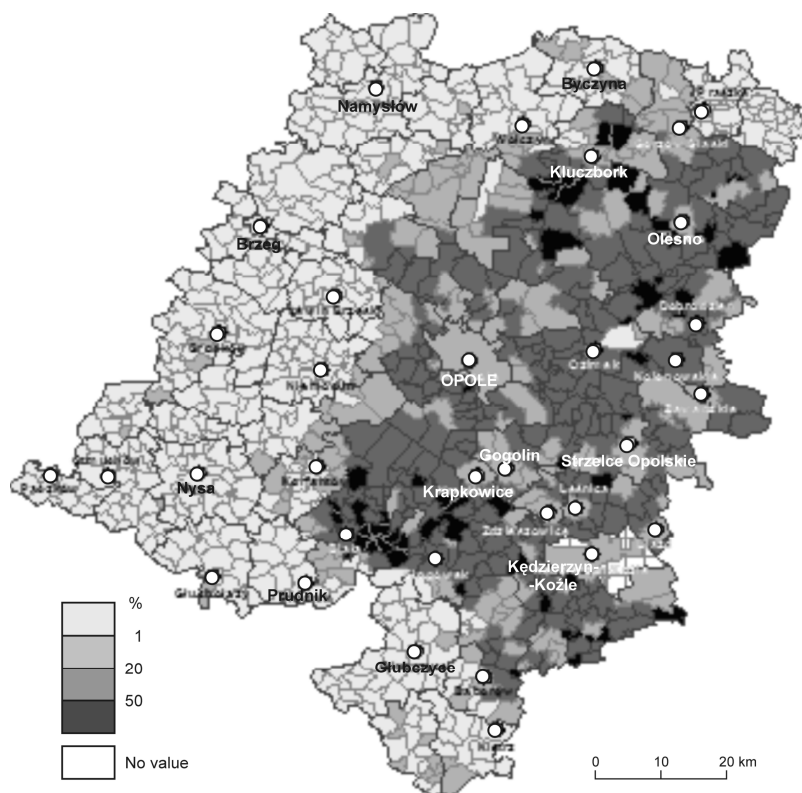


Fig. 1. The proportion of the German community in the municipalities of Opolskie Voivodeship  
Source: K. Szczygielski (2009)

Owing to the German minority there was a significant revival of cultural life in rural areas of the region, numerous Caritas care stations were created and teaching of the German language was developed (Dawidejt-Jastrzębska and Trzcielińska-Polus 2004, pp. 145–160, Kamusella 2012, pp. 42–74). The educational subsidy for the implementation of German as a minority language is an additional form of support for the German minority. In many municipalities, these funds represent almost a quarter of the revenue obtained from the general subsidy (Bartek 2015, p. 207). In the school year 2013–2014 it was over 79 million Polish zlotys.

The possibility to have bilingual town signs and the use German language as a supporting language in state offices is an important aspect of the German minority functioning in Opolskie Voivodeship resulting from Polish law<sup>3</sup>. According to the law, additional names in a minority language have to be placed after the name in Polish language and cannot be used solely. The costs associated with the replacement of the plates shall be borne by the state budget. In turn, the possibility of using a supporting language means that people belonging to minority have the right to apply to the municipal authorities in a minority language in written or oral form, and shall receive an answer in that particular language. The condition to introduce this provision is to have a minimum of 20% of declarations stating non-Polish nationality among municipality residents at the census. Moreover, the municipality should be registered in an official register of municipalities in which a supporting language is used. In 2014, 28 municipalities<sup>4</sup> with bilingual town plates and 22, where one can use the German language as the supporting language<sup>5</sup> were registered.

The German minority creates its own electoral committees in local and parliamentary elections. It is the only national minority in Poland, having their

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<sup>3</sup> Act of 6 January 2005 on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language (Journal of Laws No 17 item 141.)

<sup>4</sup> They include the following municipalities: Radłów (12 villages), Cisek (14), Leśnica (12), Tarnów Opolski (8), Chrzastowice (9), Izbicko (9), Dobrodzień (25), Jemielnica (6), Kolonowskie (4), Ujazd (10), Zębówice (10), Biała (23), Strzeleczy (18), Murów (12), Walce (9), Głogówek (20), Komprachcice (9), Dobrzeń Wielki (8), Łubniany (10), Prószków (15), Gogolin (9), Lasowice Wielkie (13), Bierawa (10), Reńska Wieś (15), Polska Cerekiew (12), Turawa (12), Popielów (7), Pawłowiczki (9).

<sup>5</sup> They include the following municipalities: Biała, Bierawa, Chrzastowice, Dobrodzień, Dobrzeń Wielki, Głogówek, Izbicko, Jemielnica, Kolonowskie, Komprachcice, Lasowice Wielkie, Leśnicą, Murów, Prószków, Radłów, Reńska, Wieś, Strzeleczy, Tarnów, Opolski, Turawa, Ujazd, Walce, Zębówice.

own representatives to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland dating back to 1991<sup>6</sup>. There is a high support for the electoral committees of the German minority in the local elections to the regional assembly (Sejmik) of Opolskie Voivodeship and local self-government. In 2010 elections, the number of councillors representing the German minority was 278 (24% of the total number of councillors), and in 2014 – 260 (23%)<sup>7</sup>. The German minority is the only party that formed the ruling coalition in Sejmik in all previous terms (fig. 2). It is emphasised that this situation favours starting cooperation with foreign governments and implementation of long-term projects and programs, and that the community of the region is characterised by openness and a relatively high level of tolerance for cultural diversity of fellow citizens and foreign partners (Trzcielińska-Polus 2015, pp. 117–133).

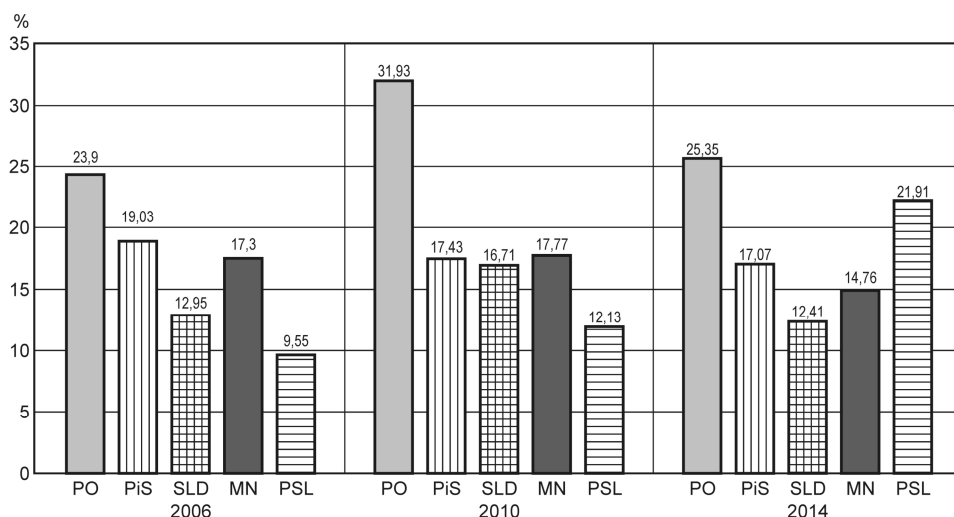


Fig. 2. The results of elections to the Sejmik of Opolskie Voivodeship in 2006, 2010 and 2014 (in %)

Source: M. Mazurkiewicz (2015, p. 95)

<sup>6</sup> Polish electoral law exempts national minorities from the 5% national threshold to participate in the distribution of seats to the Sejm. Thanks to this provision and mobilization of the German Minority electorate in Opole region, the community is permanently represented in the Polish parliament. More about it in: K. Cordell and K.M. Born (2001, pp. 41–62).

<sup>7</sup> In 2010 political parties with the largest number of councillors included: PO – 105 councillors (9% of the total number of councillors), PSL – 88 (8%), SLD – 63 (6%). In 2014 – PSL 85 councillors (7%), PO – 63 (6%), PiS – 57 (5%). Data from R. Tkacz (2015, pp. 135–147).

However, it is worth noticing that the number of seats obtained by the German minority and the percentage of cast votes on its list since the early 1990s has been constantly declining, both in the local and parliamentary elections. The number of Members of Parliament decreased from seven in 1991 to just one in 2011. The support of the Electoral Committee of Voters of the German Minority (KWWMN) in total in Opolskie Voivodeship in selected years 2001–2011 was the following: 2001 – 13.6%, 2005 – 12.92%, 2007 – 8.81%, 2011 – 8.76%. This means that both the number of votes for the candidates of the German minority (the physical absence of voters in the country during the elections) and the number of people participating in the elections (declining electoral activity) are decreasing.



Fig. 3. The turnout in local elections in 2010 (I round)

Source: own elaboration based on data of the National Election Commission (PKW)

Municipalities of Opolskie Voivodeship, especially those inhabited by the German minority, are also characterised by the lowest voter turnout in Poland (fig. 3). One of the reasons for constantly lower political activity is the so-called “unregistered emigration”. The term describes the phenomenon when people of German origin go abroad and live there permanently, but at the same time they

are official permanent residents of Poland. Some situations requiring formal declarations related to the place of residence (e.g. the introduction of the so-called waste collection tax) reduce this problem. Certainly, the problem has not been solved completely, as many former residents wish to retain Polish identity card and registration in Poland, since it facilitates operation in the country (e.g. in matters related to inheritance of real estate)<sup>8</sup>. Mass migrations of German population from the Opolskie Voivodeship also results – as indicated above – in diminishing public support for structures of the German minority in the region.

### **3. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION OF OPOLSKIE VOIVODESHIP AGAINST ETHNIC DIVERSITY**

International migration of the population of German origin is of the key importance in Opolskie Voivodeship. Since the early 1950s this process in the region has been mainly characterised by monoculture, i.e. ethnically conditioned migration (by the German policy towards people of German origin), practically one-way emigration (to Germany) of indigenous Silesian people (German minority), living in the dense clusters in the rural areas of central and eastern part of the region. Consequently, a very clear spatial dichotomy of the size of emigration and participation of immigrants in the general flow are distinguished (fig. 4). Indeed, beside municipalities with a negligible outflow, inhabited predominantly by immigrants, who cannot emigrate legally, there are municipalities in which 20% to 30% of the population and labour resources emigrated. In Opole region, those municipalities form the traditional zone of “migration drainage”. The large scale of international migration in the group of population with German origin resulted from the opportunity to hold both Polish and German citizenship. Consequently, they could work legally in Germany and other European Union countries long before the Polish accession to the European Union (Dietz 2002, pp. 29–43, Diehl and Blohm 2003, pp. 133–162, Solga 2011, pp. 192–201). Since the accession date and opening of labour markets for Poles, the ethnic context of migration in Opole region has not been so much emphasized, yet – given the scale of migration and sustainability of this process – it is the area where the effects of migration are economically and socially most explicitly noticed.

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<sup>8</sup> For more information see R. Tkacz (2015, pp. 140–141).

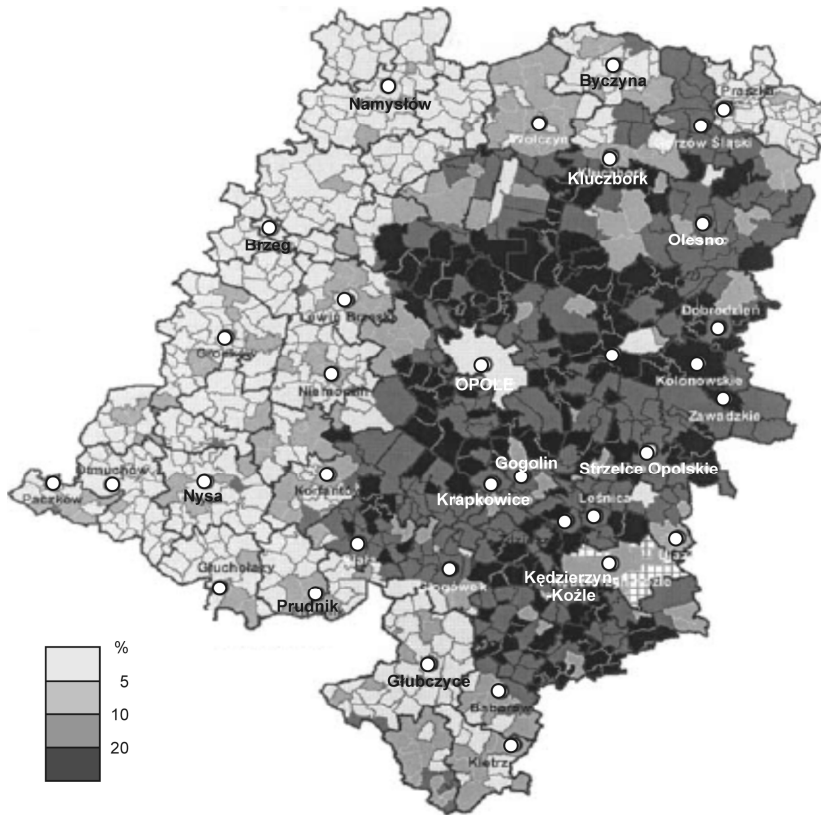


Fig. 4. The share of emigrants residing abroad for more than two months in Opolskie Voivodeship  
Source: K. Szczygielski (2009)

It is estimated that from 1950s to late 1990s the international migration included more than 200,000 people and thus absorbed natural growth of the German origin population from 1975 to 2000 (Rauziński 2003, p. 119) (tab. 1). In the light of research, the scale of permanent and “temporary” emigration is currently approximately 105,000 people, and a so-called incomplete economic emigration (circular and seasonal) – 115,000 (Jończy et al. 2014, pp. 233–247). Despite the gradual depletion of the migration potential of the region, the share of emigrants in the total population is still the highest in the country. Out of 6 voivodeships, where in the years 2002 to 2011 (i.e. period between two censuses) the number of inhabitants decreased, it is in Opolskie Voivodeship that the population decline reached its peak.

The mass international migration suggests that the number of people of German ethnicity is constantly decreasing. Only a few emigrants are returning to



the region (Heffner 1999, pp. 168–205). It is estimated that after the Second World War this particular group constituted as much as 54% of inhabitants of Opolskie Voivodeship, whereas currently the population of German origin is approximately 230,000 people and constitutes 30% of the total population.

Table 1. The rate of migration outflow and the natural birth rate in Opolskie Voivodeship in the years 1951–2002

Periods	Negative net migration as a percent of natural growth
1951–1955	from 14 to 17
1956–1960	over 40
1961–1965	from 5 to 6
1966–1975	over 10 to 13
1976–1980	from 60 to 70
1981	130
1982–1984	from 80 to 98
1985–1989	over 100
1990	91
1991–1993	over 100
1994–2002	over 200

Source: J. Dybowska (2013, p. 212).

Numerous – positive and negative – consequences of a long-term international migration are most evident particularly in the areas inhabited by the German minority. These are, among others, deficiency of workforce, outflow of educated or highly skilled workers, dependence of people who remained in the region on foreign financial funds, which could cause a decline in professional activity and employment rates, impaired reproduction processes of the population and demographic structure deformation. A greater proportion of elderly people is an additional consequence of intensive migration process. This situation has various effects. It is expected, that for example the rate of elderly people will be dramatically increasing, especially in the group of people over the age of 80, i.e. the group which need institutional care. This, in turn means higher public expenditure on long-term care in municipalities inhabited by the German minority (fig. 5). It has already become a significant burden for municipalities run by local minority governments (see more: de Haas 2010, pp. 227–264, Solga 2013, pp. 220–224).



with the national average of 1.3. Maintaining this situation could lead to a state of complete inability to reproduce the population. This phenomenon leads to a decline in the population of the region and also adversely impact prospect demographic situation of the voivodeship.

#### **4. FUTURE DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES IN OPOLSKIE VOIVODESHIP AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE SITUATION OF THE GERMAN MINORITY**

In the forecast of the Central Statistical Office of Poland<sup>9</sup>, a decline in population of approx. 25% has been projected for Opolskie Voivodeship until 2050. Thereby, declining of the population level will be much more intense than in other regions and total scale of the country (tab. 2). The dynamics of population decline will be spatially diversified, which means that towns and cities will depopulate faster than villages.

Table 2. Decrease in the number of population in particular period in Poland and in Opolskie Voivodeship as compared to the population in 2015 (in %)

Period	Decrease in the number of population	
	Poland	Opolskie Voivodeship
2015–2020	-0,7	-2,8
2015–2025	-1,8	-5,9
2015–2030	-3,2	-9,3
2015–2050	-11,6	-25,1

Source: Population forecast for the years 2014–2050, Central Statistical Office of Poland, Warsaw 2014.

Anticipated demographic processes will vary spatially from the point of view of changes in the settlement pattern, changes in the age and sex structure, and changes in the migration processes. These alterations will significantly shape numerous types of demographic structures in individual counties, municipalities, cities and local labour markets. Counties inhabited by the German minority are among the counties with the highest (over 30%) and high (over 20%) predicted decline of population (i.e. kędzierzyńsko-kozielski county – 31.2%, krapkowicki

<sup>9</sup> Population forecast for the years 2014–2050, Central Statistical Office of Poland, Warsaw 2014.

– 28.7%, kluczborski – 28.4%, oleski – 27.0%, strzelecki – 26.7%, the city of Opole – 24.6%) (fig. 6) (Rauziński et al. 2015, p. 46).

Forecasted population loss is associated with deep transformations of the regional population that have been taking place for many years now. The sharp decline in the number of births since 1984 (19,500 people) to 2010 (9,200 people) caused a decrease in the number of people entering reproductive and marriage age. In 95% of towns and villages there was a decline in the population, and in rural areas inhabited by the German minority net international migration was higher than natural birth rate. Therefore, the decreasing population tendency in Opolskie Voivodeship is permanent and causes systematic decline in the number of population of the region.

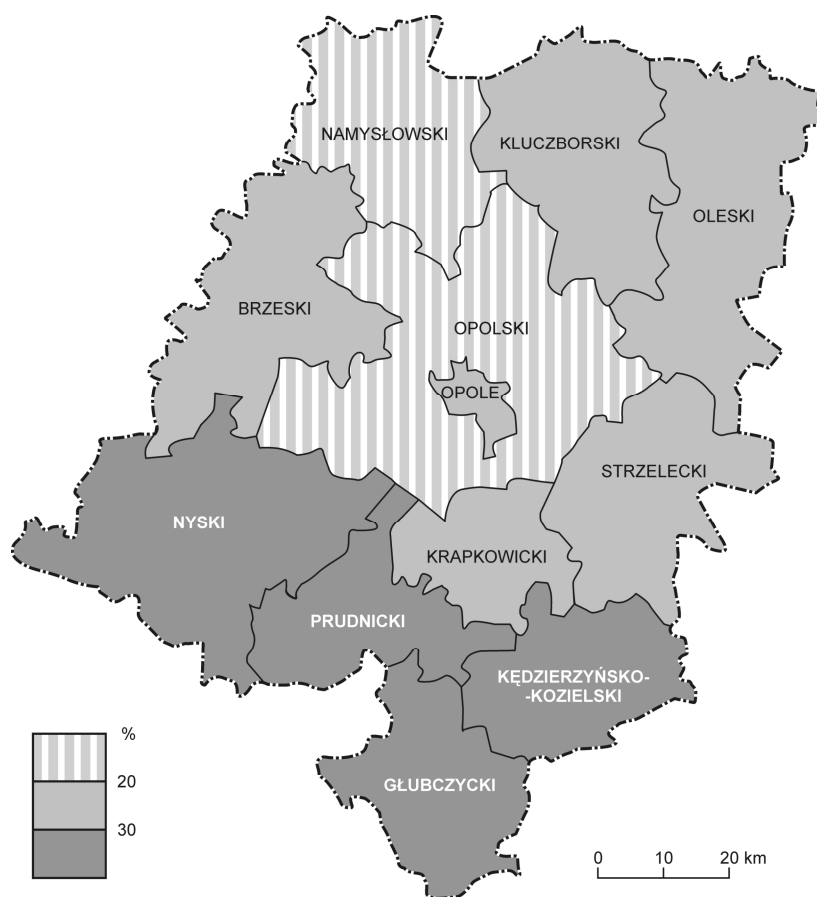


Fig. 6. The forecasted population decline in the 2013–2050 period by the counties of Opolskie Voivodeship  
Source: R. Rauziński et al. (2015, p. 47)

It is indicated (Rauziński et al. 2015, p. 71) that projected demographic changes will have profound social and economic consequences for the entire region, especially for the municipalities inhabited by the German minority, which in particular are subject to the process of depopulation and permanent emigration. Deep demographic slowdown in educational (0–17 years) and economic (18–59/65 years) age groups and a significant decline in the group of young people (19–24 years), an increase in the share of seniors (80 years), disabled people, entering community of Opolskie Voivodeship into the phase of demographic ageing, deterioration of demographic relations between the generations (grandparents, parents, children, grandchildren), and a significant loss of urban residents need to be considered among others.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

In many municipalities of Opolskie Voivodeship Germans are the majority of the population. Since the early 1990s, the German minority has been actively involved in various spheres of socio-economic life and has significant representation in local government. Thus, it is an important part of the region, both in political as well as social and cultural dimension. Owing to the German minority, there has been a revival of cultural life in rural areas, several Caritas care stations have been created, the German language teaching has been developed and numerous investments in the field of technical and social infrastructure have been implemented.

Occurring and projected changes in the population structure indicate that the central and eastern part of the region inhabited by the German minority are subject to adverse population processes and in the upcoming years the region will suffer population decline. Changes resulting from low birth rate and a negative migration balance concern entire Poland, yet it is in Opolskie Voivodeship that the population loss is particularly severe. In the region in the period between two censuses a decline in population was almost 5%, while in the country there was an increase in population of approx. 0.7%.

Population changes have a significant impact on the demographic, economic (the labour market) and social situation of the area, thereby affecting the position of the German minority. Population changes also significantly impact all areas related to the functioning of the minority, but primarily, they seriously undermine the political representation of the German minority at local, regional and national levels, as well as population ageing.

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## **CLIMATE ZONATION AS A FACTOR DIFFERENTIATING THE DETENTION PLACES OF POLISH CITIZENS IN THE USSR**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Research conducted so far on the deportations of Polish citizens to the USSR in the early 1940s mainly focused on the political and historical aspects, presenting their origins and course. This thread was raised by, among others: A. Guryanov (1997, 1999, 2008), S. Ciesielski et al. (2002), V. Komogorov (2003), W. Sienkiewicz and G. Hryciuk (2008), M. Zwolski (2008), P. Eberhardt (1996, 1998, 2002, 2010), P. Chmielowiec and I. Kozimal (2014). Numerous publications dealing with the issue of deportation, most frequently, apart from the historical aspect, were memoirs, such as Z. Siemaszko (2001), E. Sietko-Sierkiewicz (2003), A. Bandźmiera (2010), D. Bazuń et al. (2012) and W. Kozłowski (2015). However, the issue of the morphology and physiognomy of the detention places of hundreds of thousands of people deported after 1939 into the depths of the USSR has not been covered yet. This article is an attempt to present an outline of the challenges Polish citizens faced in the new geographical conditions.

The area of study was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics<sup>1</sup>, to which, according to published data, only during the four largest deportations: 1) 10 February 1940, 2) 13 April 1940, 3) May – July 1940, 4) May/June 1941, a total of over 300 thousand people were deported from eastern Poland (Komogorov 2003, Eberhardt 2010).

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<sup>1</sup> In particular, the European part of the USSR, southern Siberia and north-eastern Kazakhstan.

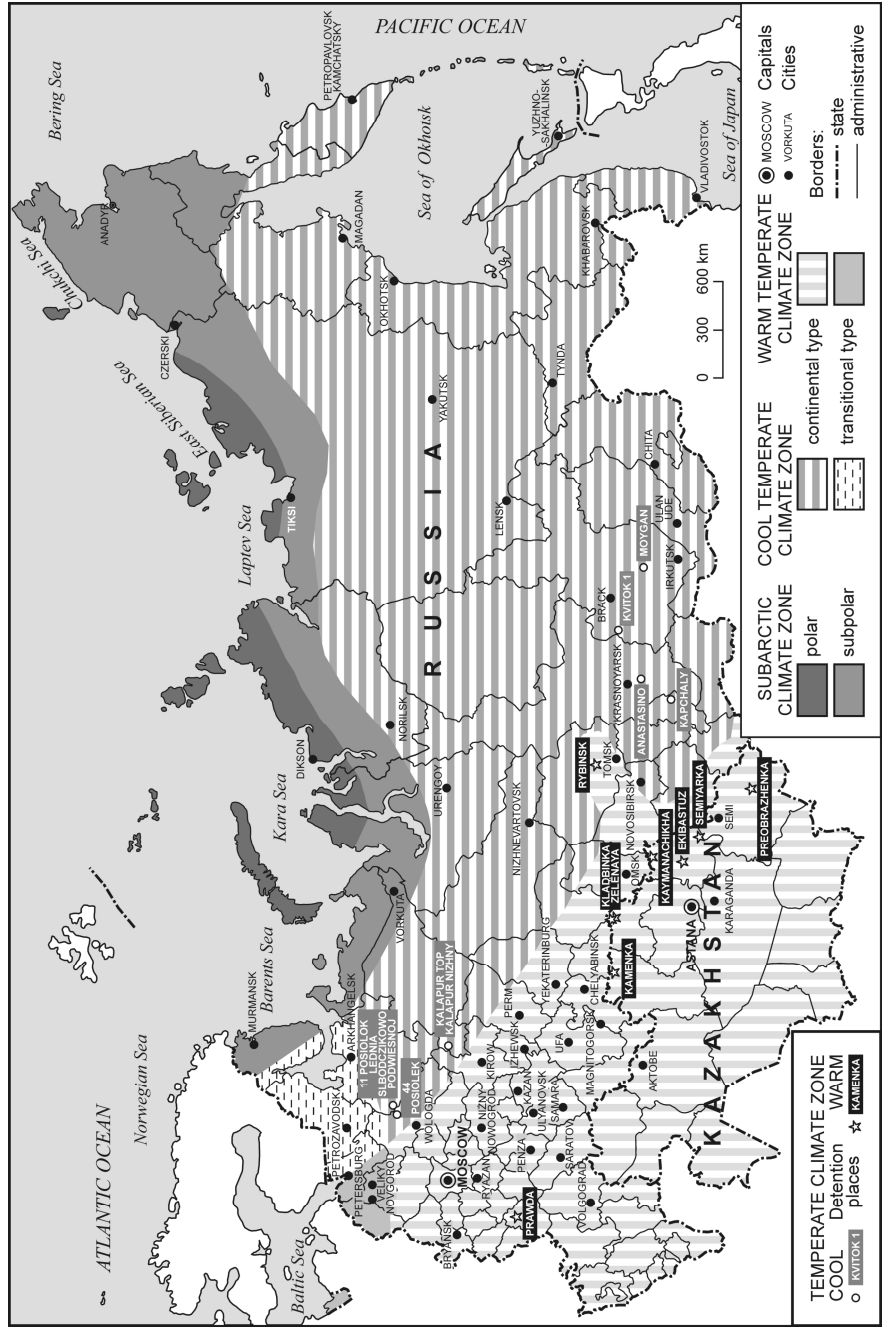


Fig. 1. Location of detention places in the temperate climate zone in Russia and Kazakhstan

Source: own study based on [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/commonwealth/ussr\\_time\\_82.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/commonwealth/ussr_time_82.jpg) (10.04.2016), <https://www.google.pl/maps> (12.04. 2016) and *Simplified map of the world's climates* (Martyn 1987)

The point of reference in the analysis performed was climate zonation<sup>2</sup>. The studied area is situated in two climate zones (fig. 1): warm temperate and cool temperate. To a large extent, the characteristics of said climate zones determined the subsequent spatial layouts and physiognomy of settlements.

The study mainly involved the reconstruction of detention places. The spatial distribution of their individual elements, primarily based on the memories of people deported to Russia and Kazakhstan, was the main focus.

The main aim of this study was an attempt at morphological and functional reconstruction of the settlements on the basis of mental maps of the deportees and comparative analysis of their spatial structure with particular emphasis on the influence of geographical conditions on the internal diversity of detention places.

## **2. SPATIAL LAYOUT OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE COOL TEMPERATE CLIMATE ZONE**

On the basis of overlapping plans of settlements, their model plans were created, which allows for highlighting the most important and crucial characteristics of the given area. The first one refers to the places located in the cool temperate climate zone, limiting their range to the northern European Russia (fig. 2).

Characteristics that come to the fore are, among others, coniferous forests, as an element closely corresponding to the analysed units, distinguishing them from others. The area is dominated by the intensity of the residential function, which is reflected in the general zone domination of this function. It was constituted by several barracks arranged in one or two strings, usually north-south. Type of housing development is one of the elements strongly differentiating the detention places. Buildings intended for technical purposes (including the sawmill) were placed on the edge of the barracks, or the settlement.

The second significant area was usually a compact complex of buildings intended for administrative-supervisory and kitchen-storage purposes, the latter involving sanitary elements such as a bath barrel or toilet. Although located nearby, it strongly distinguished itself in terms of its purpose from the barracks. Among the most common administrative buildings were the administrative seat, the NKVD building or isolation cell. The most common kitchen-storage buildings were canteen and food warehouses.

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<sup>2</sup> Okołowicz's division of climate zones was adopted (Martyn 1987).

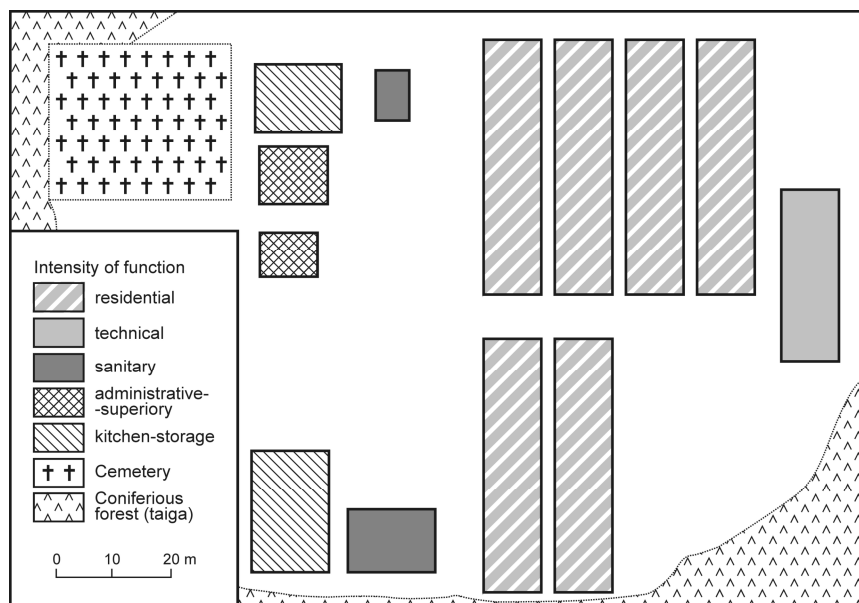


Fig. 2. Model plan of the settlement in the cool temperate climate zone  
(settlements located in the north of European Russia)

Source: own elaboration

Only in the first model plan the cemetery was taken into account because, although it was found in other zones, these were single cases. Nevertheless, here it appeared in almost each detention place. Moreover, its location can be indicated with very high precision, as shown in the figure (fig. 2). Usually it was a little away from the buildings, and located on the elevated land to avoid it being flooded during the thaw. Almost always it was set up in the north of the settlement.

The presented model plan was created on the basis of, among others, the settlement of Nizhny Kalapur (fig. 3) and Lednia (fig. 4).

The second model plan also refers to the cool temperate climate zone, but it concerns its southern edge – places in the southern Siberia. Natural elements are also marked in this plan, however, despite their numerous and diverse occurrence in the analysed settlements, they are limited only to coniferous forests and wetlands, that were considered most representative for the units of this zone. The forests do not have such features as the northern areas, where they are dense, but are a grove of trees occupying less space. In turn, the wetlands were connected to rivers or streams (unmarked in the plan), or with melting near the surface permafrost, which, combined with clay soil, changed into a swamp. These areas mostly occurred in the south or west of units.

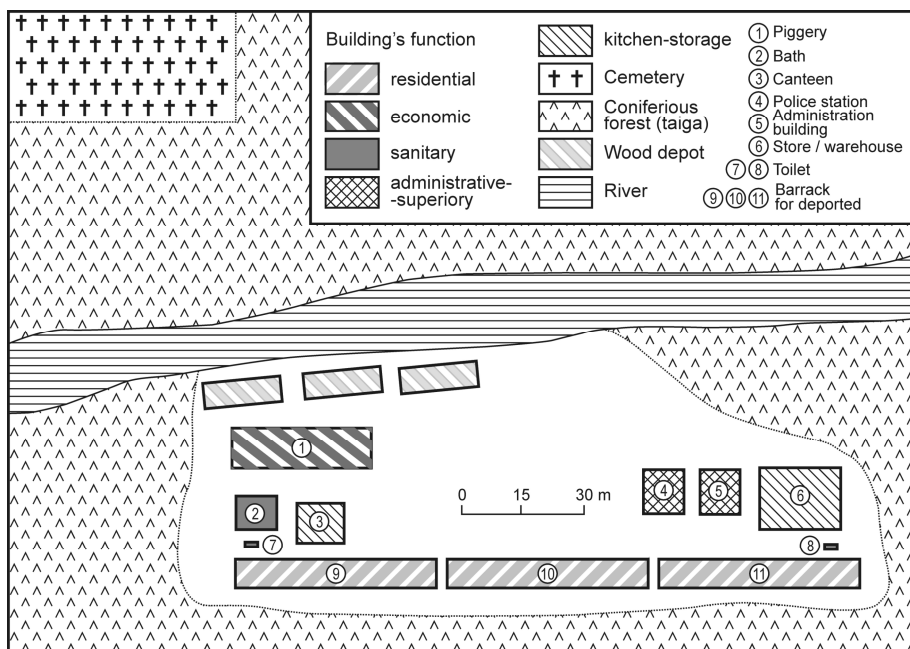


Fig. 3. Schematic plan of the settlement of Nizhny Kalapur

Source: own work on the basis of the scheme made during the interview

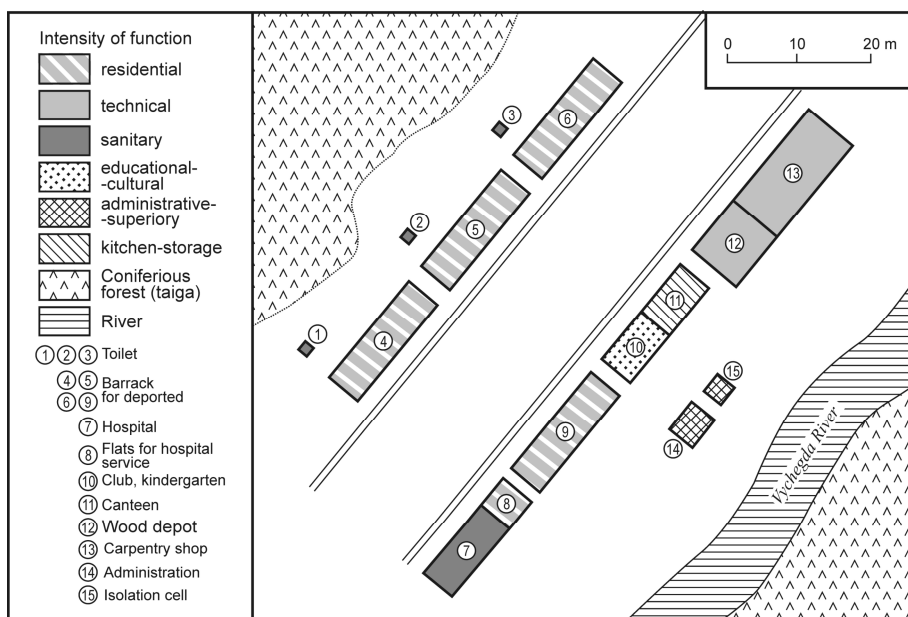


Fig. 4. Schematic plan of the settlement of Lednia

Source: own work on the basis of the scheme made during the interview

What can be observed in the plan (fig. 5) are the roads, quite numerous and usually leading in different directions, and thus, not limited to the east-west route as it is visible in the next model plan. These routes were marked out by the well-trodden soil – dirt roads. When it comes to building development, a point of reference are the analysed roads themselves, along which buildings were constructed. In particular, the housing development, which differs in its type from the previously analysed area. It is characterised by a two family character – a twin home building development. Behind these buildings, backyard gardens were located, for the use of the residents.

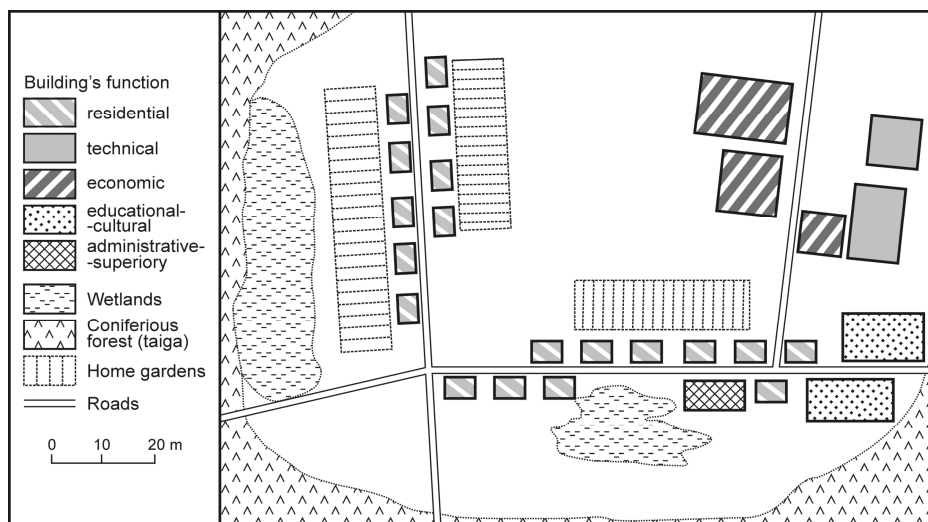


Fig. 5. Model plan of the settlement in the cool temperate climate zone  
(the settlements located in southern Siberia)

Source: own elaboration

The only additional kind of function, located between residential buildings, was the kitchen-storage function, which includes stores, having a representative character for that function in the studied area. Other buildings intended for purposes other than mentioned were usually erected in the isolated area of the settlements. Therefore, the intensity of the educational and cultural function, represented by schools and kolkhoz clubs, is visible in the east of the settlement, but in close proximity to residential buildings. This was probably due to quite frequent use of these buildings, especially by young children attending school. Technical facilities, such as sawmills, but also utility buildings – barns, storage houses, piggeries, stables and others, were located mostly farther away, perhaps because of the nuisance they caused.

These settlements are characterised by greater complexity of their space, but also their good layout. Examples include Moygan (fig. 6) and Anastasino (fig. 7).

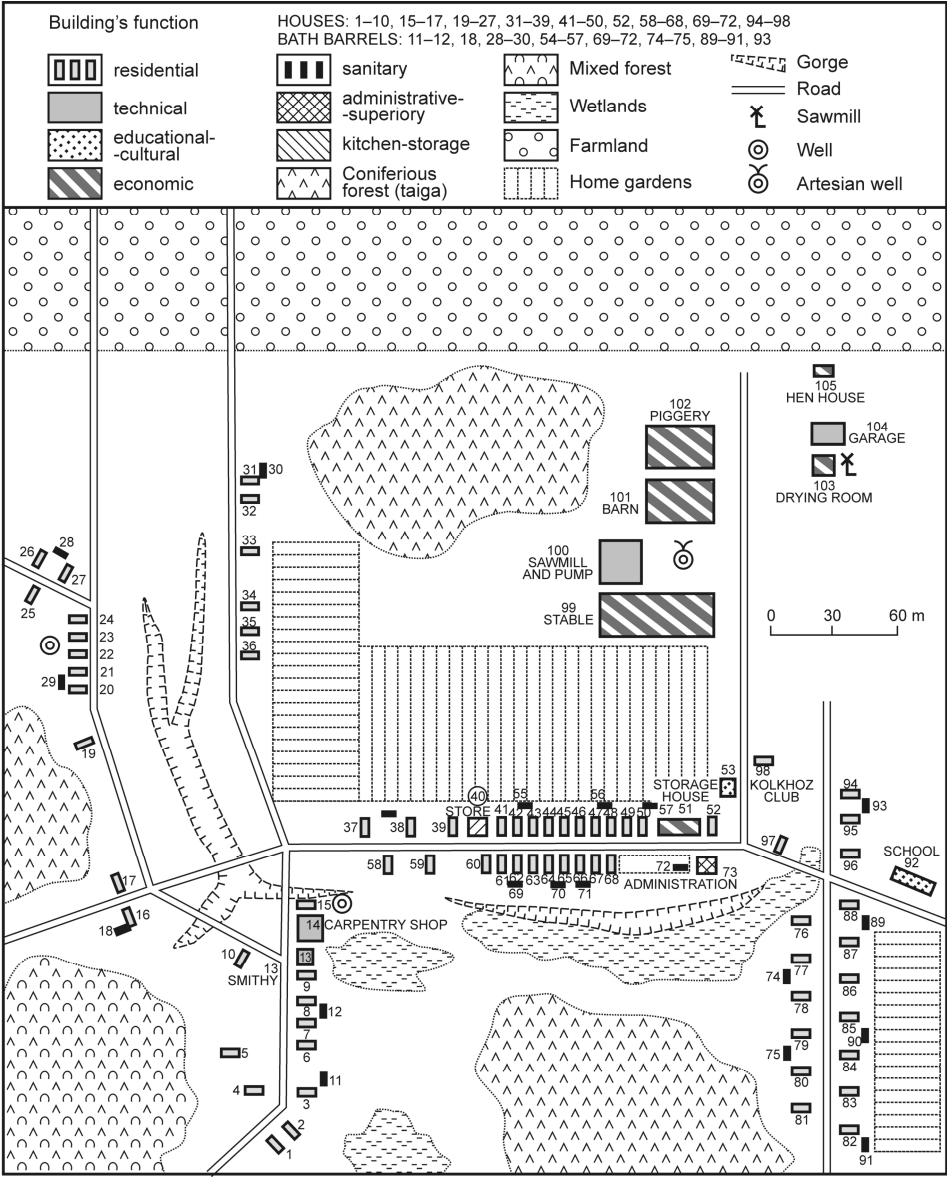


Fig. 6. Schematic plan of the settlement of Moygan  
Source: own work on the basis of the scheme  
made during the interview

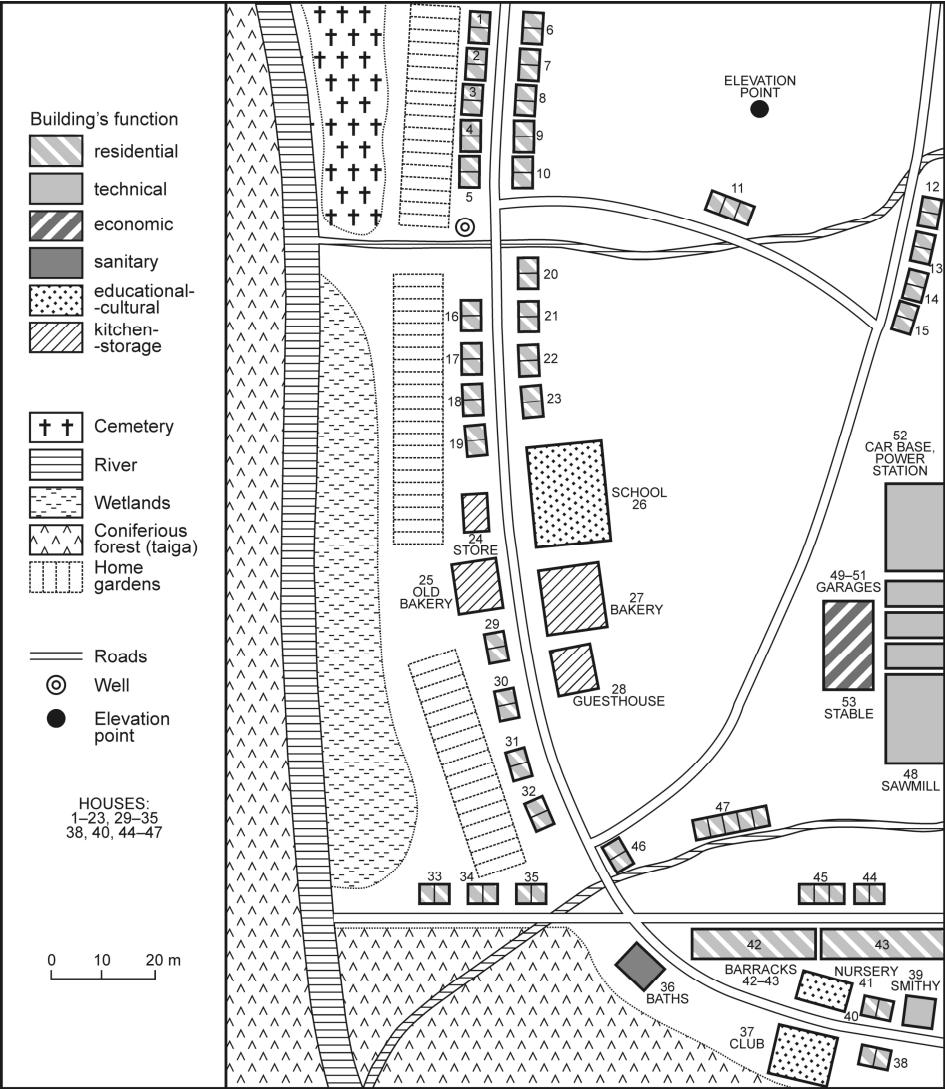


Fig. 7. Schematic plan of the settlement of Anastasino  
Source: own work on the basis of the scheme  
made during the interview



### 3. SPATIAL LAYOUT OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE WARM TEMPERATE CLIMATE ZONE

The last model plan developed is a scheme of settlements located in the warm temperate climate zone for detention places in the southern Russia and north-eastern regions of Kazakhstan (fig. 8). The scheme is characterised by relative harmony. Although its layout is relatively extensive, everything seems to have its place. There is no feeling of disorder in the space. Natural elements are not included in the scheme, because they did not reappear in different units.

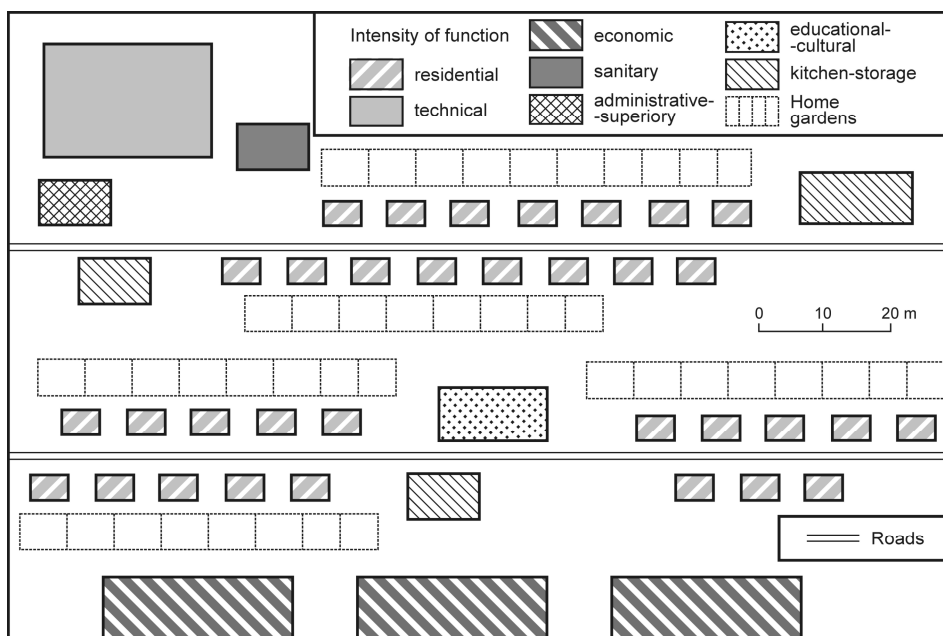


Fig. 8. Model plan of the settlement in the warm temperate climate zone (settlements located in the south of Russia and north-eastern Kazakhstan)  
Source: own elaboration

The main reference points are roads, usually laid parallel to each other, in two strings, sometimes with marked forks, but very few. Along them, the same as in the previous scheme, residential buildings were built, whose intensity is marked in the plan (fig. 8), just near the roads. Other buildings were also mostly concentrated along the roads. Attention should be drawn to their completely different arrangement in space, compared to the previously analysed plan. Educational-cultural buildings (such as schools), administrative-supervisory

buildings (in the form of the kolkhoz administrative seats), as well as kitchen-storage buildings (usually shops) are scattered between the residential buildings.

Directly behind the houses, home gardens were located (as in the previous case), designed not only for the use of the local community but also deported people. A little away from the road and residential buildings, mostly in the northern part, facilities for technical use (mechanical plants, which were not observed in earlier plans) as well as sanitary (baths) and economic use (mostly storage houses) were located.

While creating this plan, the settlements, such as: Kamenka (fig. 9) and Kladbinka (fig. 10) and were the models.

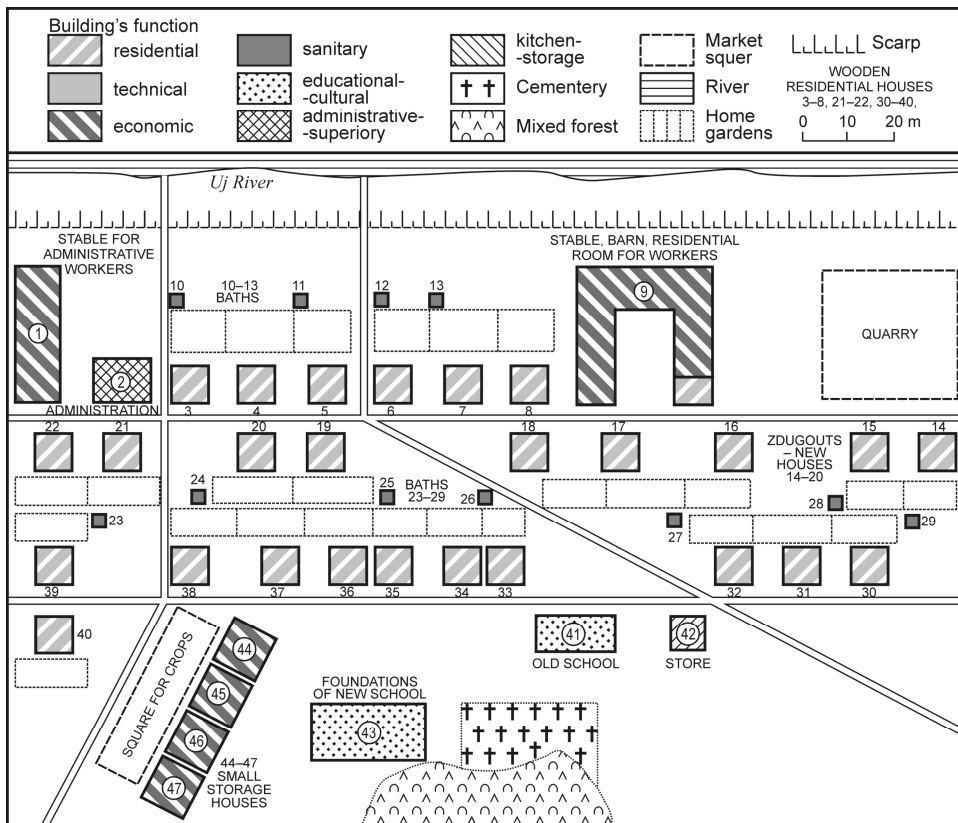


Fig. 9. Schematic plan of the settlement of Kamenka

Source: own work on the basis of the scheme made during the interview

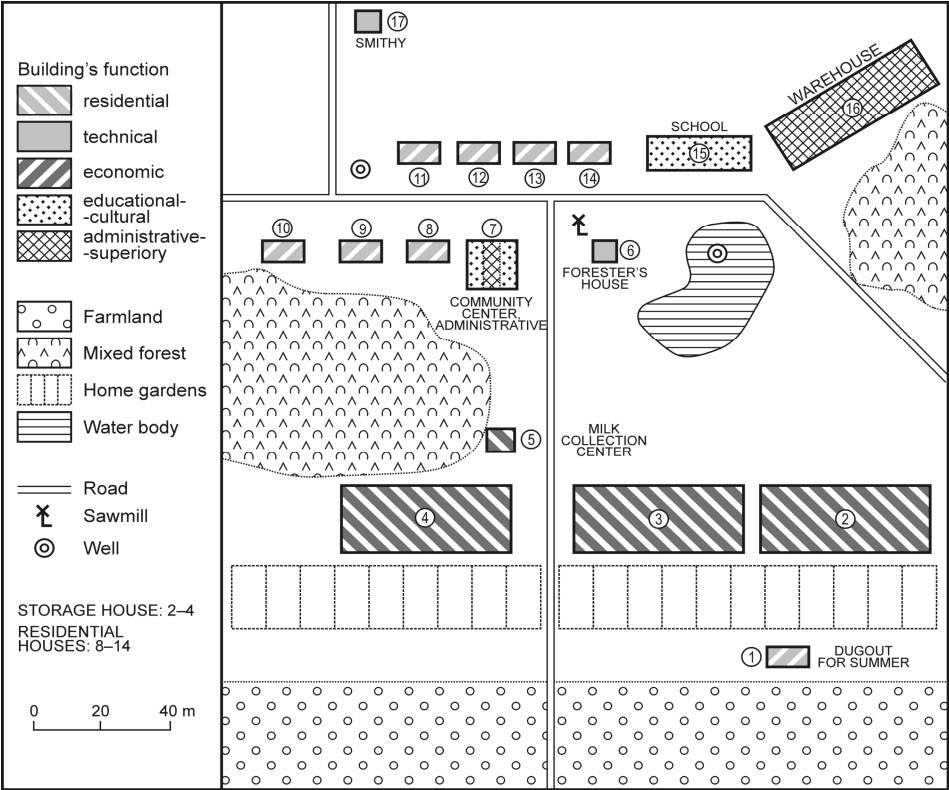


Fig. 10. Schematic plan of the settlement of Kladbinka  
Source: own work on the basis of the scheme  
made during the interview

4. SETTLEMENT PHYSIOGNOMY

In line with the division of settlements in terms of diversity of spatial systems, an analysis of their physiognomy was conducted. Settlements located in the north of European Russia, as already indicated in the analysis of spatial arrangements, were characterised by barrack buildings (fig. 11). The buildings were erected according to a rectangular plan, which is exemplified by a barrack in Lednia (fig. 12), which perfectly illustrates the barracks found in other settlements.

A provisionally set out corridor going through the middle of the building led directly to provisionally formed rooms. The rooms separating families were often divided by boards, or patched scraps of material. Most often, each room

had a window and bunk beds for sleeping. The stove, which was intended for heating the barracks, was placed in the corridor; in fact, it gave little heat, only in its immediate surroundings. These buildings were made almost entirely of wood (fig. 11). Most often they were wooden logs, arranged in log frame structure, sealed with moss, and covered with boards. The small windows constituted glass fixed in a wooden frame.

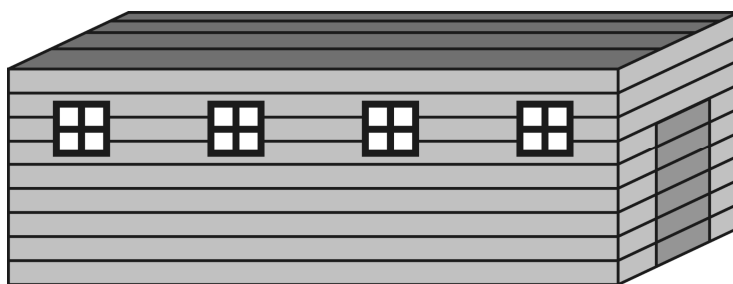


Fig. 11. External appearance of the barrack

Source: own work on the basis of the scheme made during the interview

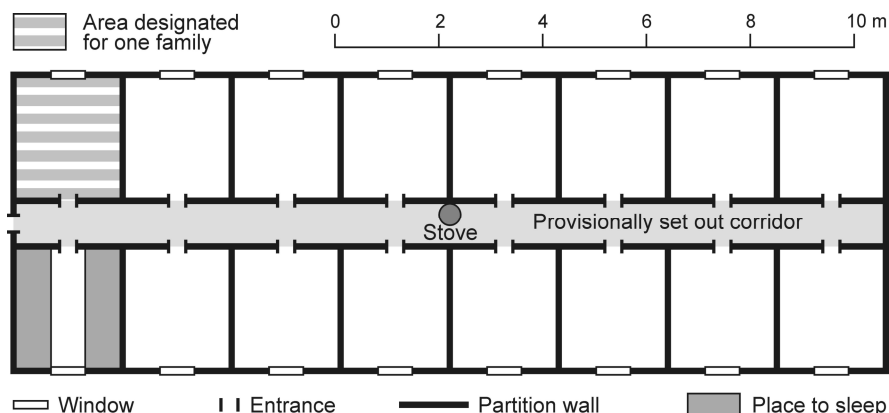


Fig. 12. Horizontal projection of the barrack in the settlement of Lednia

Source: own work on the basis of the scheme made during the interview

On the southern edge of the cool temperate climate zone – in southern Siberia, settlement physiognomy underwent a change. Twin houses were predominant. Due to the sustained availability of wood, the buildings were made primarily from this material. Simple structure was covered with a sloped roof. Inside (fig. 13) there was simplicity. Two rooms – one inhabited by indigenous people, the other by a Polish family. Often they were separated by corridor, as in the case of the settlement of Moygan (fig. 13), from which the rooms could be

entered. In turn, in the central point of the rooms, there was a large bread oven, which also served as a place to sleep. An additional designated place to sleep was the floor. In addition to the bread oven, often there was a small stove. The remaining equipment was a small table and shelves.

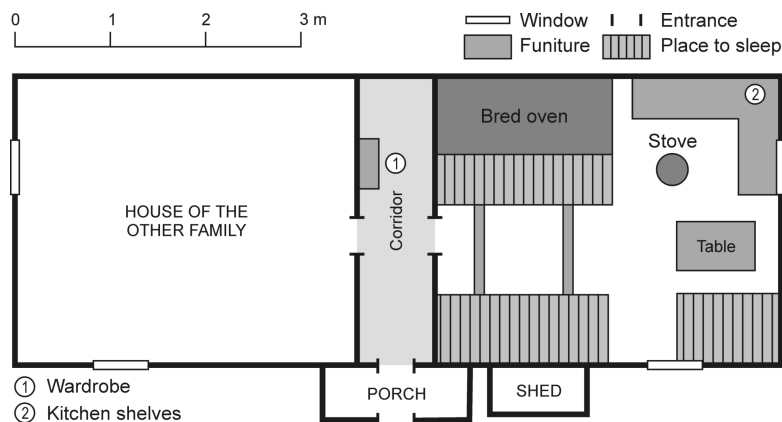


Fig. 13. Horizontal projection of the house in Moygan

Source: own work on the basis of the scheme made during the interview

The appearance of the buildings in the warm temperate climate zone significantly differed from the previously analysed. Due to the change in geographical conditions, and thereby availability of natural resources, the buildings were often made of the so-called *kiziak*, that is a mixture of clay, straw and animal manure, which was formed into bricks, then dried and used to build the houses. The houses were covered with clay and then limed, which is why the dominant colour of buildings was white (fig. 14). The houses usually had a thatched roof, based on a wooden construction. Less frequently encountered were the so-called dugouts, that is houses built from the ground – turf, which was formed into bricks.

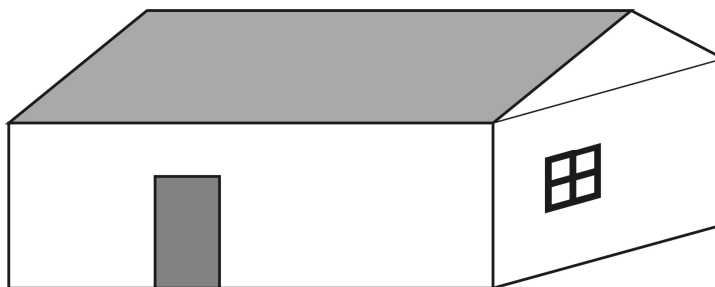


Fig. 14. External appearance of buildings in Kladbinka

Source: own work on the basis of the scheme made during the interview

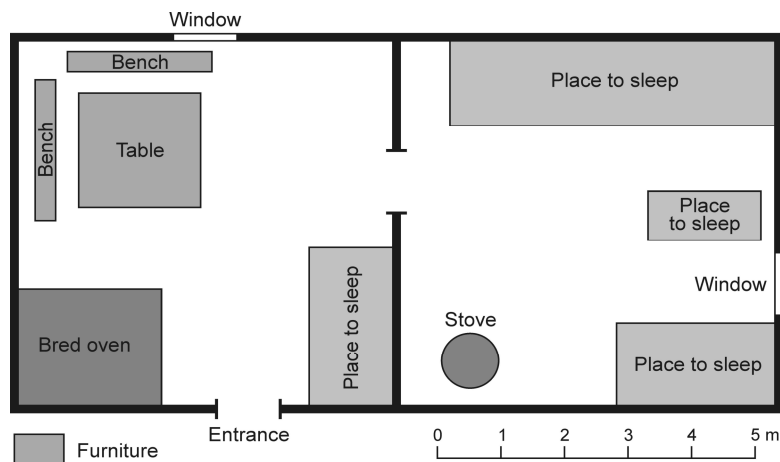


Fig. 15. Horizontal projection of the house in Kladbinka

Source: own work on the basis of the scheme made during the interview

As in the case of the second model plan, the buildings were mostly twin houses, but more often with connecting rooms, namely the main entrance led to one room from which the other room could be entered (fig. 15). Most often the whole house was heated by one large bread oven, supported by an additional small stove. Apart from designated places to sleep, there was a table and benches to sit on.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The above analyses enabled the development of the typology.

The settlements can be divided in terms of the environment in which they were built, among other things. Area of taiga, steppe, and the transition zone between the two areas were distinguished. The first is characterised by: coniferous forest, river, wetlands, permafrost and terrain elevation; the second by: grasslands, rivers, lakes and scarps. In turn, the transition zone, as the name indicates, is a combination of two previous zones, therefore, coniferous forests and grasslands, rivers, wetlands, lakes, permafrost areas, terrain elevation and scarps as well as gorges can be found in its area.

Degree of development of settlements is closely related to the geographical conditions. Detention places with a simple layout were found mostly in the cool temperate climate zone, where conditions were not conducive to more developed forms, which is seen in the physiognomy of the buildings – usually barracks.

A complex layout was characteristic for settlements in southern Siberia<sup>3</sup> and north-eastern Kazakhstan<sup>4</sup>, where twin houses predominated and outnumbered barracks.

In terms of production profile, the settlements were divided into those with agricultural, wood and mining production. Additionally, within agricultural production, farm, livestock and agro-livestock types of production were distinguished. Whereas, wood production involved: wood flottage and sawmill industry.

Classifications relating to the physiognomy of the buildings divide the analysed settlements into two categories – the abovementioned type of residential development and the type of building material used for their construction. The first classification divides the residential development into single-family housing (1-room, 2-room, 4-room), two-family housing (2-room, 3-room) and multi-family housing (3-room, 4-room, 5-room and barracks). The other distinguishes wooden buildings – the northern part of the analysed area<sup>5</sup>, made of wood and turf, wood and clay-straw, clay-straw, and clay-straw and turf – which are characteristic for the southern part<sup>6</sup>.

Summing up, it should be emphasized that the analysed settlements differed from one another in terms of environmental conditions in which they were built, and these differences resulted from the location in different climate zones. In the process of settlement location, environmental factor was not accidental (rivers – guaranteed access to water, forests – source of wood, forests and steppes – “natural prison”). In the north, where conditions were particularly unfavourable, settlements poorly developed in terms of morphology were usually established, which is also closely related to the predominating type of multi-family buildings (barracks). Further to the south, the settlement layout was more complex, which was associated with the type of development, mainly one- and two-family. The morphology of settlements was closely connected with terrain elevation. The building material was derived from the environment. In the north, wood prevailed, whereas, in the south, clay and a mixture of sand, clay and animal manure were common. The dominant function was the residential function, related to the existential needs; the remaining functions largely

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<sup>3</sup> Where the climate underwent gradual warming.

<sup>4</sup> This is an area within the warm temperate climate zone.

<sup>5</sup> Characteristic for the areas located in the cool temperate climate zone, where the ubiquitous raw material was wood.

<sup>6</sup> Due to the increasingly smaller share of forest areas, and increasing availability of raw materials characteristic for the warm temperate climate zone – clay, straw and turf.

reflected the specifics of settlements in the given climate zone (cool temperate climate zone – technical function, warm temperate climate zone – economic function). Settlement location was associated with the production needs of the USSR, which in turn was associated with their profile (agriculture, forestry, mining). What can be concluded from the conducted analysis is the key significance of geographical determinism, whose basis is geographical environment which affects the individual elements of morphology and physiognomy of buildings. However, the human factor, in the form of decisions made, should also be taken into account.

*Translated by Małgorzata Wojciechowska*

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## Section 2

# **THE WEAKNESS OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE POLISH SPACE**



## **THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY AND THE ACTIVITY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN POLAND**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

In Poland, the legal status of national minorities is defined by the Act on regulations for national minorities, ethnic minorities and regional languages (Ustawa... 2005). The terms national and ethnic minorities are compliant in five items i.e. these are groups of Polish citizens smaller than the Polish Nation, distinguishing themselves by their language, culture and tradition; they aim at preserving their language, culture and tradition; they are aware of their historical national community; they are oriented towards their protection; their ancestors lived in Polish territory over 100 years ago. The difference between ethnic and national minorities consists in the attitude towards their original nation in their own country. The national minority identifies themselves with the nation in their original country. On the other hand, ethnic minority does not feel a sense of such identity, which often stems from the fact that the country does not exist.

According to the definition above, in Poland there are nine minorities with the official status of national minorities; Belarusian, Czech, Lithuanian, German, Armenian, Russian, Slovakian, Ukrainian and Jewish. There are also four ethnic minorities: Crimean Karaites, Lemkos, Romanies and Tatars. In terms of population, Ukrainian minority is the third largest (after German and Belarusian) national minority. The Lemko ethnic minority is second to Romani people.

The regional distribution of national and ethnic minorities often polarises in borderland areas. The biggest population centres, according to the 2011 National Census, are the in following voivodeships: Opolskie (80,327 inhabitants – 7.91% of all people in the voivodeship), Podlaskie (47,711 inhabitants – 3.97% of all), Śląskie (40,752 inhabitants – 0.88% of all), Warmińsko-Mazurskie (20,294 inhabitants – 1.40% of all), Dolnośląskie (16,775 inhabitants – 0.58%) and

Mazowieckie (15,508 inhabitants – 0.30%) (*The fourth report...* 2013). The majority of these voivodeships have one evidently dominant minority. In Opolskie and Śląskie Voivodeships it is the German minority, in Podlaskie Voivodeship it is the Belarusian minority, while in Warmińsko-Mazurskie, Dolnośląskie and Mazowieckie Voivodeships Ukrainian minorities dominate. The Ukrainian minorities are dominant in six voivodeships. Apart from the above mentioned ones, it is also located in Lubelskie, Lubuskie and Małopolskie Voivodeships as the biggest minority group. The Romani – a group bigger than the Ukrainians – is more widely dispersed. As far as peoples who use their regional language, the Act recognises only Kashubian people, most of whom live in the Pomorskie Voivodeship.

Both regional dispersion and the number of national and ethnic minorities are closely connected with their history and the development of contemporary state of Poland. In the case of Ukrainian minority, the most significant events that shaped the present dispersion of the population was Operation Vistula, the resettlement of Ukrainian minority after the Second World War.

## **2. THE DISPERSION OF UKRAINIAN PEOPLE AFTER RESETTLEMENTS WITHIN OPERATION VISTULA**

In post-war Poland, as a result of Operation Vistula, forced resettlements of Ukrainian population outside Poland and to the Recovered Territories began. The relocations involved about 385,000 Ukrainian people and 30,000 Lemkos (Barwiński 2012). It needs to be emphasised that at that time, Ukrainian people were treated as a whole for political reasons, and included Lemkos, Boykos or Hutsuls. It is generally known that the majority of Lemkos do not wish to be identified with the Ukrainian nation.

At the initial stage of Operation Vistula, Ukrainian families were resettled to the area of Western Pomerania (Szczecińskie Voivodeship at the time) and to the areas of Warmia and Mazury (Olsztyńskie Voivodeship at the time). Within this operation, it appeared that the number of Ukrainian people exceeded the settlement possibilities of these two voivodeships, so they were eventually redirected to other post-German territories. Ultimately 48,465 people (11,419 families) in 160 transports arrived in the area of Szczecińskie Voivodeship. Ukrainians thus amounted to 7.8% of the total population of the county in 1947. As far as Olsztyńskie Voivodeship is concerned, 55,159 people (13,375 families) were sent there in 155 transports which constituted on average 11.6% of population in these territories. Smaller number of Ukrainian people were directed to other

areas. Gdańskie Voivodeship received 14 transports with 6,838 people (1,690 families) which made up 1.8% of all inhabitants there. Ziemia Lubuska (Poznańskie Voivodeship at the time) received 31 transports with 8,042 people (1,736 families) some 2.9% of the local population. Slightly more Ukrainians settled in Lower Silesia (Wrocławskie Voivodeship) as 21,235 people (5,142 families) who arrived in 80 transports constituted 4.7% of the population of all counties. Additionally, 3 transports were directed to two counties in Białostockie Voivodeship (Ełk and Olecko counties). They involved 991 people (252 families) which constituted 2.2% of the population in the counties (fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>.

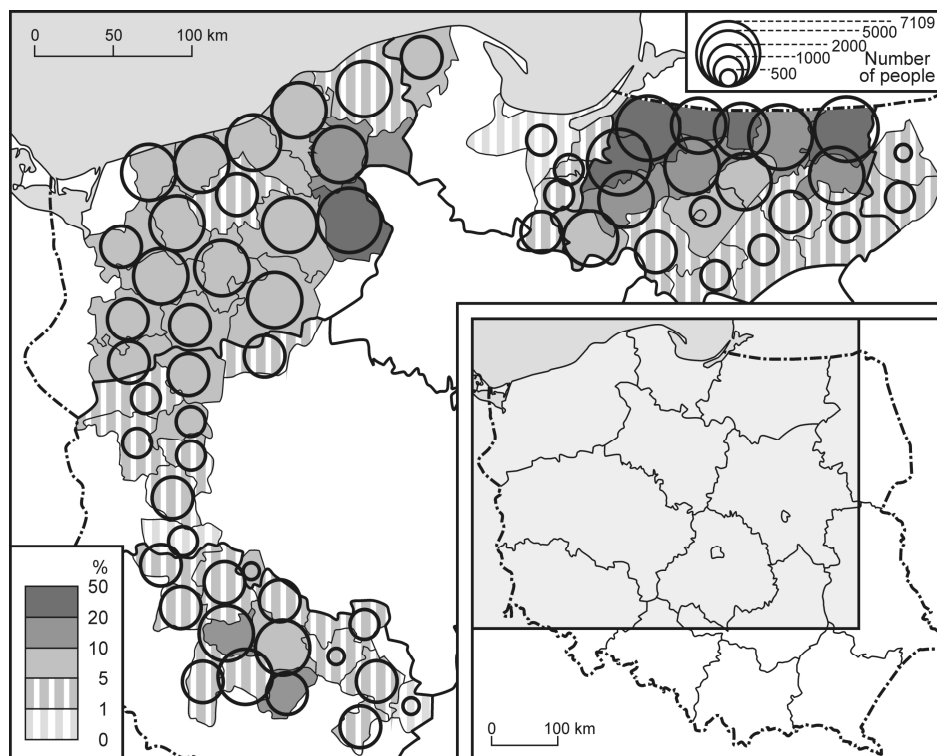


Fig. 1. Dispersion of people of Ukrainian origin in Poland resulting from Operation Vistula in 1947

Source: R. Drozd (1997); R. Drozd and B. Halczak (2010); background: administrative map of the Republic of Poland 1947 1:1 000 000, Military Maps Archives of Geography Institute 1919–1939, [http://polski.mapywig.org/viewpage.php?page\\_id=29](http://polski.mapywig.org/viewpage.php?page_id=29); own study

<sup>1</sup> All data on transporting Ukrainian people during Operation Vistula were taken from: R. Drozd and B. Halczak (2010) and R. Drozd (1997).

The basic aim of Operation Vistula was to disperse Ukrainian people throughout the Recovered Territories. It was done according to strict principles, meaning families which were on the lists of the Department of Security or Army had to be parted. The percentage of Ukrainian population could not exceed 10% of the overall population in a county, they could not be resettled to a border zone (50 km from the land border and 30 km from the sea border), nor into the 30-km zones around voivodeship capitals. In reality, these rules were not implemented, mainly due to the lack of farms to be settled by so many relocated families. Therefore, the percentage of Ukrainian people in some communes substantially exceeded permissible limits. For instance, in Węgorzewo county it was much higher than 40%, in such communes as: Banie Mazurskie (71%), Kutry (64%), Budry (50%), Węgorzewo (45%). There were more than 40% of Ukrainian people in the whole population of as many as 57 villages out of all 92 (Drozd and Halczak 2010). Later, these resettlement norms were considerably eased, but even the more moderate ones required additional relocations at times.

Finally in 1947, the areas where Ukrainian people constituted more than 20% of the population were located in the following counties: Iława (41.2%), Braniewo (35.2%), Węgorzewo (35.1%), Pasłęk (25.7%) and Bartoszyce (20.6%) in Olsztynskie Voivodeship, as well as in Człuchów (20.8%) in Szczecińskie Voivodeship.

### **3. CONTEMPORARY DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND**

These historical circumstances have certainly remained the reason for the present distribution of Ukrainian minority in Poland.

During the 2002 census, Ukrainian nationality was declared by 30,957 people, 27,172 of whom were in fact members of the national minority according to the definition. According 2011 census, the Ukrainian nationality was declared by 51,001 people, with 27,630 (over 53%) declaring it as their only nationality. This group includes 38,795 people of proper Ukrainian minority in Poland (people who have Polish citizenship) (tab. 1)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> M. Barwiński (2014) discussed the methodological differences in the two censuses, the most important one being that the 2002 census did not allow for declaring double nationalities. Therefore, a large number of Ukrainian people declared only Polish nationality. In the 2011 census, over 16 thousand people declared double Polish and Ukrainian nationalities, whereas a little more than 1 thousand declared Ukrainian and Lemko nationalities. Other declared nationalities were scarce.



Table 1. People of Ukrainian origin who declared Ukrainian nationality in 2002 and 2011 census

Voivodeship	2002		2011 <sup>a</sup>	
	total	including people with Polish citizenship	total	including people with Polish citizenship
Dolnośląskie	1,859	1,422	3,747	2,378
Kujawsko-Pomorskie	191	108	568	306
Lubelskie	694	389	2,233	1,053
Lubuskie	769	615	1,227	845
Łódzkie	290	122	778	412
Małopolskie	754	472	2,018	1,267
Mazowieckie	1,281	579	6,610	3,018
Opolskie	275	109	794	383
Podkarpackie	3,271	2,984	4,131	3,421
Podlaskie	1,441	1,366	2,686	2,169
Pomorskie	2,987	2,831	4,238	3,932
Śląskie	660	309	1,654	1,041
Świętokrzyskie	141	35	541	222
Warmińsko-Mazurskie	12,009	11,881	13,381	13,037
Wielkopolskie	392	247	1,416	831
Zachodniopomorskie	3,943	3,703	4,978	4,482
Total	30,957	27,172	51,001	38,795

<sup>a</sup> Declared (single or double) national and ethnic identity. In 2002 there was no possibility to declare double nationality.

Source: *Wyniki Narodowego...; Struktura narodowo-etniczna...* (2015).

In general, the picture of the distribution of Ukrainian minority in Poland has remained without bigger changes since the resettlement action Operation Vistula (tab. 1, fig. 2). Still, the biggest cluster of Ukrainian minority is present in Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship. Slightly less numerous, however also very big (in accordance with the relocation map) are located in present Zachodniopomorskie and Pomorskie Voivodeships. The population of this minority was in 2011 respectively 4,500 people in Zachodniopomorskie and almost 4,000 in Pomorskie Voivodeships.

Relatively big concentrations of Ukrainian minority can now be found in Podkarpackie Voivodeship (mainly in Sanok county), due to some people being able to avoid resettlements back in 1947. Moreover, in 1956 a number of relocated families were able to return to their homeland.

It is necessary to mention a large agglomeration of Ukrainian people in the eastern part of Podlaskie Voivodeship, which should be associated with their medieval origin. As M. Barwiński indicates (2011), it is the settlement area of the Ruthenian people who arrived mostly from Ukraine (Kievan Rus'). The south-eastern part of present Podlaskie Voivodeship, has thus been inhabited by people who were Ruthenians in terms of their religion, language and ethnicity, but identified as Ukrainians. This changeable history resulted in their nationality showing in statistics mostly in terms of their religion, so Orthodox Church members were linked with Belorussian nationality. Many researchers (such as Koter 1995, Sadowski 1995, Eberhardt 1996, Makarski 1996, Hawryluk 1999, Barwiński 2004) emphasised the great cultural similarities between Ukrainian and Belarusian nations, mainly in terms of religion. Despite this, the sense of Ukrainian identity started to re-emerge in contemporary Poland. According to the 2002 census, there were still just a handful of those who declared Ukrainian nationality, about 1.5 thousand, while the number almost doubled by 2011 and reached 2.7 thousand (tab. 1). As Barwiński claims, it is the result of regaining national identity, mainly the distinctiveness of their language. Counties continually inhabited by Ukrainian people are mostly Bielski, but also Hajnówka and Siemiatycze (fig. 2).

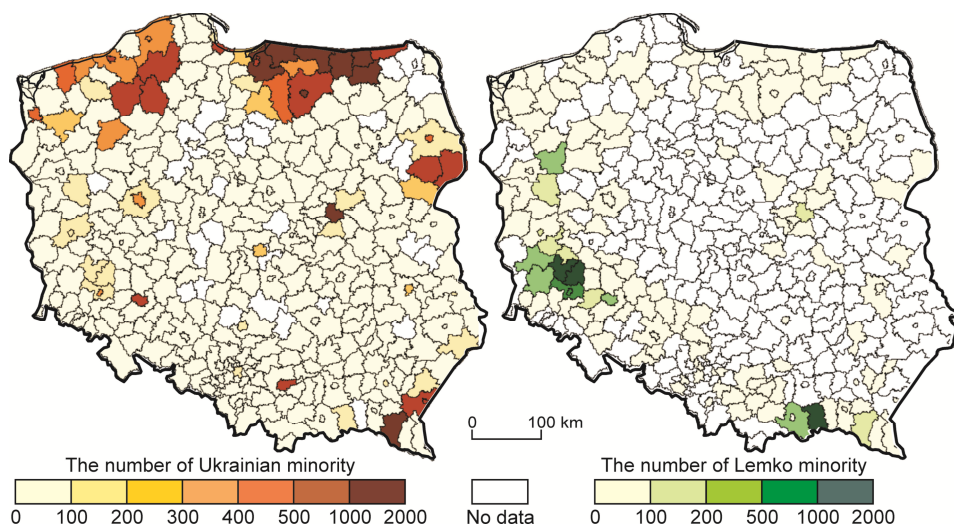


Fig. 2. The number of people who declared Ukrainian and Lemko nationalities in 2011 in Polish counties

Source: NSP 2011, [www.stat.gov.pl](http://www.stat.gov.pl) (15.08.2016); own elaboration

It would also seem reasonable to show the distribution of ethnic Lemko minority (fig. 2), whose number according to the 2011 census was 9,640 people. The biggest agglomerations of this minority were present in Lower Silesia (4,735 people), Małopolskie (2,186 people) and Lubuskie Voivodeships (1,413). Similarly to the case of the Ukrainians, Lower Silesia and Lebus Land were the areas of their resettlements in the course of post-war Operation Vistula. Małopolskie Voivodeship, especially the Beskid Niski and Beskid Sądecki ranges constitute the so-called Łemkowszczyzna, i.e. the homeland inhabited by Lemkos.

Nowadays, this picture is slightly disturbed by increasing numbers of Ukrainian minority in bigger towns. This is a separate problem which mainly concerns young people. Their migration results from educational and work opportunities there, and this phenomenon is typical for all other nationalities as well.

#### **4. THE ACTIVITY OF THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY**

The basis of existence and development of national and ethnic minorities is their strive to preserve the language, tradition and culture. There are different organisations involved in this activity, contributing to the maintenance of national identity and fostering socio-historical awareness of their origins. In Poland there are currently 15 active Ukrainian organisations and 13 Lemko organisations. Their distribution and span of activity coincide with the map of distribution of national and ethnic minorities. The biggest and most effective organisation is the Association of Ukrainians in Poland (ZUwP) which has been operating under the present name since 1990. The history of this organization is much longer as it is the successor of Social and Cultural Ukrainian Society. The Association has regional structures – 10 divisions and 89 regional sectors, including 7 independent ones. Other important organisations are the Association of Ukrainians of Podlasia, Ukrainian Society, Ukrainian Teachers' Association, the Plast National Scout Organisation of Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Historical Association in Poland (*The fifth report...* 2015).

These organisations are mainly involved in educational, cultural, editorial activities, as well as other enterprises related to maintaining the historical heritage. They are financed by the national budget<sup>3</sup>. Since 2006, the national

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<sup>3</sup> Financing of national minorities in Poland is a statutory obligation instituted by the Act on regulations for national and ethnic minorities and their regional languages. Art.

budget has been allocating funds for the national minorities at similar level of PLN 300–350 million per year, out of which 90% is intended for educational objectives. The rest of the amount is allocated in the form of subventions and subjective grants to finance projects aimed at protection, preservation and development of cultural identity. Additionally, the minorities can be financed by regional governments according to their own needs and policies.

Table 2. Financing the activities of the Ukrainian minority by the Polish Government in 2015

Organization	Activity	Total fund	
		Sum (PLN)	% of the total fund
Związek Ukraińców w Polsce (Association of Ukrainians in Poland)	The current activity of the Association of Ukrainians in Poland in 2015. The activity of Ukrainian cultural centres in 2015. UMP PROSTIR – Ukrainian Media Portal. Festivals and competitions for children. Ukrainian meetings in borderlands. Publishing <i>Nasze Słowo</i> weekly magazine in 2015. Misteria Kupalskie. Ukrainian Market. Publishing <i>Almanach Ukraiński</i> yearly in 2016. Choirs and artistic bands (the program of creative activity in 2015). The program of child and teenage education. Ukrainian Culture Days. 25 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of ZUwP (AUiP). 200 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of birth of M. Werbycki	1,372,500	8.8

18 § 2 of the Act introduces ten groups of tasks which can be subsidised: 1) the activity of cultural institutions, art and craft creativity of minorities as well as artistic events which are important for the culture of minorities, 2) investment to maintain cultural identity of minorities, 3) publishing books, newspapers, magazines and other printed materials in Polish or the language of the minority, 4) promotion of TV programmes and radio broadcasts made by minorities, 5) protection of sites which belong to cultural heritage of minorities, 6) clubhouse activity, 7) running libraries, keeping records of cultural and artistic life of minorities, 8) different forms of children and teenage education, 9) popularisation of the knowledge of minorities, 10) other tasks aiming at objectives introduced by art. 18 §1, particularly these being accomplished within multi-annual programmes.

Związek Ukraińców Podlasia (Association of Ukrainians of Podlasia)	The activity of Association of Ukrainian of Podlasie. Radio broadcasts <i>Ukraińskie słowo</i> . Publishing <i>Nad Buhom i Narwoju</i> Ukrainian magazine Podlasie. The activity of amateur artistic groups. Releasing “Ranok” CD on the occasion of 20 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Band of Song and Dance – “Śpiwaje i tanciuje Pidlaszszu” Ranok. Ukrainian cultural workshop for children and teenagers “U źródeł”. Meeting of folklore, tradition and Ukrainian poetry of Podlasie. Culture and Ukrainian tradition festivals in Podlasie Region. An integration winter camp for children of Ukrainian minority	393,620	2.5
Towarzystwo Ukraińskie (Ukrainian Society)	The current activity of TU (US). Chelm Land. Publications TU (US). The cultural and educational activity TU (US)	77,200	0.5
Towarzystwo Miłośników Skansenu i Kultury Materialnej Chełmszczyzny i Podlasia w Holi (Society of Friends of Heritage Park and Material Culture of Chelm and Podlasie in Hola)	Folklore country event “XIX Jarmark Holeński – Hola 2015”. Anthology of Ukrainian Folk Poetry, pp. 256. Literary yearly magazine in Ukrainian language <i>Ukraiński Zaulek Literacki</i> , t. 15/2015	26,500	0.2
Stowarzyszenie Integracji i Rozwoju Kulturalnego Mniejszości Narodowych w Polsce Czeremosz (Association for Integration and Cultural Development of National Minorities in Poland Czeremosz)	The festival of folk children bands of national minority. Ukrainian culture from here and far away	30,000	0.2
Samorząd Województwa Warmińsko-Mazurskiego (Local Government of Warmia and Mazury)	The arrangement of the public area of School Complex with Ukrainian Language in Górowo Iławeckie	230,000	1.5
Total		2,129,820	13.6

Source: Decyzja Ministra Administracji...: <http://mniejszosci.narodowe.mac.gov.pl/mne/dotacje> z dn. 30.09.2016.

Ukrainian minority receives 10% to 20% of the total annual amount for projects which aim at preservation and development of cultural identity but only about 5% as educational subsidies. For example, in 2015 there were 5 organisations of Ukrainian minority that received ministerial subsidies in the amount of over 2 million PLN, half of which was allocated to the Association of Ukrainians (tab. 2).

The Ukrainian minority is an active local society which takes part in the creation of Polish national policy, as well as the activities of regional governments. In the last two elections, Ukrainian minority did not have their own electoral committee, but in 2007 and 2011, they had their representative in the Parliament. A part of Ukrainian minority is more often active in the local community. In voivodeship assembly it was represented by one person in Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship in 2006, and in 2010 in Pomorskie Voivodeship. The members of Ukrainian minority sit in county or commune councils and even serve as mayors. Lemko minority is slightly less represented at the regional level, but they are becoming more active in local councils (tab. 3).

Table 3. The activity of the Ukrainian and Lemko minority in public authorities in Poland

Public authorities	Elections		Local elections		
	2007	2011	2006	2010	2014
The Ukrainian minority					
Parliament	1	1	-	-	-
The provincial council	-	-	1	1	
The district council	-	-	8	13	8
The municipal/commune council	-	-	1	30	15
The mayor	-	-	6	6	3
The Lemko minority					
Parliament	-	-	-	-	-
The provincial council	-	-	-	-	-
The district council	-	-	-	2	-
The municipal/commune council	-	-	11	8	6
The mayor	-	-	1	1	1

Source: Raporty dotyczące sytuacji mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych oraz języka regionalnego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015.

The representation of minorities in local councils is particularly vital in areas inhabited by minority agglomerations. On the one hand, it is a sign of their activity in socio-political life of the region, while on the other, it ensures the responsiveness of authorities to the problems and needs of minorities.

## **5. CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION OF UKRAINIAN PEOPLE TO POLAND**

In the present political and economic situation in Ukraine, the migratory movement of Ukrainian people to Poland is on the increase. We can observe the influx, especially of students and workers, but also refugee applicants. This raises a question whether the activities of Ukrainian associations in Poland, particularly as far as fostering relations with people who still live in Ukraine is concerned, impact the directions and numbers of the migration. There is no straightforward answer to this. The statistics released by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy<sup>4</sup> confirm that the number of work permits issued to Ukrainians has been increasing every year. However, there is no correlation between the distribution of Ukrainian minority and the destinations of Ukrainian employees in Poland (tab. 4). The increased number of work permits and the simplified procedures of employment are directly related to the labour market. The influx of workers is evident in big towns and the areas where big companies that need workforce are located. The interviews conducted with representatives of Ukrainian minority indicate that most of the contacts with these minority groups are made through parishes in Ukraine and the organisational structures of minorities, but only after the migrants' arrival in Poland.

On the other hand, the influx of students to Polish universities definitely results from relationships with Ukrainian universities. Ukrainian minorities and personal relations play an important role in establish this relationship.

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<sup>4</sup> In the first quarter of 2016 about 51.5 thousand work permits were issued in Poland, including 42,650 (82.8%) to Ukrainian people. In 2015, 50.4 thousand work permits were issued to Ukrainian people in Poland which consisted 76.6% of all work permits while in 2014 – 26.3 thousand (60.3%), in 2013 – 20.4 thous. (52.4%), in 2012 – 20.3 thous. (51.8%), in 2011 – 18.7 thous. (45.7%), in 2010 – 12.9 thous. (35.2%), in 2009 – 9.5 thous. (32.4%), in 2008 – 5.4 thous. (30%) (Cudzoziemcy pracujący w Polsce: <https://www.mpips.gov.pl/analizy-i-raporty/cudzoziemcy-pracujacy-w-polsce-statystyki/> – 20.08.2016).

Table. 4. Number of employers' declarations concerning the employment of Ukrainian people<sup>a</sup> registered by county employment offices in particular voivodeships in 2011–2016

Voivodeship	Employers					
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	06.2016
Dolnośląskie	21,786	26,774	21,044	36,112	72,042	57,353
Kujawsko-Pomorskie	1,588	2,016	2,570	8,850	28,745	20,991
Lubelskie	20,934	18,525	16,842	25,469	54,982	42,158
Lubuskie	7,468	7,774	6,065	10,706	33,421	34,389
Łódzkie	8,149	5,685	5,089	11,031	36,885	36,759
Małopolskie	7,983	7,660	8,402	19,319	44,640	40,607
Mazowieckie	128,488	118,065	121,097	194,971	306,708	202,310
Opolskie	3,822	3,206	3,747	5,964	14,328	10,153
Podkarpackie	2,443	1,748	2,480	7,741	10,006	5,591
Podlasie	2,047	774	808	1,398	6,640	3,577
Pomorskie	4,504	3,606	2,917	5,520	24,745	26,640
Śląskie	8,670	6,867	6,143	10,883	33,869	32,276
Świętokrzyskie	6,518	5,718	5,975	7,289	16,736	16,727
Warmińsko-Mazurskie	379	589	671	1,230	3,445	3,250
Wielkopolskie	10,684	11,465	10,780	21,028	57,665	56,332
Zachodniopomorskie	4,183	3,199	2,941	5,435	17,843	25,083
Poland	239,646	223,671	217,571	372,946	762,700	614,196
% of all declarations	92.25	91.77	92.34	96.27	97.50	96.83

<sup>a</sup> Citizens of 6 countries: the Republic of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russian Federation and Ukraine are able to follow simplified procedures to join the workforce based on a declaration to employment without work permit. Such declarations are submitted and registered in county employment offices. They allow short-term employment for up to 6 months (Journal of Laws 2012, item 769; Journal of Laws 2015, item 588).

Source: Cudzoziemcy pracujący w Polsce: <https://www.mpips.gov.pl/analizy-i-raporty/cudzoziemcy-pracujacy-w-polsce-statystyki/> (20.08.2016).

Starting co-operation is easier when it is based on mutual trust. The Pomeranian University in Słupsk is an excellent example of such activity. Roman Drozd has been a rector of the university for eight years. He is a historian, a proponent of Ukrainian culture, as well as an active member of Ukrainian minority in the field of culture and national tradition. His close relations with Ukrainian



universities brought about the popularity of Pomeranian University among young Ukrainian people who often choose Pomeranian University and other Universities in our region.

## **6. THE PRESENT ROLE OF UKRAINIAN POPULATION AMONG LOCAL SOCIETIES – CASE STUDY IN BIAŁY BÓR**

The activity of national minorities, as well as the evaluation of their co-operation with local governments becomes most evident directly in their place of residence, namely in the smallest territorial units of the country. Local governments at commune level decide on their own directions of development and their current priorities. Taking into account the agglomerations of Ukrainian minority at that level, according to the 2011 census, there are 8 communes in Poland where the number of Ukrainian people exceeded 10%<sup>5</sup> of the overall population. There are six of them in Warmińsko-Mazurskie, one in Podkarpackie and one in Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship. Biały Bór, discussed below, is located in Szczecinek county of Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship.

The commune of Biały Bór is a small urban-rural community. At the end of 2015, it had 5,357 inhabitants, 2,210 living in the town, which constituted 41.2%<sup>6</sup> of all citizens of the commune. It is a forestry and agricultural commune with great tourist potential, with forests covering 49% of the total surface area.

The commune of Biały Bór not only has a high percentage of people of Ukrainian origin but it is a commune engaged in intense development of Ukrainian culture and tradition. There is a primary school, secondary school and a high school with Ukrainian as language of instruction. It is one of only five such schools in Poland, the others located in Przemyśl, Legnica, Bartoszyce and Górowo Iławieckie. Furthermore, the commune is the seat of the Association of Ukrainian Teachers in Poland, and two clubs of the Ukrainian Association in Poland: in Biały Bór and Bielice. The authorities describe the commune as an active centre of religious, educational and cultural life, and the multinational

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<sup>5</sup> They include the following communes: Komańcza (Sanok county, Podkarpackie Voivodeship), Lelkowo, Pieniężno (Braniewo county), Kruklanki (Giżycko county), Banie Mazurskie (Gołdap county), Budry, Pozezdrze (Węgorzewo county) – all in Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship – and Biały Bór (Szczecinek county, Zachodniopomorskie Voivodeship) (NSP 2011, GUS, Warszawa).

<sup>6</sup> Ludność, Bank Danych Lokalnych, [www.stat.gov.pl](http://www.stat.gov.pl) (20.07.2016).

society is adequately defined by its motto: “On the trail of cultures.” There is also a German minority here but it does not exceed 1% of the total population.

The most important symbols of Ukrainian minority<sup>7</sup> in Biały Bór, except for the already mentioned schools and associations, include the Greek Catholic Uniate Church of the Holy Mother of God. It was built in 1992–1997 according to Jerzy Nowosielski's design and is recognised as a gem of modern Polish sacral architecture<sup>8</sup>. In 2006, the church was rated as one of the 20 most distinctive and recognisable buildings built in Poland after 1989 and presented at an exhibition entitled “Polish Architectural Icons” held in the Centre of Contemporary Art<sup>9</sup> in Warsaw. The church was also included in the list of 16 attractions which competed in the fourth edition of a readers' contest organised by National Geographic to choose the New 7 Polish Wonders<sup>10</sup>.

Other significant symbols of a different kind are monuments to the memory of Ukrainian minority history in Poland. They also have visible effects on the formation of the national identity of this minority. They include the monument of Taras Shevchenko erected in 1991, and the monument dedicated in 2007 to the inhabitants relocated as part “Operation Vistula”.

Symbols indicating the activity of the people are significant for their social lives. The High School in Biały Bór, named after Taras Shevchenko, maintains active cultural groups, such as the Witrohon dance troupe, Kałnowyj Mist poetry and theatre group and the Dżerełko choir. They participate in many events, both local and regional, but also perform internationally.

Each year, 16 periodic events are held in the commune<sup>11</sup>. It is quite significant that as many as seven of them refer to the Ukrainian minority. Reports presented by Biały Bór Local Government Bulletin conclude that the community take part in many of them to learn each others' tradition, culture, music, poetry, national art and even culinary traditions. During the annual carolling, choirs from the Roman Catholic Parish and the Greek Catholic Parish, as well as school choirs and folk bands take part in a spectacular event. They perform Polish and

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<sup>7</sup> Some of them are mentioned by J. Mieczkowski (2008) in a magazine *Transodra* on-line.

<sup>8</sup> II edition of competition “Życie w architekturze”, *Architektura-murator*, (2) 1998.

<sup>9</sup> Culture, *Gazeta Wyborcza* 20–21.05.2006, 12.

<sup>10</sup> 7 wonders, *Białoborski Biuletyn Samorządowy*, July 2014.14.5.

<sup>11</sup> January – Carnival Małanka, Polish-Ukrainian carols evening; February – Festival of Ukrainian Fairy Tale; May – Regional events of Shevchenko; June – Festival of Ukrainian Sacred Creativity; August – Anniversary of Independence of Ukraine; September – Greek Catholic ceremony indulgences.

Ukrainian songs, and the event is organised alternately in a Roman Catholic church and in a Greek Catholic church.

The official bulletin published by The Town Hall in Biały Bór, which informs about events, achievements, and plans of the local community and the local government has been devoting equal amount of time to the Ukrainian minority. In this local community, all events are treated as their own, which confirms the exceptional symbiosis between the local community and national minority. Moreover, official websites of the local government present the history, tradition and activities of national minorities as an integral part of the commune. In addition, the commune maintains active relations with local governments in the countries of the minorities' origin. In case of the Ukrainian minority, it co-operates with the Ukrainian cities of Lutsk and Lviv in terms of youth exchange.

Table 5. Financing of Ukrainian organisations by the local government of Biały Bór in order to perform public tasks in 2010–2015

The name of organization	The name of public task	The amount of funding					
		2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010
Culture, art, protection of cultural heritage and traditions							
Związek Ukraińców w Polsce Koło w Białym Borze (The Association of Ukrainian in Poland, Biały Bór branch)	Regional events devoted to Shevchenko	1,200	2,000	2,000		2,780	1,570
Związek Ukraińców w Polsce Koło w Bielicy (The Association of Ukrainian in Poland, Bielica branch)	Ukrainian meeting				6,000		
	The celebration of the independence day of Ukraine						5,000
Ukraińskie Towarzystwo Nauczycielskie (The Ukrainian Teachers' Society of Poland)	Organising of the Chamber of the displaced	1,000	0	1,000			
	The competition of songs based on poems by school patron Taras Shevchenko	200	200	200			

	Art Competition “The colours of Ukraine”		500	500			780
	Festival of Ukrainian Fairy Tales	1,500	1,500	1,500			2,000
	Handicraft workshops with Ukrainian embroidery			300			
	Workshops of Ukrainian folk music and dance for young Polish and Ukrainian people of Western Pomerania Region						1,500
Parafia Greckokatolicka w Białym Borze (The Greek Catholic parish in Biały Bór)	Ukrainian music festival in Biały Bór	1,200		2,000		1,500	2,000
	Active with a paddle and song		880	880			
	Classical music concert in Biały Bór		1,700				
	The anniversary concert of Orthodox Church music in Biały Bór			3,000			
	Rest of passion – in the forest and on the water				3,200		
	Meeting with the Orthodox monastic music						2,000
Physical culture and sport							
Parafia Greckokatolicka w Białym Borze (The Greek Catholic parish in Biały Bór)	National Indoor Football Tournament in Biały Bór	1,000	1,500	1,800	1,500	1,400	1,350
Spatial order, and municipal green plantings: a) the formation of public space, b) construction of parking lots, sidewalks, squares							
Parafia Greckokatolicka w Białym Borze (The Greek Catholic parish in Biały Bór)	Building construction parking in the neighbourhood of the Centre Sanctuary- -Formation in Biały Bór					25,000	

Source: *Biuletyn Informacji Publicznej...*: [www.bip.bialybor.com.pl](http://www.bip.bialybor.com.pl) (03.09.2016).

The local government regularly subsidises events organised by the Ukrainian minority. These are small amounts but even they are vital for permanent preservation of the tradition and the protection of cultural heritage of minorities. One additional task is education support. In this case the local government dedicates part of its income to finance educational tasks both for Polish and Ukrainian schools.

The community undertakes activities aiming at obtaining funds to develop the commune, including activating citizen integration, particularly the integration of teenagers. Among others, the community submitted an application to The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy in 2010 entitled “Multicultural Commune of Biały Bór” which unfortunately did not get financing. However, two investment projects within “The programme of rural area development” for 2007–2013 to develop areas around the Greek-Catholic church received funding.

## **7. CONCLUSIONS. LOCAL GOVERNMENT – DOES IT OFFER SUPPORT OR NOT?**

The difficult life of Ukrainian minority in Poland still poses some problems. Even though opportunities for the organisation of cultural life, education and development of cultural identity have changed a lot since the war, for many reasons Ukrainian people in Poland are still not a group openly manifesting their background. To a certain extent, it is due to the long-lasting aversion to Ukrainians presented by some Polish nationalists and carried through generations (often reinforced with nationalist populist slogans). It is also a peculiar civilisation change, where global societies don't bother themselves with their tradition and history. They organise their lives here and now, while materialistic culture is the determinant of priorities and life aims.

In the whole post-war period, Ukrainian minority persisted, and it seems to be developing its national identity. They now permanently settled in regions appointed by Operation Vistula, but are nowadays relocating from villages to urban centres. They are better educated, and organise schools where Ukrainian language and history are taught. Members of the minority are active locally, running for local governments and councils. They create many social organisations. By joining the European Union, they received European rights of national and ethnic minorities, legalised with an Act, including financing for their activities from the state budget.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian minority functions at a local level. Today it is strongly assimilated with their communities. Many local governments actively

identify themselves with minorities. Biały Bór is an excellent example, and it can serve as a model of effective co-operation between local governments and minorities.

The local government in Biały Bór commune actively supports and co-operates with the Ukrainian minority within its limited means. Its activities include:

1. Financial support for cultural, educational and investment activities of the minority.
2. Lending public areas, facilities and equipment to organise various events.
3. Co-operation with Greek Catholic Parish and participation in important religious events.
4. Co-operation with Ukrainian towns (Lutsk, Lviv) in terms of youth exchange.
5. Support for co-operation and integration between local Polish and Ukrainian communities in mutual education and respect for each others' cultures and tradition.
6. Entrusting minority organisations with public tasks in terms of culture, sport and spatial development.
7. Proud promotion of the cultural image of the minority.

However, not all local governments engage in the life of national minorities as much as they would expect. Unfortunately, it must be admitted that the problems of minorities are often a secondary or distant concern for local governments.

*English verification by Jarosław Sawiuk*

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## **WARMIAN DIALECT AS A MANIFESTATION OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN THE POLISH- -GERMAN BORDERLAND CULTURE**

### **1. POLISH-GERMAN BORDERLAND ON PRUSSIAN SOIL**

The issue of a “borderland” has been discussed in many scientific areas and, in consequence, its definitions vary. This paper takes advantage of a definition formulated by the sociologist Andrzej Sakson, which best conveys the social character of the concept:

A borderland is an area where cultures of two neighbouring nations – Polish and German – merge in the conditions of subordination or equality, but without destroying the ties with one's own homeland (Sakson 1990, p. 23).

The way the dialect has been used in the Polish-German borderland reflects all the stages of changes of the national affiliation and cultural influence of both countries.

Prussia is an area between the lower Vistula and the Neman, which over the centuries has been inhabited by peoples of different nations and has belonged, alternately, to two countries – Poland and Germany. Hence, this can be called a cultural borderland, where the cultural influences of both nations are intertwined and are still visible.

There are several regions that developed in the Prussia over the centuries: Pomesania (Powiśle), Warmia, Upper Prussia, Mazury, Bartia, Natangia, Sambia and Eastern Prussia. Since the dialect analysed in this paper has been used in the south of Warmia, i.e. the counties of Olsztyn and Reszel this area has become the focus.

Initially, this land was inhabited by Prussian tribes. Warmians, who settled in the area around what is now the towns of Braniewo and Frombork, were one of them (Achremczyk 2000, p. 11). In 1226, the Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem (commonly known as the Teutonic Order) was brought to the land around Chełmno. During the next several dozen years, they conquered Prussia and created the Teutonic state (Czaja and Radzimiński, 2013). In terms of religion, the land submitted to the Pope and was Christianised. By a decision of Pope Innocent IV of 1243, it was divided into four dioceses: Chełmno, Warmia, Pomezania and Sambia. Two-thirds of the diocese of Warmia was carved out and submitted to the Teutonic Order and the bishopric of Warmia was created from the remaining 1/3 in 1250. The borders of the bishopric delineated the area of Warmia in the Middle Ages and they still exist in the memory of the local population<sup>1</sup>.

After it lost the war with Poland, the Teutonic Order gave up the territory of Warmia and Gdańsk Pomerania to Poland in 1466; the land remained within the Polish borders until the first partition in 1772. This was the Polish period in its history – Polish literature and the Polish language thrived, Polish bishops occupied the see in Lidzbark Warmiński.

The borders of the bishopric were unified in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the rest of Prussia; the germanisation process started and more and more people claimed to be of German nationality. It was decided after the First World War that a plebiscite would be held in Warmia, Mazury and Powiśle on 20 July 1920. As a result, almost the whole of the area covered by the plebiscite (including Warmia) remained within the borders of East Prussia, i.e. Germany. The peak of germanisation fell during the period of Nazi Germany.

The Polish revival in the area started after the Second World War; however, this was sometimes not because the native population wanted it, but because the process was initiated and stimulated by the state authorities. The southern part of East Prussia, called Warmia and Mazury, was given to Poland as compensation for the lost land of the Eastern Borderlands (Kresy Wschodnie). However, Warmia was no longer a separate entity and, together with part of Mazury, it made up the province of Olsztyn. It was not until the administrative reform of 1999 that the historic region names were brought back and the province of Warmia-Mazury was created.

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<sup>1</sup> Map: An outline of the borders of historic Warmia compared to the modern day province of Warmia-Mazury and Poland (Achremczyk 2000, p. 360)

## 2. DEVELOPMENT AND FUNCTIONING OF WARMIAN DIALECT OVER THE CENTURIES

The Warmian dialect is a specific kind of a palimpsest, as it has developed by superimposing one language phenomena on one another – beginning with the Old-Baltic (Prussian) language, through the language of German and Polish settlers, the Old-Polish, common in this area in modern times, to words of German origin, introduced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest German influx took place here in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. The first settlers came from Thuringia and Upper Saxony, which is an area where Middle-German dialects were used. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, settlers began to appear in eastern and southern Prussia, which is why German words are still present in the Warmian dialect.

Soon Polish settlers began to appear on Prussian soil. This was mainly migration within the Teutonic state, where the Chełmno lands, inhabited by Polish population, were situated. This population also reached Warmia by way of Lubawa. Since Prussians were also assimilated into Polish populations, this language, extinct since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is reflected in the dialect.

Mazovian settlement intensified in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and even more so after the Thirteen-Years' War. From that time onwards, the ties with Polishness were becoming increasingly strong and the process was crowned by incorporating Warmia into Poland after the second Peace Treaty of Toruń. Latin may have been the language of diplomacy and German the language of trade (especially in towns), but Polish was the language of common people, spoken in palaces and in simple houses, although regional dialects were also used. Since the language was not evolving as much within the historic borders of Warmia as it was in other regions of Poland, it stopped at the stage of late Medieval Ages and early Renaissance.

It was not until Poland lost its independence and laws banning the Polish language from schools and churches were introduced that people appreciated their mother tongue. Its popularisation was started in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by a priest, Walenty Barczewski, who was the first to characterise the Warmian pronunciation (Chłosta 2002, pp. 20–22). It attracted scientific interest in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Among the eminent linguists and dialectologists was Kazimierz Nitsch, whose studies are still regarded as the best devoted to dialects of the area (Nitsch 1954, pp. 345–369).

During the inter-war period, when Warmia was part of Germany (East Prussia), dialect studies were conducted by a native Warmian – Augustyn Steffen (Lewandowska 2009, pp. 87–88), and folk songs were collected by

a composer, Feliks Nowowiejski. At the same time, folk tales were published in the local newspaper *Gazeta Olsztyńska*, issued in Polish and addressed to the Polish-speaking population of Warmia; they were popular among people living in and around Olsztyn and Reszel (Chłosta 1989). The dialect was the language spoken at home, whereas German had to be spoken in offices, in the army, in German schools and in church.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the dialect was known both to Poles and Germans who lived in the south of Warmia. And they used it in their neighbourly conversations. Children played together in the yards, adults helped each other in their farm work, they talked using the dialect, and they were not estranged from one another because of politics. It was different in the north of Warmia, which was totally German.

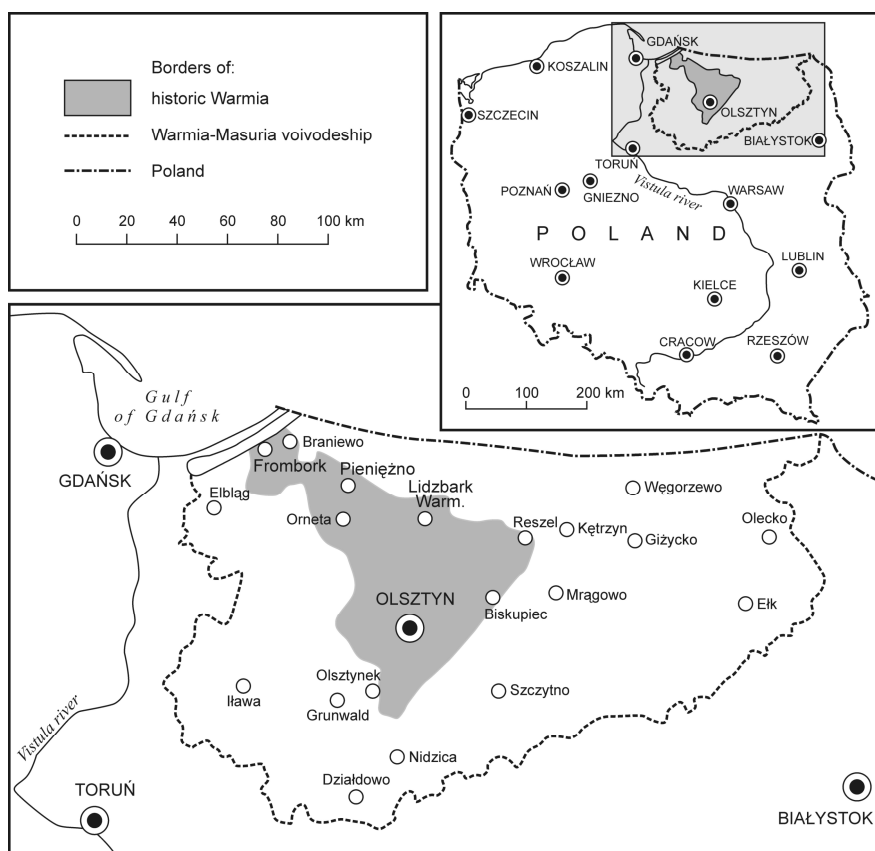


Fig. 1. An outline of the borders of historic Warmia compared to the modern day province of Warmia-Mazury and Poland

Source: S. Achremczyk (2000, p. 360)

The situation changed after the Second World War. Warmians had to declare themselves as either Poles or Germans. As a result of an agreement between the three superpowers, Germans were ordered to leave East Prussia, and those who remained were Polish. Using the dialect in the early post-war years was not received well by the new population which arrived here from the centre and east of Poland, as well as from the Eastern Borderland of the old Polish Republic. Before the war, the dialect was regarded as a type of Polish language, whereas after the war it was associated with German (Lewandowska 2012, p. 332).

Collecting oral stories that documented the identity and language of the Warmian population started as early as in 1948. This was done by a team of sociologists led by Stanisław Ossowski of the University of Warsaw, and then, in 1950–1953, by a Dialectological Team at the Department of the Polish Language of the University of Warsaw, led by Witold Doroszewski and Halina Koneczna. These studies resulted in scientific papers, collections of folk tales and dialect dictionaries of several volumes (Biolik 2002, pp. 25–28).

In 1950, a campaign was started aimed at collecting items of oral and musical folk heritage, initiated by the National Art Institute in collaboration with the Polish Radio. One of the departments was created in Olsztyn and it was headed by Władysław Gębik – the pre-war headmaster of the Polish Gymnasium in Kwidzyn. Members of the team visited villages and collected wedding songs and others. The effect of their work, a five-volume collection, was published, entitled *Polska pieśń i muzyka ludowa* [*Polish folk song and folk music*] (Krzyżaniak and Pawlak 2002).

Local activists also promoted speaking in dialects. For example, in 1953, the periodical entitled “Słowo na Warmii i Mazurach” printed texts written by Alojzy Śliwa, entitled *Kuba spod Gietrzwaldu* [*Kuba from somewhere around Gietrzwałd*]. The main character, Kuba, was a wise Polish peasant from Warmia. His texts were moralising and educating and they were written in simplified dialect so that his readers understood him.

Apart from these scientific initiatives and the impact of the press, Polish authorities attempted to preserve the Warmian dialect by allowing several selected Warmians to publish their work. These included Maria Zientara-Malewska, Michał Lengowski, Alojzy Śliwa and Teofil Ruczyński, who were invited to join the Polish Writers' Association in 1952. Now we can say that they were icons of the Warmian spirit used for propaganda purposes, but they thought they had a mission to accomplish.

The collection of folk songs was expanded owing to the efforts of Maryna Okęcka-Bromkowa of the Olsztyn Radio Station. She accumulated a large tape

collection with songs and tales, saving them from oblivion. More than 200 tapes that she recorded were given to the National Museum in Warsaw, while still others are stored in the Olsztyn Radio archive, awaiting proper cataloguing.

Another attempt at preserving the distinct character of the native population of Warmia and Mazury, also in terms of their dialects, was made in the 1960s. A group of students of the University of Warsaw conducted field research in the province of Olsztyn (including in 35 villages of Warmia) where they recorded what local people described as folk rituals and beliefs. The result of this was a rich collection of recordings, often illustrated with the informers' utterances and written in the vernacular (Szyfer 1975). In 1984, the Polish Academy of Sciences published *Słownik Warmiński* [*Warmian Dictionary*] by Wiktor Steffen (Augustyn's brother), which was the product of 60 years of his research and contained 4,500 phrases from different areas of life (Steffen 1984).

The community lost its interest in the dialect in the 1970s and 1980s, for several reasons. Firstly, the number of Warmians who were living in Poland decreased; while others left for Germany under a treaty between Poland and Germany. Secondly, a growing economic crisis directed people's efforts towards satisfying their basic needs. Thirdly, people's striving for modernity made them abandon the tradition, including the language of their forefathers, then regarded as old-fashioned and unsophisticated. The third factor was social advancement, which involved young people leaving their rural homeland and rejecting where they came from, denying their family traditions, habits, and their dialect. This advancement gave young people an opportunity for a better job in town, for a flat in a modern housing estate and for better education. This can be juxtaposed with the process of Germanisation in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century – those who wanted to have a career in the military or in an office had to speak German. It was similar after the Second World War – if one wanted to get a promotion at work, they had to declare themselves as a Pole and, consequently, to speak untainted Polish.

The revival in scientific research and popularisation of the dialect was slow, and it resulted in several books, such as those written by A. Szyfer (1996), E. Cyfus (2000) and M. Biolik (2014). Now, the memory of historic Warmia and the Warmians that live there is still alive, which has been proven by the Warmian dialect being entered into the UNESCO national list of intangible heritage.

### **3. A DIALECT AS AN ELEMENT OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN LIGHT OF THE 2003 UNESCO CONVENTION**

The UNESCO convention on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage was signed in 2003; it crowned long efforts of the states that see intangible culture and tradition as very important. Poland ratified it on 22 October 2010 as the last European country to do so; it became effective on 16 August 2011 (Konwencja UNESCO, 2003). According to the convention (Art. 2.1) intangible cultural heritage means

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

The “intangible cultural heritage” is manifested in the following domains (Art. 2.2):

- oral traditions and expressions (e.g. in fairy tales, proverbs, songs, orations, recollections and religious tales, histories, speeches, mourning laments, shepherd’s cries and sales pitches), including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- performing arts (e.g. vocal, instrumental and dance traditions; religious, carnival and annual shows);
- social practices, rituals and festive events (e.g. customs, annual, situational and family rituals and ceremonies: baptism, weddings, funerals; local ceremonies; parish fair customs, pilgrimages; plays and games; children's folklore; ways of celebrating; practices used to establish interpersonal relations, ways of giving someone one's regards);
- knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe (e.g. traditional notions of the universe, folk meteorology; traditional economy; traditional therapies);
- traditional craftsmanship.

On 16 March 2016, the Warmian dialect was recognised as a carrier of intangible cultural heritage as per Article 2.2.a of the Convention. The initial stage includes drawing up a list of intangible phenomena worth protecting.

Applications for entering an item on the list of world heritage can be filed only for items on that list. Poland still has no such phenomenon, but the national list has been gradually expanded.

What are the threats ahead of the dialect now? Why is it so important to preserve this item of cultural heritage in the borderland area? The first threat is a wave of migration from Warmia to big cities in Poland or abroad; secondly, there are intensifying globalisation processes and thirdly – disappearance of the inter-generational communication.

In the current globalisation process, attention should be paid to the value of small homelands and to the deeper overlooked values of the region. Popularising the Warmian dialect could be used to pass on the knowledge of the history, tradition and culture of our micro-region to younger generations. The same information can be delivered in a boring lecture, or attractively, in a way that a young person cannot find on the Internet. The dialect has the power, because knowledge of people's everyday lives, their traditions and values has a more intensifying ability. It is a new method of conveying messages to young people, more effectively and getting through to their identity. After the sad experience of the past decades, the older generation of native Warmians is reluctant to use the dialect, especially in public. I hope that popularisation of the dialect will make the native population more open and the use of dialect words by newcomers will also attract their children's attention to the dialect. Young people will seek contacts with multi-generation Warmian families in their closest neighbourhood. This way, the intergeneration continuity will be preserved.

Entering the dialect on the national list of intangible cultural heritage obliges the government and local authorities of every level, as well as regional communities, to finance and protect it. According to the Convention, the protection measures include documentation, popularisation and education. Documentation measures include determination of the number of people who use the dialect, or those who only intersperse their speech with some words and phrases of the Warmian dialect. The documentation will involve field research, recording interviews and collecting them in a dedicated Archive of the Spoken History of North-Eastern Poland (Lewandowska 2015). A further stage involves making transcriptions and conducting scientific research based on the accumulated source material. Popularisation activities include consultations devoted to the dialect, organising meetings and lectures, education activities based on the *Elementarz gwary warmińskiej* [Warmian dialect phrasebooks] (Lewandowska and Cyfus 2012–2014) as well as popularisation on the Internet. A campaign aimed at popularising the dialect on Facebook was launched in May 2016, but it is also necessary to involve other media. Educational measures must be based mainly



on workshops for teachers and students, developing educational materials and instruction films, and it is necessary to introduce systematic education at local and regional levels.

The Warmian dialect is not going to return as everyday language of the local population, but – after being entered into the UNESCO national list of cultural heritage – it will be protected. One should hope that owing to a real interest, both from adult and adolescent population, as well as scientific research, popularisation and education, the memory of the dialect will not disappear and it will be preserved for future generations.

*English verification by Jarosław Sawiuk*

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## **SPATIAL STRUCTURES OF RURAL SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN POLESIA AND VOLHYNIA IN HISTORICO-GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE**

### **1. INTRODUCTION. PHYSIOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS OF SETTLEMENT**

The main purpose of this article is to explain morphogenetic diversity of villages and analyse changes in the rural settlement network in the context of geographical and political factors in the course of history. This purpose includes a general reconstruction of settlement development, identification of types of village layouts, and an analysis of spatial distribution of rural forms in cultural landscape.

The results of the study concerned the villages founded in the territory of the historical regions of Western Polesia (Pol. *Polesie*, Bel. *Палессе*, Ukr. *Полісся*) and Volhynia (Pol. *Wołyń*, Ukr. *Волинь*, Bel. *Валы́нь*) which were formerly a part of the Polish state, but are now situated on the borderland between Ukraine and Belarus. For the purposes of research, the borders of the appropriate administrative regions from the interwar period were adopted (fig. 1).

During the study, I have analysed historical documents and cartographic sources presenting the spatial layouts of settlements. In this context, it is worth pointing out the Polish topographic maps from the 1920s and 1930s made by Military Geographic Institute. The conclusions of historiography of the research area have also been taken into account in this article. Despite many years of geographical and historical studies, some aspects relating to the origin and morphological forms of villages still require explanation.

The distribution of the population and spatial organisation of rural settlement in Polesia and Volhynia were strongly affected by the geographical conditions. The western part of Polesia is a geographical region located between the Bela-

rusian Upland to the north and the Volhynian Upland to the south. Generally speaking, Polesia is a uniform lowland plain covered with fluvio-glacial and alluvial deposits. The region has a dense network of rivers, lakes, and marshes. The axial part of Polesia is the broad, low floodplain that extends along both sides of the Pripyat River and its tributaries, that served as the main communication arteries in the history of this region. Low river gradients and shallow groundwater levels account for extensive marshes (Marczak 1935, Marynych 1962). The entire region is well-forested. Large areas of lowlands are occupied by sands and the soils are poor. Because of isolation, the inhabitants of Polesia never had a strong sense of national identity. The names *polishuk*, derived from place-names, were usually used by outsiders. Due to its physiographic conditions, Polesia is still a sparsely populated region and the line of ethnic demarcation is not always sharp (Rąkowski 2001, Zastawnyj and Kusiński 2003).

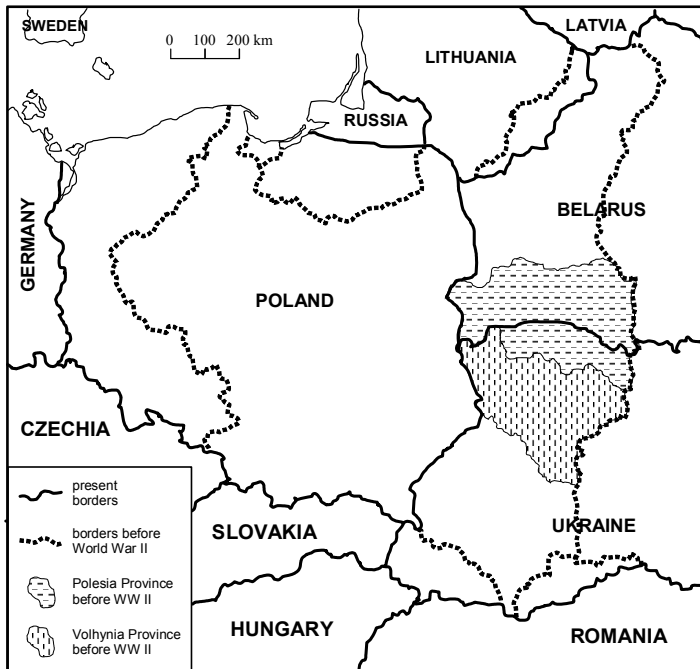


Fig. 1. Polesia and Volhynia administrative regions before the Second World War against the contemporary borders in Central and Eastern Europe  
Source: own studies based on historical political and administrative maps

The region of Volhynia, in geographical sense, is located in the Volhynian-Podolian Upland, between the rivers Pripyat and Bug. The borders of the region are not clearly defined. It is located north of Podolia, south of Polesia and

Podlasie. Volhynia is the meeting ground of two distinct landscapes: the post-glacial one, characteristic of Polesia, and the plateau, characteristic of Podolia. The hummocky terrain is overlain with a thick layer of loess as a postglacial form of deposits. The soils are very fertile and for that reason the region of Volhynia was deforested in early Middle Ages and densely populated in the course of history (Smoleński 1930, Ormicki 1934, Hrytsak et al. 1993, Rąkowski 2005).

## **2. RURAL FORMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN PERIOD IN REFERENCE TO HISTORICAL CHANGES OF POLITICAL MAP**

The borders of Volhynia and Polesia have changed considerably over the centuries (Stecki 1864). At the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Polesia was sparsely populated. According to the Primary Chronicle, this area was inhabited mainly by the tribes of Dulibians (later known as the Volhynians) along both sides of the Pripyat River. In the late 10<sup>th</sup> century, Polesia became part of the Kyivan state, thanks to Prince Volodymyr the Great. From 1015 to 1030, Volhynia was the battleground of Polish-Ruthenian wars. At the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Volhynia as a state acquired political individuality and almost the whole region belonged to the Principality of Halych-Volhynia (Tsynkalovs'kyi 1984, Kotliar 1985).

In the Middle Ages, one can indicate the process of colonisation based on unwritten, traditional Ruthenian law. It was the most popular form of settlement development. These villages were founded in an evolutionary way and unregulated, features characteristic for villages located on the German law. They were formed in accordance with environmental conditions and they were well adapted to their local topographic positions. Very often, they were situated on natural clearings in the forests, at the edge of a morainic plateaus, along lakes or streams banks, or on higher flood plain terraces bordering with low cultivated meadows (Chowaniec 1963). Villagers from Ruthenian settlements were obliged to perform many services and were dependent on the feudal owners of their lands. The most common type of rural settlement in that period was the village in form of a cross-road, which consists of two or three linked axes of homesteads (fig. 2).

Next, one can identify multi-road villages, sometimes also referred to as “clustered villages” or “irregularly nucleated villages”. They grew naturally and formed spontaneously (fig. 3). The organic, unplanned villages were character-

ised by irregular form of layout and dispersed field configuration. The homesteads and plots varied in size and dimensions with the outer boundaries of farms not marked very well. The layout of fields in these villages present the chaotic form of blocks and irregular small fields cultivated by rural community according to the two-field system (Wąsowicz 1934, Kryp'iakevych 1984).

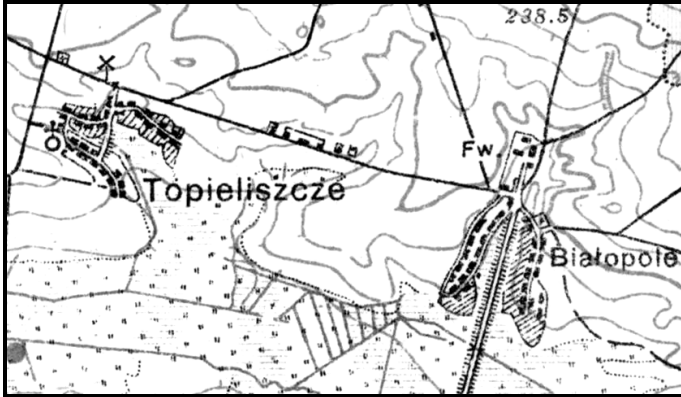


Fig. 2. Examples of cross-road villages southern Volhynia (Topieliszczce and Białopole)  
Source: Military Geographic Institute, Tactical Map, 1926, original scale 1:100000,  
sheet P46 S39 Horochów

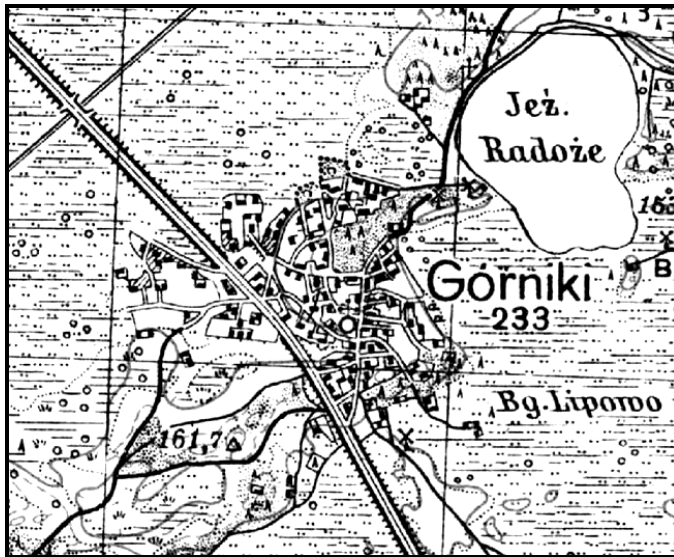


Fig. 3. Example of irregular multi-road village in western Volhynia (village Górniki)  
Source: Military Geographic Institute, Tactical Map, 1931, original scale 1:100000,  
sheet P42 S39 Ratno

In the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, northern Polesia was annexed by the Lithuanian grand duke. After the collapse of the Volhynian-Halych state, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania divided this region between them (Gloger 1903). The whole of Polesia, along with the northern and eastern part of Volhynia became a part of Lithuania, while the southern and western parts of Volhynia came under increasing Polish political and economic influence, owing to king Casimir the Great. From 1519, the Pinsk region belonged to Queen Bona, the wife of the Polish king Sigismund I the Old. She settled it with Polish peasants and petty gentry and made the first major attempt to drain the Polesian marshes (Levkovich 1953, Iakovenko 2000).

In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century one can observe the implementation of the so-called *Wolok* Reform in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (also known as *Valakų reforma* in Lithuanian or *pomiara włóczna* in Polish). The reform was started by Grand Duchess Bona Sforza in her possessions but soon was expanded to lands owned by nobility and ecclesiastical property. The reform increased effectiveness of agriculture. The land was measured, registered in a cadastre, and divided into *voloks* (land unit of about 21 hectares). Villages were rationally planned, founded according to definite principles of village design (Saganovič 2001, Serczyk 2001). Peasant houses were regulated and often moved into linear settlements along single roads. Rows of homesteads formed regular structures of the same size and equal dimensions. The peasants' land was divided into three equal fields to facilitate the three-field system of crop rotation. Each field was then divided into strips (Lithuanian: *rėžius*) and assigned to each peasant (fig. 4).

After the Union of Lublin (1569), Polesia was divided: the northern part remained in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, whereas the southern part was incorporated by Poland. Volhynia formed a province of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a voivodeship. The union accelerated the Polonisation of the administration of Volhynia. During this period, many Poles and Jews settled in this region. In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the noble families who led a continuing struggle against the Tatars, consolidated their privileged positions in society in this area. The flow of Polish nobles and tradesmen into Volhynia increased. That allowed the establishment of large estates of up to a few hundred peasant households. The wealthiest nobles became magnates. One of the most characteristic elements of the geo-political landscape of Volhynia and Polesia was associated with land possessions of Ostrogsky princes and families of Wiśniowiecki, Zbaraski, Zasławski, Korecki, Czartoryski, Czetwertyński and Radziwiłł. One can also observe intensive colonisation of poor gentry and formation of new villages populated by Polish settlers (Aftanazy 1994, Pułaski 2004, Zielińska 1997).

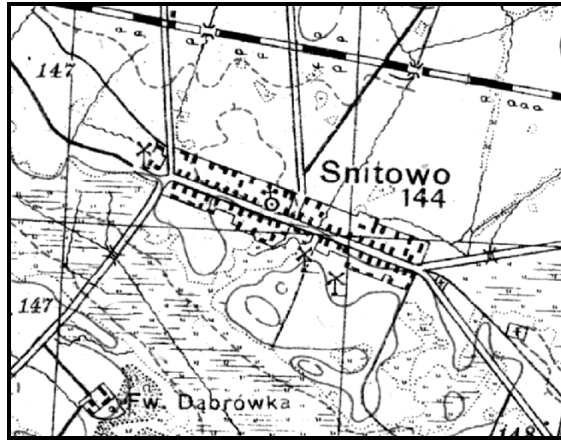


Fig. 4. Example of linear street villages connected with Volok Reform in north-western Polesia (village Snitowo)  
Source: Military Geographic Institute, Tactical Map, 1930, original scale 1:100000, sheet P40 S41 Janów Poleski

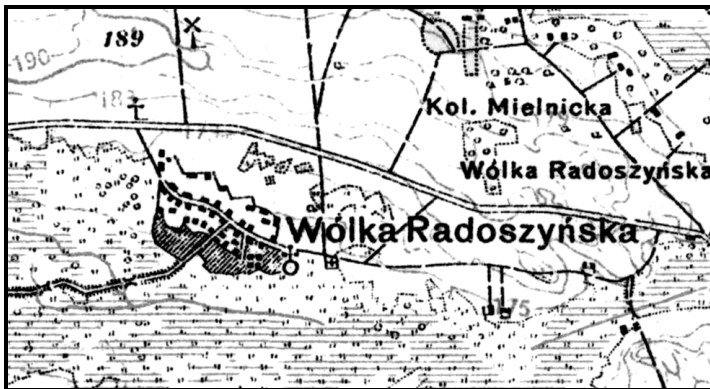


Fig. 5. Example of partially regulated road villages in central and western Volhynia (village Wólka Radoszyńska – today Bajkivtsi)  
Source: Military Geographic Institute, Tactical Map, 1926, original scale 1:100000, sheet P44 S40 Mielnica

The emergence of magnate and noble land properties caused some important changes in the settlement system. Two distinct processes were taking place in this period: the foundation of new villages *in cruda radice* (in uninhabited areas), and the regulation or extension of the already existing villages, when the small settlements were amalgamated into bigger units. This made it possible to introduce the intensive rental economy, connected with the three-field system, and caused a new land measurement. The settlement network was formed in



accordance with the accessibility of existing roads, particularly the important trade routes (Burszta 1958). One of the most popular rural forms in the period was the road village. It was characterised by rows of houses situated along a riverbank or a curved road. A linear settlement was a group of buildings forming a long and narrow shape with no obvious centre, such as a road junction or a patch of greenery. In many cases, one can identify some manor connected with a peasant village. They were partially regulated and connected with the open field system, where each farmer had strips of three different fields (fig. 5).

### 3. SPATIAL LAYOUTS OF VILLAGES FROM THE 19<sup>TH</sup> AND 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL FACTORS

For centuries, most inhabitants of Polesia lived off the forest and wetland resources. A unique pattern of temporary settlements arose in the marshy, forested part of region. Farmers moved there for the spring fieldwork and lived there in primitive shelters. As the population grew, seasonal shelters developed into permanent settlements (Zaborski 1925). In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, one can observe an increase in population density in this region. The settlement consisted primarily of Masurian settlers. They formed spontaneously from small hamlets called *chutor*, a term for an isolated, one-family settlement. They came into existence as a result of deforestation, in clearings. They were strongly connected with early industrial forms of forest exploitation such as pitch-, potash-, and charcoal-making. Dwellings were located further from rivers, on higher, drier grounds (Rühle 1936). These settlements are characterised by dispersed layouts and irregular forms of fields (fig. 6).

After the partitions of Poland, the whole Polesia was incorporated into the Russian Empire. The southern part was assigned to Volhynia governorate, while the northern parts were incorporated into Hrodna governorate. The Polish insurrections in the 19<sup>th</sup> century provoked the Russian government to introduce an anti-Polish Russification policy. Polish nobility in Volhynia lost its political and economic significance, with many losing their possessions to confiscation. Some landlords sold some of their estates and deforested lands to colonists. In terms of enfranchisement of peasants, the land was consolidated and parcelled. About 20,000 Czechs settled in Volhynia (mostly in Dubno and Rivne counties), nearly 100,000 Germans (usually on newly cleared land) in Lutsk and Zhytomyr counties. Most of the German settlers had immigrated from Congress Kingdom of Poland. The first permanent settlement appeared in the first half of the

19<sup>th</sup> century, but significant migration into Volhynia occurred after enfranchisement of peasants. Many landlords were looking for qualified farmers to develop their land but some immigration was also motivated by religious factors (Cichocka-Pietrzycka 1939, Vaculík 1997).

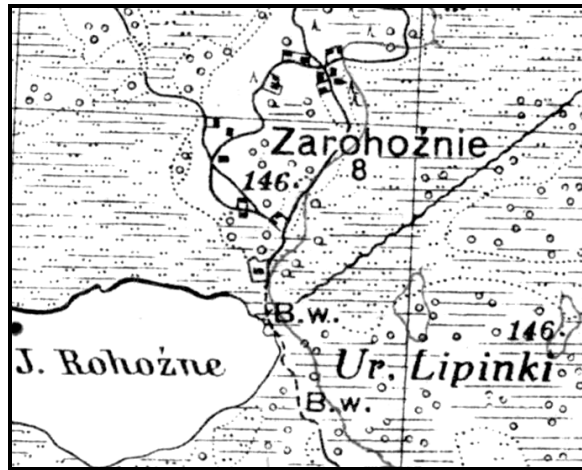


Fig. 6. Example of small irregular hamlet in Pripjat valley in Polesia (village Zarohozne)  
Source: Military Geographic Institute, Tactical Map, 1931, original scale 1:100000,  
sheet P41 S40 Wielka Głusza

First of all, it is possible to distinguish the rural settlements in the morphological form of row villages. They consisted of one or two rows of farmsteads situated side by side along one street. New colonies were mostly regular and densely built-up. Farmland was associated with each dwelling, which had the advantage of saving time and reducing the effort involved in transport (Szulc 1995). The pattern of the fields was arranged in the form of regular, broad strips belonging to separate owners, usually at right angles to the road (fig. 7).

After the end of both wars, the First World War and the Polish-Russian War, Western Polesia and Volhynia were partitioned according to the Peace Treaty of Riga: the eastern part was annexed by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, while the western part became a part of Polish State. During the interwar period, the regions of Polesia and Volhynia formed voivodeships. Taking advantage of the low level of national consciousness among Polishuks, the Polish administration tried to institute a policy of Polonisation by increasing the Polish population in this area. In the interwar period, some 40,000 Poles were resettled to former Russian nobility estates and parcelled government lands. They were mostly military colonists, who bought land in the Eastern Borderlands or got it for free

as a reward. In that type of settlements, one can identify mainly regular scattered hamlets or loose row villages (Tomaszewski 1963, Mędrzecki 1988, Stobniak-Smogorzewska 2003, Kacprzak 2009).

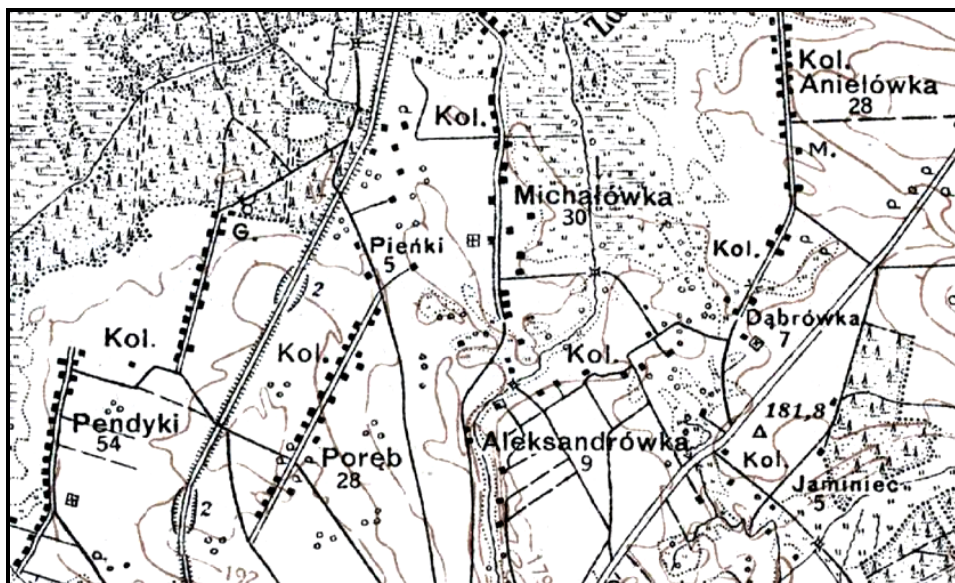


Fig. 7. Examples of Polish and German colonies from 19<sup>th</sup> century in form of row villages in central Volhynia (e.g. Pendyki, Poreb, Anielówka)

Source: Military Geographic Institute, Tactical Map, 1927, original scale 1:100000, sheet P45 S42 Derażne

In September 1939, Western Polesia and Volhynia were occupied by the Soviet Army. After the German invasion in 1941, the political and social situation became very difficult. The Second World War changed the national composition of Volhynia. Most Jews were killed by the Nazis, while most of the German minority was transferred to Polish areas annexed by Germany. The Second World War resulted in the elimination of the Polish population in this region. Most of Polish people in Volhynia were deported or killed in the process of ethnic purges (Filar 1999). After the war, many destroyed villages were rebuilt and resettled, mainly by Ukrainian population (Hryciuk 2005). When the entire region became a part of Soviet Union, collectivisation had a large effect on village layouts and changed the economic and social situation of countryside. As a result of this process, consolidation took place on a large scale and many villages were turned into collective farms (Olszański 1998, Hrycak 2000).

4. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MORPHOGENETIC TYPES OF VILLAGES AND CONCLUSIONS

As a form summary it is worth to discuss the problem of spatial distribution of morphogenetic types of rural settlements in the region of Western Polesia and Volhynia. Thanks to the analysis of historical cartographic sources it was possible to make the map presenting the diversity of villages layouts in the studied region (fig. 8).

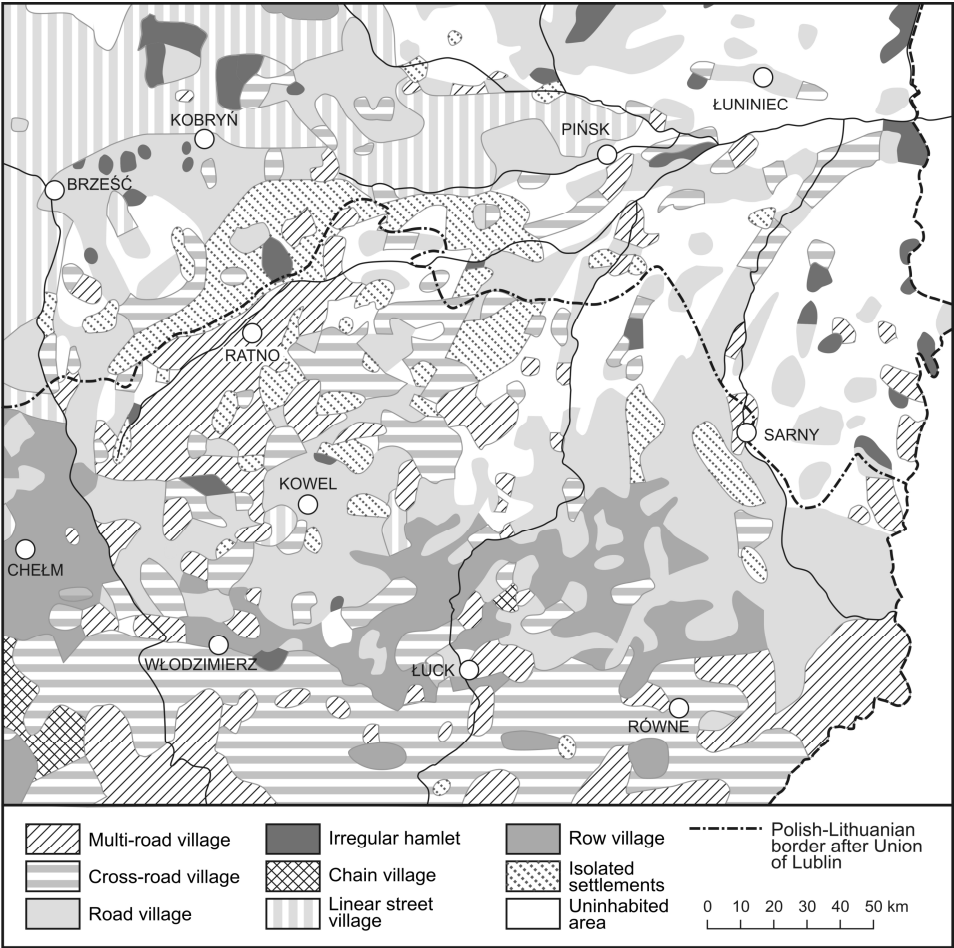


Fig. 8. Spatial distribution of morphogenetic types of rural settlements in Western Polesia and Volhynia  
Source: Zaborski (1926) and own studies

As one can see in the southern part of the researched area, and in the insular form in the northern part of the region, it is possible to observe the predomination of irregular cross-road and multi-road villages, primarily founded on so-called Ruthenian law in the Middle Ages. North of the Polish-Lithuanian border established after Union of Lublin, it is possible to identify a clear cluster of very regular linear street villages founded in Polesia in the process of the *Wolok* Reform from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the central and western parts of Volhynia, one can indicate a large area, where road villages occur as partially regulated rural form connected with the colonisation of the estates of Polish poor gentry and magnates. In the valley of the Pripyat River and its tributaries, it is possible to distinguish an almost homogeneous morphogenetic region which includes the dispersed hamlets called *chutors*, founded in the late Modern Period as a result of the Masurian colonisation of forests and drained marshlands. Finally, the latitudinal belt stretching from Chelm to Rivne (Pol. *Równe*) includes row villages, formed in the process of regulation after the enfranchisement of peasants, or as a result of German and Czech colonisation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as military Polish settlement during the interwar period (see also: Zaborski 1926).

The research made it clear that the development of the rural settlement network and the formation of the spatial arrangement of the villages in eastern Polesia and Volhynia were closely related to changes of political borders. The variable territorial affiliation led to the migration of different national or ethnic groups, that developed their settlements in different historical periods according to different patterns and norms (see also: Koter and Kulesza 2006). This long-term process resulted in a diversified system of rural forms, covering various irregular layouts resulting from chaotic and organic colonisation, as well as regular structures formed in connection with the planned and organised development of settlements.

*English verification by Jarosław Sawiuk*

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## **THE RECEPTION OF THE FIRST LITERARY TEXTS EDITED IN KASHUBIAN LANGUAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SO-CALLED “KASHUBIAN ISSUE”**

The beginnings of literary Kashubian language can be traced back to mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. They are connected with the Spring of Nations, as well as to a specific person – Florian Ceynowa (Bukowski 1950, pp. 19–43; Karnowski 1997; Kuik-Kalinowska, Kalinowski 2009), often called the father of Kashubian literature and Kashubian-Pomeranian regionalism (Borzyszkowski 2011, pp. 31–32)<sup>1</sup>. The ideas of this author were shaped in the environment of University of Wrocław's students and professors, where the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century was the time of intensive research in Slavic languages and cultures. The Slavic idea in the mind of this son of Kashubian peasant from outside of Puck was born among Wrocławian elites. One of the very first Kashubian texts, written at the time by the young doctor from Sławoszyno, was a study *Kile słow wó Kaszebach e jich zemi przez Wójkasena (...).Tudzież rzecz o języku kaszubskim ze zdania sprawy Prajsa* published in 1850 in Krakow in “Biblioteka Warszawska” (1850, vol. IV). Unfortunately, the review of this text was not positive. Its author called Ceynowa a “poorly educated peasant”, who does not know Polish language well but dares to imply that Kashubian dialect can be treated as an independent language. That reviewer claimed that Kashubian language is “provincialism”

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<sup>1</sup> Today, the term “Kashubian literature” is used in three basic variants. Firstly: it means works written only in Kashubian language. Secondly: the works by Kashubians who write not only in their native language, but also in Polish. The third meaning of the term includes both meanings mentioned above, as well as the whole body of literary works by Kashubian and non-Kashubian authors, who discuss subjects connected with Kashubian land and the whole Pomerania; as a result, it may be replaced with the name “Kashubian-Pomeranian literature”.

and he warned against the attempts of creating autonomous literature on the basis of it (Samp 2007, p. 8).

Also in 1850, Ceynowa published *Rozmòwa Pòlôcha z Kaszëbq*, and in 1868 he released *Rozmòwa Kaszëbë z Pòlôchã*. These works were not written in “clean”<sup>2</sup> Kashubian – they are instead Polish-Kashubian dialogues. The interest of the elites of that time did not bring Ceynowa appreciation. The attitude towards the Kashubian language shown by “celebrities” coming to Kashubia was definitely negative. One perfect example is an opinion voiced by Józef Ignacy Kraszewski in newspaper *Kłosy*. The writer mentioned in his letters that, while staying in Gdansk in 1867, he seized an opportunity to listen to “the language of Mr Ceynowa's pupils” (Samp 2007, p. 9). The phrase “language of pupils” was derogatory, as it suggested that Kashubian was a language of a small group of people under the influence of a young Kashubian social activist. Jan Papłoński in *Listy z zagranicy* (*Letters from abroad*) published in *Gazeta Warszawska*<sup>3</sup> wrote about Kashubian language in equally deprecating tone, so did an anonymous author in *Dziennik Poznański*<sup>4</sup>. However, the language forms an ethnic identity and builds a sense of bond with a specific place and people, who live in that area.

The critical ideas expressed by Kraszewski and others about the Kashubian speech were verified by linguistic studies, developing intensively in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>5</sup>. The explorations of Kashubian language and culture coincided with the

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<sup>2</sup> The epithet “clean” with reference to Kashubian language is used here with a reservation. One must consider the fact that Ceynowa's texts were pioneering works and Kashubian spelling was not definitely settled for several decades.

<sup>3</sup> Jan Papłoński wrote that “it would be a funny thing if someone thought about creating Kashubian literature and making a new alphabet or spelling different from Polish [...] We can write about their grammar, their few legends, or proverbs; but Kashubian speech – this is confusing people. Every real Kashubian not only understands Polish, but even reads their Bible only in this language without a translator. So for what reason would someone create something, which is unnecessary for the creators and for the clients? Currently, the whole Kashubian literature begins and ends with Dr Ceynowa” (Samp 2007, p. 9).

<sup>4</sup> In the article (lack of attribution, Kaszuby, *Dziennik Poznański* 1860, 44–46) an unknown author wrote: “The conservation and development of this simple language as an individual dialect is inappropriate. That is because it is not even a dialect and there is no reason for it to stand on its own, as a result: without a foothold, which for Kashubian is Polish speech and literature, it would become wild and finally, near the overbearing Germanism, it would waste away” (Samp 2007, p. 8).

<sup>5</sup> It is worth to remind here an opinion about Kashubian language written by Krzysztof C. Mrongowiusz (Danzig 1823, p. 709), a pastor from Gdańsk, who ascertained, that “Die Kaschubische altpommersche Sprache, eine Schwester der Wendischen”.

so-called “Kashubian issue”. At the same time, researchers also tried to find an answer to the questions: who are the Kashubians and what language do they speak?

Today we speak about Kashubians in categories of national minority. But in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the scientific discourse about Slavic culture and language was still under development, representatives of this nation did not yet have a fully-formed consciousness of their own ethnic and linguistic individuality (Szultka 1991/1992; Szultka 1993; Popowska-Taborska 1997, p. 199; Ramułt 1893). For example, in Krzysztof Mrongowiusz's conclusions concerning Kashubian language – as Stefan Ramułt stated – there were “more precognitions of truth than results of research and reflection” (Ramułt 1893, p. XXXVII). The fact that Kashubians at that time were a community devoid of national identity, was also noticed by Gerard Labuda. The scientist ascertains, that 19<sup>th</sup>-century sources have proven that:

Jest rzeczą zastanawiającą, że większość świadectw o świadomości narodowej Kaszubów pochodzących z II połowy XIX w. zarzuca im albo: daleko posuniętą zależność od kultury niemieckiej, albo całkowity chłód i obojętność w sprawach narodowych (Labuda 1988, p. 240).

[It is a thought-provoking thing, that most evidence about Kashubians' national identity from the second half of the nineteenth century accuse them either of deep dependence on German culture or overall coldness and indifference in matter of nation].

The state of Kashubian lack of national identity changed under the influence of the European Spring of Nations. The fights for national independence became an impulse to action on reviving nations persecuted by invaders. This also applied to the Kashubian nation (Labuda 2001, pp. 244–245). Maybe even to a greater extent than for other representatives of Polish society living in areas of former Republic of Poland, since Kashubians were almost absent from the minds of Poles living in the Congress Kingdom of Poland and in Galicia.

The appearance of Ceynowa had the decisive influence on the interest in Kashubians in the scientific life of that time. It was he who “considered it opportune and important to write in Kashubian language and, furthermore he immediately appeared with the programme of national identity of Kashubians” (Ramułt 1893, p. XXXVIII). He also started a new period in the history of

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Pioneer linguistic works about Kashubian language were written also by: Karl G. Anton (Lusatian), Paweł J. Szafarczyk (Czech), Russian scientists: Piotr Prejs (Petersburg 1840), Aleksander Hilferding (Petersburg 1862) and P. Stremler (Voronež 1873), German, Friedrich Lorentz and Florian Ceynowa.

regional movement in Kashubia. He was a young and active person, fascinated with romantic notions and ideas of searching the sources of national tradition in folk culture. He got involved in the study of Slavic ethnogenesis. He was finding it in folk practices, rituals, in village folklore and communal songs. He started to transcribe and print all those things, which were not of much interest to anyone else. His dream and lifelong credo was to lead Kashubians to their cultural rebirth. He wanted to reach the people, whom he perceived as the foundation of Kashubian identity. That is why he started to write in his own, downtrodden and often disdained language. He was criticising people, who were ashamed of their ancestors' speech. Ceynowa also revealed unknown historical facts and recovered the most glorious pages of Pomeranian Duchy's history. At all cost he desired to inculcate a folk pride in his fellow countrymen (Samp 2007, p. 7).

Ceynowa's ideas, as Stefan Ramułt states, did not get many supporters at that time, as the author himself "was harming them very much by messing with clergy and making enemies around him" (Ramułt 1893, p. XXXVIII). Due to his participation in the memorable Slavic Congress in Moscow (1867), ostracised by all Poles as it took place after the collapse of January Uprising, Ceynowa was dubbed a supporter of Pan-Slavism and agitator in favour of Russia. He was even accused of being an atheist and living immorally (Samp 2007, p. 7). Despite all this, in the end he achieved his goal. The ideas expressed by Ceynowa brought certain ferment into the social views of that time. Thanks to his activities, the Kashubian population woke up from coma, although it did not happen straight away. After the death of the author of first Kashubian books, many decades had to pass before his ideas and the essence of his goal were fully understood. And he aimed for their fulfilment against all difficulties and barriers, which were mostly made by Poles living in the centre of the country. Jerzy Samp noticed, that it was them who made everything to foil the development of Kashubian literature – even when it already existed. It was all because of fear that Kashubians would want to break off from the Motherland (Samp 2007, pp. 8–9).

Today it may seem unbelievable, but in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century this problem was treated as real and achievable. That's why "suspicious" ideas of the doctor from Puck region, who was popularising the national autonomy of Kashubians (in other words – separatism!), were blocked by many methods, sometimes immoral and unethical. There were even such people (among them the already mentioned Józef Ignacy Kraszewski), who proclaimed that Ceynowa made up the Kashubian language.

Poles in 19<sup>th</sup> century were influenced by invader countries. Despite that, they still nurtured their own national traditions and did not surrender to total Germanisation (under Prussian occupation) or Russification (in Tzars' country).

Stanisław Salmonowicz notices, that tragedies that befell the residents of Poland at the time paradoxically contributed to the maintenance of their national identity and to the reclamation of independence. And even though the invaders – especially Prussia and Russia – were suppressing all symptoms of liberation in unrelenting way, the fight for independence continued, technically non-stop (Salmonowicz 1998, pp. 15–28, Borzyszkowski 2002, p. 28). It was supported by the activity of poets, writers and publicists. Literature became a very important tool of shaping the new society. At that time – despite Germanisation and Russification processes – modern national identity and culture underwent huge development.

Kashubians had a special place against the backdrop of 19<sup>th</sup>-century social and historical phenomena. The inhabitants of the region had been there for ages. They lived by the Baltic Sea at the verge of two worlds – Slavic and Germanic. The neighbouring countries – Poland and Germany – competed for influences on this area. In 19<sup>th</sup> century, Kashubians found themselves in one country – Prussia. One important distinctive feature of this community was that for many ages they surrendered to imposed or self-imposed Polonisation or Germanisation. This process applied mostly to the Kashubian gentility. As a consequence, the Kashubian language and the distinctive culture of this region survived almost solely among the so-called people. It was internally very complicated, and there were an outstanding group of prosperous Kashubian farmer (called *gburs*, with property approximate to landed gentry). At that time (as a result of peasants' enfranchisement), they received civil rights and the right to own property and decide about their personal destiny. There was a complicated process of development of a new class and national identity, including regional identity – in the Kashubian area in question (Borzyszkowski 2002, pp. 28–29).

The Kashubian national minority was living in the cultural borderland. Germans treated them as a second-class community (Borzyszkowski 1999). However, this difficult position inspired the idea of autonomy for Kashubia. The original proclaimer of this initiative was the above-mentioned Florian Ceynowa. Even before the edition of his dialogues, he wrote the *Naród Kaszubsko-Słowiański* programme (*The Kashubian-Slavic nation*). It was a peculiar manifest, which started the Kashubian national movement. Ceynowa's political views were specified in the text *Kaszëbi do Pòlôchów*. The initiator of the “Kashubian issue” saw the Slavic-wide rebirth of countries as an elevation for the nation he identified with. Ceynowa introduced Kashubia and Kashubians to the wide area of European scientific explorations, as well as built a foundation for the development of Kashubian literature. However, his work did not become fully fruitful until many years later, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Before Kashubians evolved their sense of ethnic autonomy, they identified themselves with Poles. Such Pro-Polish position was definitely expressed by Hieronim Derdowski, a representative of a generation of young Kashubian activists. He undoubtedly knew Ceynowa's Kashubian books very well, but he was not very devoted to his ideological teacher and did not agree with his radical (nationalistic?) views about Kashubia. Despite this difference in attitude, Derdowski honoured the pioneer and proclaimer of "Kashubian issue" with a poem published in *Warta*. In his canticle, Derdowski included his own ideological programme, which was later articulated in all contemplations about Kashubia – also by speaking about it:

I do dusze sę odezwie brzęk harfe eolsci:  
Ni ma Kaszub bez Polonii a bez Kaszub Polsci!  
(in: Samp 2007, p. 10).

[Let the Aeolian harp speak to the soul by its sound:  
There's no Kashubia without Poland and no Poland without Kashubia!].

Derdowski's love for his Little Homeland pushed him to write in Kashubian. He tried to give a literary form to his fathers' speech. It is worth to remind this fact in the context of the idea of "Little Homelands" and their political and sociological relations with the "Great Homeland", which did not exist on European maps at that time. Jarosz Dyrda, as he called himself (Samp, Gdańsk 2007, p. 27), being under the influence of his Toruń employer Ignacy Danielewski (the editor of *Gazeta Toruńska – Toruń Newspaper* and *Przyjaciel Ludu – People's Friend*) betrayed his predecessor, Florian Ceynowa, who evoked the Kashubian language. The poet, who was representing the second generation of authors writing in Kashubian language, became a disloyal student of the father of Kashubian literature. In the narrative poem *O panu Czorlińskim co do Pucka po sece jachoł* (*About Mr Czorliński who was going to Puck*) he Polonised his ancestors' speech. Moreover, the purport of the text is directly pro-Polish, so in many ways anti-Ceynowa. In the text, we wander with a nobleman, we visit Dąbrowski's house (!) in Kętrzyno (Derdowski 1880, pp. 23–25), in the "Kashubian march" that he sings, we recall P o l i s h history and masters, we see P o l i s h landscapes (Derdowski 1880, pp. 58–60). The subject of the text says about the Żarnowiec area that it is a "sacred Polish land" which is crossed by a "clean Polish stream, Polish water", placed near a "Polish inn" (Derdowski 1880, p. 77). He even converted the legendary Krak (from the legend about Krak and Wanda, who did not want a German) to "Kashubian Krok" (Derdowski 1880, pp. 83–85). In the represented world there are "king Sobjeści's (Sobieski's) marks" (Derdowski 1880, pp. 125–126). There was even a place for Warsaw, the

residents of which questioned the brotherhood between Poles and Kashubians (Derdowski 1880, p. 104–105). The protagonist ruefully intimates, that he and his kinsmen are simply neglected in the capital:

Me Kaszube, jesz strzeżeme Polsci morsciech granic,  
A w Warszawie naszymy braco mają naju za nic (Derdowski 1880, p. 105).

[We, Kashubians, guard Polish sea borders,  
But in Warsaw we are ignored by our brothers].

For the Kashubian man, the contempt and distrust he experienced from his own compatriots had to be something very unpleasant – and this feelings could be even stronger since, while being a Kashubian, he also called himself a Pole. He talks about his national identity with a bar-keeper in Puck, while describing how he was treated in the capital city:

Ciejm z kupcami we Warszawie bewoł tak przed rociem,  
Tej nie chce mnie tam wierzec, że jem jech rodociem. [...]  
I nie chce mnie też wcole podac bratni dłoni,  
A jo z duszą i ze sercem Polok jem, jak oni (Derdowski 1880, p. 105).

[I was staying in Warsaw with merchants and others,  
But they did not want to believe me I am their brother. [...]  
They did not want to shake hands with me at all,  
But I feel Polish with all my heart and soul].

This kind of situation created in *O Panu Czorlińscim...* may be the result of Derdowski's authentic experiences. While travelling, he could observe the citizens' attitude towards Kashubians. He was treating his Little and Great Homeland similarly to the character he had created. He was convinced that the bond between Kashubia and the Great Homeland was inseparable. That is why Czorlin's statement does not raise any doubts. It reveals Derdowski as a Polonophile, who we can identify with the protagonist.

In Kashubian narrative poems, there is a lot of Poland and Polishness. The most significant proof of Derdowski's love for Poland is *Kashubian march*. It is a kind of laudation about the history of Homeland, which contains Kashubia as an inseparable element. This unofficial hymn of Kashubia (which it remained to this day) preaches that ancestors' speech is "Polish speech" and the ancestors' faith is "Polish faith". Saint Stanisław Kostka, mentioned in the text, is a Polish and Kashubian saint at the same time. That anthem portends the glory of Kashubians who were fighting under the leadership of Casimir IV Jagiellon and who battled with Swedes. There is one sequence, repeated as a refrain:

Nigde do zgube  
 Nie przyńdą Kaszube,  
 Marsz, marsz za wrodziem!  
 Me trzymame z Bodziem (Derdowski 1880, pp. 58–60).

[Kashubians will never  
 Lose in any fight.  
 Let's march to the villain!  
 We have God by our side].

Besides, it is not the only text where we can see Derdowski's pro-Polish stance. In 1883, he printed a work entitled *Kaszuba pod Widnem*. In the subtitle, the author specified his intentions for writing it. This literary work was written *For the 200th anniversary of rescuing Christianity from Turkish burden in 1683*. The anniversary of the Battle of Vienna became the reason for praising Kashubians, who were fighting under the leadership of John III Sobieski. The king of Poland is also a king of the Kashubian nation – Derdowski is his devoted serf.

Pro-Polish accents which can be seen in the works of the poet from Wiele can be interpreted as a proof of his feeling that Kashubia and Motherland have an intense bond. The author of Czorliński's story had probably seen himself as a nation-wide writer. He had his “five minutes of fame” among Warsaw's high society after printing his narrative poem. It was commented on by Adolf Nowaczyński in his remembrance about Kashubian author:

W r. 1880 jest Derdowski w Warszawie. Jego „Czorliński” dedykowany Kraszewskiemu, przeczytany przez kilku dobrej woli recenzentów zyskuje sobie kilka ciepłych krytyk. Jego autor, jako osobliwość i curiosum cieszy się dwutygodniową sławą, rozrywany po herbatkach literackich i pokazywany „żywcem” na salonach. Szybko przejadłszy się sukcesem estymy i snobizmem rodaków rzuca się Derdowski w pociąg i ląduje aż w... Petersburgu (Nowaczyński 1922, p. 82).

[In 1880, Derdowski is in Warsaw. His “Czorlinski” dedicated to Kraszewski, after being read by some polite critics got quite warm reception. Its author, as a singularity and curiosity, enjoys his two weeks of fame, being invited to literary afternoon teas and shown “alive” among high classes. After quickly overrating his success and his countrymen's snobbery, Derdowski runs away to the train and lands... in Petersburg].

Nowaczyński's opinion affirms an ambivalent attitude of residents of Warsaw towards Derdowski. He is treated as a “singularity and curiosity”. A term “two weeks of fame” also casts a shadow on the reception of his work. On the other



hand, we have to remember that Poles could not read in Kashubian language. Moreover, Kashubians themselves did not have this ability – as this language, in its written form, did not even exist at that time. The fact that Derdowski was spending his time and had enjoyed his time among high classes for two weeks confirms that he was an open-minded and outgoing man. He was also ready – according to the quote above – to face completely new challenges. He did not end his journey in Petersburg, where he met Wilhelm Bogusławski, who made a great impression on him and filled him with his ideas (Nowaczyński 1922, pp. 82–83). He also visited Cieszyn, Cracow, Lviv and Bytom. He also stayed, for shorter or longer periods, in other cities – Paris (1877–1888), Poznań and Toruń. In 1885, he leaves for North America. He arrived in Chicago, then went to Detroit, Buffalo, New York, then came back to Detroit. He died in 1902 in Winona, Minnesota. It is worth mentioning, that the peregrinations of the Kashubian writer were not dictated only by curiosity about the world. The main reason was his fight with poverty and his search for a better life.

To a certain extent, Mr. Czorliński is similar to Derdowski himself. In the narrative poem, he is presented as a wanderer, who is going to the seaside city of Puck to buy good fishing nets. The protagonist is a fisherman who has attributes typical of the so-called “accurate nobleman”, but he also had some featured associated with a term “fat Kashubian” at the seaside. He drives to Puck in winter with sleigh so he is dressed properly for this time of year (long coat, sheepskin cap, warm gloves, wool socks and long boots). The author describes him as an ageing but still energetic, gigantic man with bright eyes, yellow fuzz, round face and hawk nose covered with snuff. On the one hand, Czorliński is a religious man, on the other hand – he is very superstitious. He can be sensitive but also crude. He is quite smart and shrewd but not well-educated, as he counts on his fingers. He shows respect for old practises. When he treads on Polish land, he kneels and kisses it with worship. He is also a faithful husband and model father. At the same time he can be very outgoing and gallant. He likes to have fun, does not abstain from alcohol and dances very well (Samp 2007, p. 20). He is a character representing a stereotype outreaching Kashubia. Czorliński's behaviour and mentality makes it possible to equate him with a Sarmatian (member of Polish gentry).

Czorliński's travel across Kashubia land is filled with countless adventures. As a result of Jewish<sup>6</sup> enchantment cast by innkeeper Szmul, it lasts from the Advent till Lent (Samp 2007, p. 20). The journey becomes a nearly mythical

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<sup>6</sup> Questions connected with Derdowski's manner of presenting Jews are discussed by: J. Samp (2002, pp. 143–148); A. Boschke-Zielińska (1994, pp. 123–135).

experience. Like Odysseus or the Wandering Jew, the protagonist peregrinates to different locations – starting with Chmielno (where he lives) through Kartuzy, Przodkowo, Kobysewo, Rozłazino, Lębork, the land of Slovinians, Słupsk, Sławno, Dąbrowa, Główny, Charbrowo, Osiek, Wierzchucino, Żarnowiec, Krokowa, Starzyno and Połczyno to Puck. Unfortunately, after he comes to Puck, he does not achieve his goal immediately and he does not buy any fishing nets. With a quirk of fate he sails on a boat to Jastarnia. Instead, he lands in a totally different place – Jelitkowo, which lies in a completely different direction. From there, through Oliwa, Sopot, Gdynia, Pierwoszyno, Mosty, Osłonino and Rzucewo, he comes back to Puck, where he finally buys his dreamed-of fishing nets. He comes back to his family village delighted<sup>7</sup>. This adventurous plot raises the attractiveness of the text and makes readers curious. They are interested with how the story develops and the fate of the main character, who earns sympathy and sometimes provokes a kind-hearted laugh.

The motive of peregrination allowed Derdowski to show the geographic size and beauty of Kashubia. The metaphorical sense of main character's wandering forces us to consider the imagery of his expedition. Jerzy Samp stated that Czorliński's peregrination is a poetic journey "to the sources of regional Kashubian culture, to its roots and identity" (Samp 2007, p. 25). It is also an overall reference to the ideas popularised by Ceynowa. "Grasping" those motives in specific social and political conditions required, as researcher says, an application of symbolical net, which connecting the further and nearer past. The creation of the world based on joyful convention does not make the message of the text any more shallow – for recipients from outside Kashubia it explains elements of Pomeranian myths, for Kashubians – it shows a source of their ethnic identity and teaches them dignity. The reader, who is chasing after the main character, gets to know the history of Pomeranian and Kashubian dukes and the region, about which Czorliński learns from a friar from Wejherowo's convent, and folk catechism, according to which Kashubia is a Holy Land. He also gets to know Kashubian-Pomeranian mythology and demonology dating back to pre-Christian times (Krawiec-Złotkowska 2012, pp. 117–118). It is a huge amount of knowledge about the culture and tradition of this land, assembled in relatively small work, which opens a Kashubian belles-lettres<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> The literary images of Kashubian rural life and relations between the inhabitants are discussed by i.a. T. Linkner (2003, pp. 131–147).

<sup>8</sup> I discussed the problem of Derdowski's poem as the first Kashubian literary work in a study: *Opinie uczonych Lwowa, Krakowa, Torunia (?) i Warszawy o poemacie Hieronima Derdowskiego kamieniem węgielnym w emancypacji literatury kaszubskiej*. The text awaits a review.

Derdowski's narrative poem, written in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was born in a complicated sociological and historical reality. The "Kashubian issue" – varied phenomena connected with creating a Kashubian national movement – absorbed social elites of that time. "The issue" was served by books that promoted the language and culture of this land, written by the father of Kashubian literature. Regrettably, they were treated with great suspicion outside of Kashubia, as the ideas popularised by Ceynowa were interpreted as separatist endeavours. Kashubians also took them with a grain of salt, as their awareness of ethnic autonomy was not yet fully shaped at that time. Everything seemed different when it came to Derdowski's text. The adventurous content of the book about Czorliński could be interesting to the readers. However, its reception was also ambivalent at the beginning. Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, to whom Derdowski dedicated his work, did not react to it at all. Kraszewski not only did not answer the letters from the author of the first Kashubian narrative poem, he did not even thank for the copy of the book he received. On the other hand, there were readers who appreciated the poet's work and officially expressed opinions about it.

The reviews of *O panu Czorlińscim co do Pucka po sece jachół* of interest to us were written by: Józef Tretiak, who published his review in *Gazeta Lwowska* (*Lviv newspaper*) (Bukowski 1950, p. 376), Stefan Ramułt review released in *Tydzień Polski – Polish week* (1880, 1881) and some "Kaszuba", whose opinion was issued in Petersburg's calendar "Gwiazda" – "The Star" (1882, p. 55). The review by this anonymous reviewer is majorly based on Tretiak and Ramułt's opinions. We know when and where it was created, as under the text, next to author's signature, there is such information: "Toruń, in August of 1881". Reviews were positive, in some ways even very complimentary, which had a special meaning in the context of the "Kashubian issue".

Unfortunately, we do not know who "Kaszuba" really was. Pro-Polish orientation which can be seen in his review allows us to pose a hypothesis, that it could be someone who wanted to spread knowledge about this Kashubian narrative poem. The writer elaborates about problematic aspects of the work in the third person – he names Derdowski as "he", "author". He identifies himself he writes with a group contrary to Kashubians – he uses pronouns like "we", "with us". In contrast, when speaking about Kashubians he uses "them". However, in the end he signs it as "Kaszuba"<sup>9</sup> – someone, who was probably interested in Pomeranian matters. He was surely an educated person, a humanist acquainted with philological knowledge, who was writing about current cultural

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<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, this alias isn't noted in *Nowy Korbut* or in other sources known to the author of this study.

and sociological phenomena – and he commented of them in a factual and competent way („Kaszuba” 1882, p. 55). At the same time, he was cautious enough not to reveal his true name, and to sign his positive opinion about this Kashubian poem with an alias. He did that, because it was the time of Kulturkampf, which on Polish lands under the command of Prussia was a combination of anti-Catholic politics and increased Germanisation.

In 1876, Polish language was permanently withdrew from judiciary and offices in the whole area of Prussian occupation. From that moment, German language became official, with serious sanctions for using Polish language. As a result, Prussia operations under Kulturkampf sparked huge resistance, which had an effect – Poles united in a struggle against Germanisation. However, this fight was lead in conspiracy, so writers did not reveal their real names. This is why it is now so hard to decipher who the author of this positive review of *O panu Czorlinscim co do Pucka po sece jachol*, published in Petersburg's calendar, was. Although we can not solve this mystery now, we should emphasise, that it appeared in the literary life of that time. Its goal was probably to solidify the positive opinion about the Kashubian narrative poem. That's why there are so many quotes from Tretiak and Ramułt's reviews, who, writing in Galicia, did not have to hide their true identities and had the right to openly express their judgements – they did not have to be scared of restrictions and sanctions.

The positive reception of Derdowski's work shows the interest in its publication (even in the country's far reaches) by intellectual elite of that time. „Kaszuba”, Tretiak and Ramułt's reviews show us the atmosphere surrounding the publication of the first Kashubian narrative poem. In those reviews, we can feel a breakthrough, when it comes to attitude towards Kashubia. And, despite of the fact that Tretiak said that “Kashubian dialect cannot be treated as an individual language and a small group of Kashubians – as a separate nation”, his overall assessment was very good. This journalist from Lviv (later Jagiellonian University's professor) noticed, that the book written in Kashubian language, about Kashubia and for Kashubian people, is from the beginning to the very end filled with Polish spirit and emphatically shows the connection between Kashubians and Poles:

Książka ta [...] jest jedną z najciekawszych rzeczy, jakie się w ostatnim czasie w naszej literaturze pojawiły. [...] odkrywa ona przed nami zakątek własnego naszego świata, zupełnie nam nieznany a niezmiernie zajmujący [...] jest wcale udaną próbą ludowej epopei, [...] tryska humorem niemal takim szczerym i samorodnym, jaki podziwiamy w Pasku lub Reju. [...] ukazuje nam w p. Derdowskim [...] oryginalny talent, jakiegośmy od dawna nie mieli. („Kaszuba” 1882, p. 50).

[This book [...] is one of the most interesting things that recently showed up in our literature. [...] It reveals before our eyes a piece of our own world, a piece entirely unknown, but exquisitely engaging. It is quite a successful attempt to write a folk epic poem, [...] it is full of humour nearly so sincere and self-generated as we see in Pasek's or Rej's works. [...] it shows us in Mr Derdowski [...] a genuine talent, which we have not had for a very long time].

The opinion of the second critic is also positive. Stefan Ramułt took notice of Derdowski's poetical talent, which can be seen in his creativity. He noticed that the author introduced Kashubian stories and legends into the plot. He portrayed a mythological world and historical events, that Kashubians memorised in their traditions. He stated that this "raw material" had been waiting for many years for the master, who could connect it all. The long-awaited "Kashubian Homer", according to the opinion of this scientist connected with Krakow, came into reality in the person of Jarosz Derdowski:

Z tych kilkudziesięciu stronic o wiele lepiej poznajemy Kaszubów, niż z całych foliałów rękoma etnografów skreślonych. Poeta oprowadza nas wraz z Czorlińskim po całych Kaszubach, ukazuje nam jakby w kalejdoskopie jeden obraz za drugim, przesuając się przed naszymi oczyma wszystkie niemal typy, jakie tylko w krainie tej napotkać można, poczynając od chłopów kaszubskich; a skończywszy na Niemcach i Żydach. Dzieło czyta się z jednakową przyjemnością od początku do końca („Kaszuba” 1882, p. 51).

[From those several dozen of pages we get to know Kashubians much better than from all ethnographers' works. The poet guides us, along with Czorliński, across the whole Kashubia, shows us, not unlike a kaleidoscope, pictures one after the other, before our eyes we can see almost every type we can meet in this land, starting with Kashubian peasants to Germans and Jews. This work is very enjoyable to read from the beginning to the end].

The review of Derdowski's "piękny utwór"<sup>10</sup> ("beautiful piece"), which was written by "Kaszuba", is also penned in the laudatory convention. In his opinion, Czorliński's travel is a kind of Ulysses-like wander far from home. From this description, according to "Kaszuba", arose a true Kashubian Odyssey („Kaszuba” 1882, pp. 51–52).

The reviewers mentioned above gave Derdowski a significance of a poet. By praising his talent, they contributed to the positive assessment of the author and his narrative poem. In the perspective of the discourse about Kashubians, in the

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<sup>10</sup> It is an evaluative term of Derdowski's poem, which was used by anonymous reviewer ("Kaszuba" 1882, p. 50).

period of intensified Germanisation and the birth of Kashubian national movement, the laudation of a person writing in Kashubian language and the work published in it was a key moment in the history of Kashubians and the development of their literature. True, *O panu Czorlińscim co do Pucka po sece jachol* got initially attracted the interest of social elites alone. In the context of the “Kashubian issue” it was equivocal. Written Kashubian language posed another problem. Before Ceynowa, it existed only in speech, and Derdowski Polonised it in his works. Not only common Kashubians, but even well-educated people could not read in Kashubian. Priests thought and spoke in Polish. Generally, people wanted to restrain the formation of a separate nation. Kashubian language was depreciated in public opinion. Maybe that is why the critic from Toruń ends his review with a reflection, that probably it will never be possible for Kashubians “to read only Kashubian books”. The author of the text published in Petersburg's “Gwiazda” thought that representatives of the Kashubian community would prefer to “become completely equal with us [Poles – K.K.-Z.]”:

Mówią pacierz po polsku, t. j. starają się wymawiać jak najczyściej wedle książkowego języka, nie mają osobnych książek do nabożeństwa, oprócz tych, które ma cała Polska, i tak też prawią u nich księżą z ambon. Co większa, mieliby to sobie za ujmę i niejakię podrzeźnianie, gdyby ksiądz w kościele po kaszubsku miał wymawiać („Kaszuba” 1882, p. 55)<sup>11</sup>.

[They pray in Polish, they try to speak as cleanly as possible according to book language, they do not have separate prayer books, except those which all people in Poland have, and priests speak the same way at their pulpits. Moreover, they would take it as discredit and imitation, if priest would speak in Kashubian language in the church].

According to the critic, doctor Ceynowa's books and “the epic about Mr Czorliński” were very coldly accepted by Kashubian nation, as “simpletons” thought that authors wrote only to mock Kashubian speech. An anonymous reviewer, speaking about works by the poet from Wiele, did not notice the distinctiveness of Kashubian language. He surely equated it with Polish (weeded out by Prussian authorities at the time of making the poem), because he wrote about creating “a new, humorous P o l i s h epic”.

<sup>11</sup> Similar “reservation” was even formulated by Derdowski himself, who, knowing the attitude of Polish “enlightened” journalists towards texts written in Kashubian language, wrote at the start of his career (*Pisma proza* 1939, p. 41): „Probably Kashubians will never be able to read only Kashubian books, they read Polish newspapers, they pray and sing from Polish books in the church and they understand everything well, so they do not need Kashubian books”. See also: J. Samp (2007, p. 11).

The third generation of writing Kashubians referred to Derdowski's poem more consciously and without any great enthusiasm. It can be explained by the fact, that it was that generation of Young Kashubians, who were very similar to representatives of Young Poland. Writers active in the late 1800s and early 1900s, treated the 19<sup>th</sup> century's literature and tradition very critically. They were often in decadent and nihilistic mood. So they judged Derdowski's adventurous work from this perspective.

Young Kashubian Society was formed on August 22, 1912 in Gdańsk. It brought together activists from the magazine *Gryf* which was created in 1908. Their main goal, as we read in the Society's statute, was to "work on raising Pomeranian Kashubians in cultural, political and economical way" (Borzyszkowski 2002, p. 359). Young social activists adapted doctor Ceynowa's ideas to their age. They resigned from Pan-Slavism. At first, they popularised a credo: "what is Kashubian, is Polish", because they decided that they would implement some Kashubian elements into countrywide culture (Majkowski 1909, p. 192). But, with the passing of time, their affinity for Poland started to change. In the end, they started to come back to Ceynowa's ideas and put them into action, especially the concept of Kashubian autonomy. The group was led by Aleksander Majkowski, the author of the novel *Žécé i przigòdë Remusa* (*The life and adventures of Remus*), which is called a Kashubian epic. At the time of the First World War, he made his attitude toward Kashubia more specific. It differed from his youthful opinions – when he proclaimed the blood relation between Polish and Kashubian culture. In his diary, he emphasised the differences between Kashubian and Polish nations:

Pod względem naukowym, językowym i etnograficznym nie podlega wątpliwości, że język dzisiejszych [...] Kaszubów jest językiem odrębnym i dlatego nie są oni Polakami, lecz tworzą szczególne plemię (Majkowski 2000, p. 75)<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> The views of the author of Kashubian epic concerning the Kashubian ethnic individuality were completely formed under the influence of politicians of Poland reborn in 1918. Some of Kashubian areas became a part of Poland. However, the Second Republic of Poland did not promote national minorities, and thoughts about Kashubians' ethnic difference were treated like separatist and dangerous ideas. Majkowski evaluated this policy in this way: "Germans needed 800–900 years to conquer the coast of the Baltic Sea. We can keep Kashubians in serfdom as Prussians did, we can even force them to take part in state festivities, but they are not that naïve to give their souls and hearts for appearances and promises. To break them and treat as ethnographic litter is a delusion, as they are very cohesive because of that bondage and experienced like the Jewish race. And to destroy them, in my opinion, would be not good for Poland, which has the best Baltic security guards in them". See: J. Kutta (1991, no. 1–2, p. 14). The

[In terms of science, language and ethnography there is no doubt, that the language of today's [...] Kashubians is a separate language and that is why they are not Poles, they form a particular tribe].

The creation of a separate sovereignty for Kashubians in the historical process was, unfortunately, quickly interrupted. As a result, the natural process of arising the Kashubian nation (Pomeranian) was aborted. West-Pomeranian country reigned by ducal dynasty of Griffits (under many influences) survived since the Middle Ages to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with its population regrettably quickly surrendering to Germanisation. However, in Gdansk Pomerania, which was independent only in Middle Ages (and only for about one century), the native language of this land survived. This historical processes was impacted by religion and denomination – Protestantism dominated in Western Pomerania, while Kashubia remained faithful to the Catholic Church, which was equated with liturgy in Polish language. The activities of Young Kashubians were aimed at the rebirth of historic Kashubia – their spiritual Homeland, spanning the whole area of Pomerania from Baltic Sea to Noteć river, along lower Odra and Vistula (Borzyszkowski 2000, p. 33). That is the tradition which the representatives of local intelligentsia referred to in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to this community, the last Slavs at the southern coast of Baltic Sea – as Kashubians were referred to at that time – were awoken from lethargy over several dozens of years and started their new way to national rebirth.

To sum up our considerations, we should stress that Hieronim Derdowski's poetical work, which initiates Kashubian's belles-lettres, stands on the border of two worlds – Kashubian, which existed in spoken lore, and the works in Kashubian language that started to develop in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Critical attitude towards Florian Ceynowa and his Kashubian books, Derdowski's works and their positive reviews, that appeared not only in native Pomerania, but also far away from where the piece was written, “in far from Kashubia – and great – capitals”, as Zbigniew Zielonka states (Zielonka 2006, p. 291), or later actions of Young Kashubians, especially the appearance of Majkowski's text on publishing market, caught the attention of elites of that time. In the

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words of Young Kashubians' leader addressed to Czech Slavist Antonin Frinta can be a good addendum to the above observations: “Due to the reigning attitudes which made a great revolution after war in Kashubians' opinions, there is a huge antagonism between Kashubians and Poles [...] As a result of persecution of Kashubians, a national movement was formed, expressed by the “Zrzesz” newspaper persecuted by Poles as Germans persecuted us in our darkest times. [...] Considering the Germans, an open fight with Polishness is not beneficial in my opinion, but it will be necessary, until we find some kind of compromise” (Szymikowski 2006, pp. 43–45).



context of the “Kashubian issue” the reception of Kashubian texts and their authors' assessment was very essential. They shaped public opinion. The ambivalent attitude towards Kashubia and Kashubians, expressed by other inhabitants of Poland, could be explained with fear of separation of this region. On the other hand, the reasons were probably not always patriotic. For example, it is hard to explain Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's lack of reaction to the letters he received from Derdowski. He did not answer any of them and did not thank for the copy of *O panu Czorlińskim...*, however at the same time he applauded the text of other poet, priest Norbert Bonczyk (*Stary kościół miechowski – Old miechowski church*), who – similarly to Derdowski – was also writing far from Warsaw (Zielonka 2006, pp. 253–293).

It is important to mention that, when the Kashubian national movement was rising (in protest against political consolidation and cultural assimilation imposed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Prussia), texts printed in Kashubian language were hugely meaningful. They contributed to the development of written Kashubian language, made an impact on shaping the ethnic consciousness and helped to protect the identity of Kashubian people. After all, language used, thought in and spoken by a nation is the foundation of its identity. Kashubian literature played its role in fighting for subjectivity on the German-Polish border. This is especially true for Derdowski's poem, read by people who start their own adventure with Kashubian literature to this day. Reading this book, as Jerzy Samp states, is kind of an initiation in preparation for the reception of other Kashubian works, like Aleksander Majkowski's Kashubian epic *Žēcé i przigòdë Remusa* (Linkner 1999, Samp 2007, p. 27). In the end, Young Kashubians' ideas did not take a permanent hold in the consciousness of this nation. It can be told, that it was Derdowski's idea, not Ceynowa's, that won in the end. Modern Kashubians consider themselves as Kashubians and Poles at the same time. This view is described perfectly by the poet from Wiele's motto: “There's no Kashubia without Poland and no Poland without Kashubia!”.

*English verification by Jarosław Sawiuk*

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## **ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE TRANSFORMATION IN POLAND'S SELECTED BORDER AREAS**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The title of this publication contains a few hints that disclose the aim of the conducted study. Firstly, this paper appeared among other international publications, and the conducted analysis involved research tours to border territories. This article discusses a wide array of spatial economy aspects that fall into the scope of economic issues heavily-reliant on political decisions. With regard to those, we go back to the early 1990s when – as a result of some breakthrough political decisions – Polish economy begun to undergo transformation, followed by the era of European integration. This combination of factors has had some noticeable economic consequences for Poland. Economic issues are crucial for the analysis of the unique character of borderlands, including their population status, national and spiritual identity of their inhabitants, or trans-border migrations. All of those issues are incorporated within the sustainable socio-economic development strategy.

One of the goals of each country's economic policy is to form a well-balanced labour market. The process of transformation unveiled the scale of imbalance in that market that had remained well-concealed during the period of centrally-planned economy (Szyłko-Skoczny 2004). The extent of that imbalance, however, differed significantly depending on location. Thus, a research question arises of whether location near national borders affects the scale of that imbalance as measured by the unemployment rate in the region.

A key goal of any country's social and economic policy is also to raise the level of development and to improve the standard of living across the society. In very simplistic terms, we could thus claim that changes in the level of develop-

ment can be measured through the application of economic indicators. One of those would be the value of GDP contributed by one citizen. Values obtained for that measure vary significantly across different locations.

This study will, therefore, present two issues in a more general context of demographics in selected areas; differences between local labour markets across border areas measured by unemployment rate, and levels of socio-economic development measured by the GDP *per capita*. The planned scale of this study does not allow for a broader analysis of those issues, which is why the research is limited to a selected fragment of border area along Poland's western border.

## **2. BORDER AND BORDER AREAS – BASIC TERMINOLOGY<sup>1</sup>**

A border can and should be defined primarily from the perspective of international laws. It is a line separating a territory subject to one sovereign state from a territory subject to another sovereign state, or from an area that does not fall under any jurisdiction (Skubiszewski 1975). Such a definition of a border makes it also easier to form a definition of a borderland.

A borderland is an area near the country's border. The Polish Legal Act on Border Protection<sup>2</sup> lists terms such as “country border”, “border road”, and “border zone”. The last two terms are collectively described by a broader term – “borderland”. Therefore, it can refer to a peripheral area, along a border of a country or of a region (Heffner 1998). Its peculiar location can result in such region's considerable ethnic and cultural diversity<sup>3</sup>.

A borderland can also be defined as an area that accommodates at least two socio-cultural qualities (Trosiak 1999). Such definition of a borderland refers to an area inhabited by at least two ethnic and cultural groups. Due to unlimited contact and intermingling of cultures, a borderland often becomes a transitional area that forms a bridge between different cultural values of separate societies. It was especially true in the past, but the opening of the borders in the united Europe facilitates that process even today, as demonstrated in selected examples,

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<sup>1</sup> Parts of this publication come from an earlier, broader study by the same author. They were, however, changed, complemented and updated. Besides, they have not been previously published in English. Compare: A. Rączaszek (2001).

<sup>2</sup> Polish Legal Act of 12 October 1990 on National Border Protection, Polish Journal of Legal Acts 1990, Issue 78, item 461,

<sup>3</sup> *Informacyjno-infrastrukturalne uwarunkowania...* (1996, p. 24).

which does not mean that it does not create any issues, as exemplified by the questions arising in relation to the influx of refugees over the past several months.

Development of neighbour relations resulting from sharing the same borderland living area for many generations calls for acceptance of both old traditional values and the newly emerged values brought by modern forms of cohabiting among the borderland communities (Molendowski and Ratajczak 1998).

Based on the definitions proposed above, borderland can be ultimately defined as an area adjacent to a national border, together with its local community and governing bodies. It is a spatial entity, not necessarily situated within specified territorial borders<sup>4</sup>, but equipped with strong and diverse trans-border functional ties (Nowińska 1997). It is worth noting that such a definition of the subject of this study differs from definitions devised for similar territorial units, which are referred to as *regions*. According to Z. Chojnicki (1998), we should differentiate between border regions or borderlands (within the boundaries of one country) and trans-border or cross-border regions (situated on both sides of a border). The author of this study makes a conscious choice to limit the analysis to the description of border areas, as they form a part of Polish territory along all of its borders that cannot be collectively referred to as a region. In this article, however, we could resort to the term “borderland”, as the analysis focuses only on the territory of Poland along its western border.

### 3. TERRITORIAL UNIT AS A BORDER AREA

The 1998 administrative reform implemented by Jerzy Buzek's administration following long-lasting disputes and discussions eventually divided the country into 16 voivodeships (Polish: *województwo*), or – in European terminology – regions. That division makes it possible to select a narrow belt of borderland which can be discussed in more detail. The basic territorial unit under that administrative division is a *powiat*, at least after 1999 – the year that entity was created. *Powiat* as a territorial unit is small enough to experience a strong influence of border proximity.

This is also the reason why the latter part of the aforementioned study conducted in the past (Rączaszek 2001) included a comparison between all afore-selected border areas. Those included – in the period of territorial division

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<sup>4</sup> For comparison see the question of subregions that appear further in this study.

into 17 voivodeships – *powiats* until 1975, and then a strip of two *gminas* during the period of 1975–1998. *Gmina* as a country's territorial unit was introduced by a legal act passed in 1972<sup>5</sup>. As of 1999, *powiat* has been reintroduced as a territorial unit<sup>6</sup>, with some *powiats* classified as borderland *powiats*.

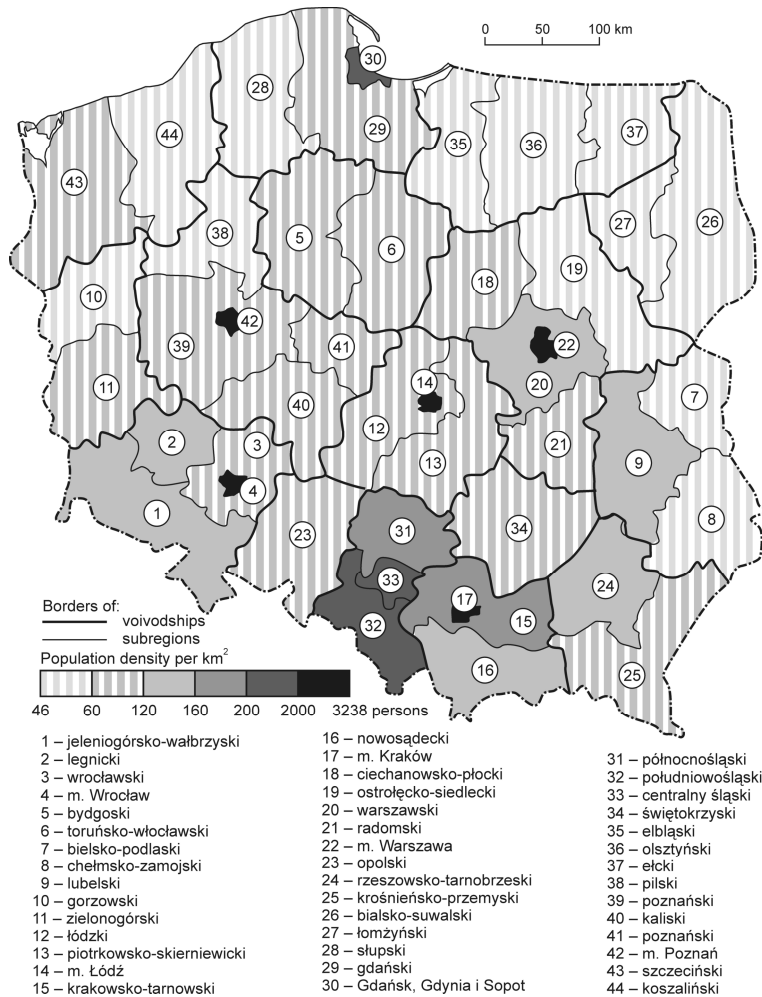


Fig. 1. Subregions in Poland in 2000

Source: based on Statistical Yearbook of Poland (2001)

<sup>5</sup> The Polish Legal Act of 29 November 1972 on the Formation of Gminas and a Change in the Legal Act on National Councils. Polish Journal of Legal Acts 1972, Issue 49, item 312.

<sup>6</sup> The Polish Legal Act of 24 July 1998 on Introduction of Basic Three-tier Territorial Division of the Country. Polish Journal of Legal Acts 1998, Issue 96, item 603.



One should add that a city with *powiat* rights may also be treated as a border *powiat*, even if it is not adjacent to the border, provided there is a rural *powiat* of the same name that falls under its auspices and is situated by the national border. There are also other exceptions, where a *powiat* can be treated as a border *powiat*, even though it is not situated directly alongside the border. The same rule applies to subregions<sup>7</sup>, introduced for the first time in 2000 and presented in figure 1.

The above perspective results in a rule that was adopted and followed in this study. Territorial division units classified as border areas are local level units – *gminas*, *powiats*, or subregions. Only in few cases, regional level units (voivodeships), which could also be treated as border subregions, were included in the analysis as border areas (Mierosławska 2001). This may be the case for the period of 1975–1998, when the voivodeships were smaller. In practice, to make the data sets clearer, in later periods the analysis employs subregions treating them as border areas.

#### 4. THE ISSUE OF NATIONAL MINORITIES AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN POLAND

The spatial span of the border areas described above, according to various classifications, is strictly related to inherent issues that prevail in those territories such as – described from many angles in literature – the issue of national minorities (Tomaszewski 1991). This issue is nearly nonexistent in the Polish-German borderland, due to the outcomes of the Yalta Conference which lead to the German population being resettled from that territory after the Second World War (Ślusarczyk 1992). Currently, there are no dense populations of people of German descent inhabiting areas alongside Poland's border with Germany. At the same time, Germans remain the largest minority group in Poland nowadays (Rauziński 1999). Or at least so suggest the member lists of national and ethnic associations in Poland. Census results, however, may reveal different data.

The situation is different in other borderlands, except for the artificially created Polish-Russian border. The largest concentration of Lithuanians in Poland inhabits the area in Suwalszczyzna, near the border with Lithuania. A concen-

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<sup>7</sup> The Polish version of Nomenclature of Territorial Unites for Statistical Purposes (Polish: NTS) is based on the *Nomenclature of Territorial Unites for Statistics* (NUTS) adopted by the European Union states. NTS was introduced in a Regulation of the Council of Ministers of 13 July 2000. Polish Journal of Legal Acts Issue 58, item 685.

trated settlement of Belorussians can be found in Podlasie. The Slovak population lives in the Polish part of Spiš and Orava. No other national minority groups form concentrated communities in border areas. They are often dispersed across the country, and some (Ukrainians, Lemkos) can be found mostly in the Regained Territories.

Focusing back on the western borderland, it is worth analysing what population we are dealing with here. The aforementioned resettlement of Germans was followed by repatriation of Poles. The Regained Territories, nearly deserted after the resettlement, were soon repopulated by those of predominantly Polish ethnicity. There are some aspects, mentioned later in the study, that call for this issue to be brought up.

The repatriates that were placed on Regained Territories, including the western borderland, came from the Eastern Borderlands (Kresy Wschodnie) of Poland. That territory, as of 17 September 1939, fell – as it turned out, for good – under Soviet and then Russian control<sup>8</sup>. The occupied territories, apart from accidental, even if numerous, the Second World War victims, also witnessed a wide-scope action that was nothing short of a genocide. First, Soviet authorities sentenced Polish landowners and intelligence to annihilation by sending them to labour camps. Then, there were the victims of German occupation, and last, especially in the central Eastern Borderlands – the victims of the Volhynian massacre. Due to such “sorting” of the Eastern Borderlands population, there were not many people eligible for repatriation, and those who came mostly from rural areas and small towns with Polish as mother tongue and Catholic faith being repatriation criteria that enabled them to declare Polish nationality. Those were the repatriates who formed the community inhabiting Polish western borderland after 1945.

In a foreign land and dispersed but always faithful to their customs and traditions, those people or more accurately – their children and grandchildren brought up by the repatriates – were transformed into an open and cosmopolitan society. To support these claims, let us look at some examples.

In traditional and religious societies, and Poland is generally perceived as such especially when it comes to Poles who come from the Eastern Borderlands, procreation normally occurs in a marriage. Figure 2 shows the data for the mid-1990s and the effect of attitudes formation during the Polish People's Republic era.

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<sup>8</sup> Currently, those territories belong to sovereign states of Ukraine, Belorussia and Lithuania that emerged after the dissolution of the USSR.

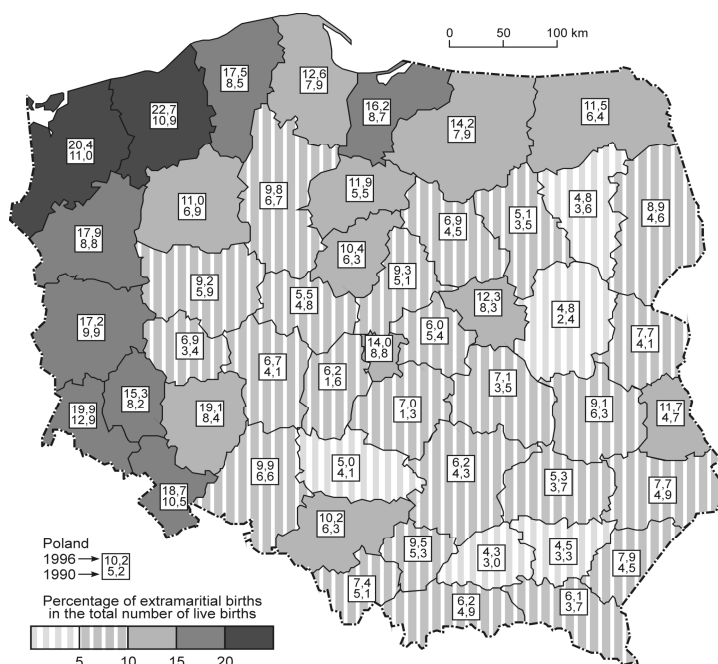


Fig. 2. Births outside wedlock by voivodeship in 1996

Source: based on *Sytuacja demograficzna...* (1999)

In the last years of Poland's territorial division into 49 voivodeships, the analysed measure shows the highest values for a concentrated strip of voivodeships situated on the Regained Territories, which does not seem to match the Eastern repatriates' worldview as described earlier in this study.

Another significant attitude indicator of communities across Polish regions was a vote for Poland's joining of the European Union cast during a referendum carried out on 7 and 8 June 2003 (fig. 3).

In general, the further west, the higher the percentage of those supporting Poland's membership in the European Union. Looking from a different angle, there is a definite support for the accession in regions that encompass the Regained Territories. Both examples show that people who were torn out of their small homeland many years back are becoming increasingly open-minded and cosmopolitan from generation to generation. It may be an important premise with regard to the issue of refugee integration that has been in focus in the era of the 2016 migrant crisis in Europe.

The third example may differ from the previous two, but it is still worth looking at. In the area nearly as compact as the one analysed above – north, west, south – Aleksander Kwaśniewski won the presidential elections. The

centre and the east voted for Lech Wałęsa. That area, which belonged to Poland during the inter-war period, may demonstrate a higher level of patriotism fuelled by the tragic experience of the Second World War. The societies of the Regained Territories are more liberal, but also more open, which does not need to have negative connotations.

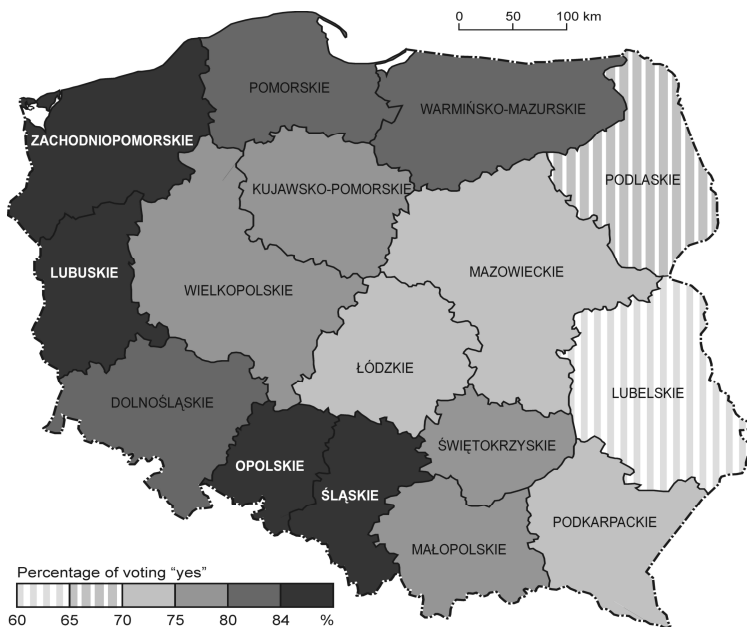


Fig. 3. European referendum in Poland in 2003

Source: based on [http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Referendum\\_w\\_Polsce\\_w\\_2003\\_roku](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Referendum_w_Polsce_w_2003_roku)

Interestingly, the distribution of presidential votes was similar in 2005. The Regained Territories and the thrifty Wielkopolska (formerly occupied by Prussia) voted for Donald Tusk. The patriotic spirit of former Galicia and what used to be the Kingdom of Poland, however, granted the victory to Lech Kaczyński.

Votes cast in the early presidential elections of 2010 followed an identical pattern. That time, however, it was the Regained Territories together with Wielkopolska that granted Bronisław Komorowski his victory. The presidential elections of 2015, similarly to those in 2005 and with identical vote distribution across the regions, have been won by the right-wing candidate – Andrzej Duda.

The above examples suggest that there is a deep divide in the Polish society and the views of two major areas of the country point to historic roots. It is thus

even more surprising that the descendants of repatriates from the Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic hold views drastically different to those expressed by the people living in Galicia and the former Kingdom of Poland.

This political thread shall end here. The remaining part of the study points to economic conditions experienced by the societies of the western borderland whose members expressed their worldviews with great consequence throughout the transformation period.

## **5. THE ECONOMY OF THE WESTERN BORDERLAND**

We already mentioned at the beginning of this study that the economy of the western borderland would be assessed through an analysis of GDP *per capita* and unemployment rate. We will, thus, analyse conditions of local development across the western borderland, which, as stated previously, is inhabited by a specific population. Quite some time ago, Edward Rosset described the process of repopulation of the Regained Territories as a great social experiment that, according to that exceptional Polish demographer, yielded unexpectedly good results (Rosset 1975). The society that emerged in the western borderland turned the proximity of the western border and the detachment from the eastern heritage into an advantage that was reflected also by functioning in the market-based economy.

The first table presents the aforementioned two indicators of economic situation in the broadly defined western borderland. Selection of such an area for analysis results from the fact that the analysis refers to the year 1998, when small voivodeships still existed with population counts of 0.5–1 million and areas of 5–10 km<sup>2</sup>. Four of them were adjacent to the western boarder and they all recorded a different level of economic development. Only the former Szczecińskie Voivodeship recorded a GDP *per capita* higher than the Polish national average, with voivodeships Gorzowskie, Zielonogórskie and Jeleniogórskie all falling into a considerably less developed category. With regard to unemployment rate, the situation in Szczecińskie Voivodeship was just slightly better than the national average, while situations in the remaining voivodeships was significantly worse, especially in Jeleniogórskie Voivodeship. That was the situation in the western borderlands less than a decade after the transformation process begun (tab. 1).

Table 1. Western border voivodeships in 1998

Voivodship	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Population in thousands	GDP in PLN <i>per capita</i>	Unemployment in %
Szczecińskie	9,982	995.2	13,124	10.0
Gorzowskie	8,484	514.3	9,974	12.8
Zielonogórskie	8,868	679.3	10,799	13.7
Jeleniogórskie	4,379	523.1	10,696	15.9
Poland	312,685	38,667.0	12,144	10.4

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Poland* (1999).

The second table shows data for the identical two measures of the socio-economic situation one year after Poland joined the European Union. First of all, one must notice that the border area in this case is different. After 1999, Poland was divided into new, large voivodeships. Therefore, to identify the borderland we had to adopt new territorial units, not specified in the territorial division act. Under the Regulation of the Council of Ministers of 2000, the so called subregions were created for the purposes of statistical comparison within the EU. In 2004, there were 45 subregions, four of which were adjacent to the western border, as presented in table 2. Their names are similar to those of the former (pre-1999) voivodeships, but areas and population counts are completely different. The surface areas of subregions vary between 6,000–12,000 km<sup>2</sup>, and their populations range from 380,000–1,300,000. Thus, the subregions created in 2004 were definitely less homogeneous than the old voivodeships.

Table 2. Western border subregions in 2004

Subregion	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Population in thousands	GDP in PLN <i>per capita</i>	Unemployment in %
Szczeciński	12,492	1,101.3	21,753	25.0
Gorzowski	6,112	381.3	18,748	24.3
Zielonogórski	7,877	627.9	18,183	26.4
Jeleniogórsko-Wałbrzyski	10,371	1,321.6	17,576	28.3
Poland	312,685	38,173.8	21,366	19.0

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Poland* (2005).

With regard to GDP, Szczeciński Subregion was still in the lead, scoring slightly above the national average. The once weakest Gorzowskie Voivodeship became the second best as Gorzowski Subregion of 2004. Still, apart from Szczeciński Subregion, the differences are negligible.

The labour market situation was generally bad, with the national average unemployment rate of 19%, and those values for all the western borderland subregions were among the highest in the country, even exceeding 28% in Jeleniogórsko-Wałbrzyski Subregion.

The next table presents the situation several years after the European integration, when its results became most apparent (Rączaszek 2004, tab. 3). First, however, we should discuss the analysed territory.

Table 3. Western border subregions in 2008

Subregion	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Population in thousands	GDP in PLN <i>per capita</i>	Unemployment in %
Szczecin	301	406.9	39,558	4.3
Szczeciński	5,351	319.3	27,000	15.4
Stargardzki	6,838	375.1	19,780	18.2
Gorzowski	6,113	382.0	27,202	10.4
Zielonogórski	7,875	626.9	27,440	13.8
Jeleniogórski	5,571	578.3	23,988	13.9
Poland	312,679	38,135.9	30,873	9.5

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Poland* (2009).

This time the list contains six western borderland subregions. Whereas the subregions of Gorzowski and Zielonogórski remained within borders similar to those adopted in 2004, Jeleniogórski Subregion separated from Wałbrzyski Subregion, with Szczeciński Subregion undergoing the most noticeable changes. The city of Szczecin (300 km<sup>2</sup> and 400,000 citizens) became a subregion, with separate subregions of Szczeciński and in the South-East – Stargardzki with a narrow border access. Those two are among the least populated, with citizen counts of over 300,000.

We are, however, more interested in the level of economic development. The separation of Szczecin – quite a large city by Polish standards – meant that the GDP *per capita* for this subregion was quite high, reaching nearly PLN 40,000, which is nearly 1/3 more than the national average. If we look at the unemployment rate, with the national average below 10%, the subregion of Szczecin city

records values close to a frictional level, so barely relevant (Rysz-Kowalczyk 2001). In the remaining subregions the situation varied significantly, being considerably good in Gorzowski Subregion when it came to labour market, and worst in Stargardzki Subregion – both with regard to wealth and to the labour market situation.



Fig. 4. Subregions in 2014

Source: based on *Statistical Yearbook of Voivodeships* (2015)

The last table 4 shows the most recent data obtained in 2014. Yet again, the subregions' territorial borders were changed<sup>9</sup>. The biggest change was the separation of Szczecinecko-Pyrzycki Subregion, stretching along the west-east axis,

<sup>9</sup> The NTS count has changed numerous times. The last update, which identified 72 subregions and came into force as of 1 January 2015, was introduced through the Regulation of the Council of Ministers of 3 December 2014 (Polish Journal of Legal Acts 2014, item 1992).



with access to a short section of the border. However, having decided to select this territorial unit for analysis, we need to include it in the study. In this case, border *powiats* could not be analysed as the Central Statistical Office does not publish their individual GDP levels, just the value of industrial products sold.

Table 4. Western border subregions in 2014

Subregion	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Population in thousands	GDP in PLN <i>per capita</i>	Unemployment in %
Szczecin	301	407.2	50,396	9.3
Szczeciński	7,888	512.7	33,187	15.7
Szczecinecko-Pyrzycki	10,339	435.2	25,841	22.0
Gorzowski	6,113	386.8	35,317	10.7
Zielonogórski	7,875	633.5	36,043	13.6
Jeleniogórski	5,571	573.4	36,088	14.2
Poland	312,679	38,478.6	43,020	11.4

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Voivodeships* (2015).

Both subregions situated in the vicinity of Szczecin encompass the largest area and their respective populations are much bigger this time. Subregion Gorzowski is the least populated one on the list and its borders remained unchanged for a decade. The labour market situation deteriorated in general, compared with the situation before the global crisis of 2008. With the national average exceeding 11%, that figure was nearly double for Szczecinecko-Pyrzycki Subregion. The situation in Szczecin also worsened, but it still remained below the national average level.

When it comes to wealth, with the national average for Poland of over 43,000, the GDP in Szczecin exceeded 50,000 *per capita*. The situation in Jeleniogórski Subregion improved, reaching the level recorded for Gorzowski and Zielonogórski Subregions, which was not the case in the past.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The above analysis focuses on several unrelated issues with regard to situation in the western borderland of Poland. After 1998, the territorial division of the country changed, which means that the spatial aspects of the analysed territory were not identical. In some cases, the study included only former voivodeships

adjacent to the western border, as well as the subsequently created subregions also adjacent to the western border, whose boundaries, however, were different nearly every time. One can, thus, refer to a border area but it is a territory the boundaries of which tend to change. Still, the changes in administrative borders are not that important here.

The key subject of the analysis was the socio-economic situation during the transformation period and following the European integration. With regard to the above, a range of conclusions can be drawn<sup>10</sup>. The Polish population inhabiting the western borderland is affected by the changes in the labour market situation. Depending on the state of the global economy, that situation ranged from poor to very poor. Generally, the situation on local labour markets in the western borderlands is worse than the Polish national average. After separation of Szczecin as an autonomous subregion, the worst situation was observed in Western Pomerania. Even in Gorzowski Subregion, where the situation seemed to be best for most of the analysed period, the recorded unemployment rate was above the national average.

With regard to the GDP the situation also varied. Szczecin Voivodeship, Szczeciński Subregion, as well as Szczecin itself, over the period of analysis recorded GDP *per capita* higher than the national average. None of the remaining territorial units of the western borderland managed to exceed the average value recorded for the whole of Poland. What makes this indicator different from the labour market situation measure is its constant growth. The average value for Poland increased from 12,000 in 1998 to 43,000 in 2014. For Szczecin, or its voivodeship, the respective increase was from 13,000 to 50,000. Even in the 1998's least wealthy Gorzowskie Voivodeship that value rose from 10,000 to 35,000 in 2014. The consequences of both the transformation and the integration in that respect have definitely been positive. Poland is developing, with the development rate reaching today around 70% of the EU average, where at the beginning of the integration process it was below 40%.

The first part of the article drew attention to some region-specific characteristics of western borderland communities, especially from behavioural perspective. In an economic sense, the analysed borderland does not stand out in any way. It is not particularly wealthy, and the situation on the local labour markets is not better than in other regions. One could even get an impression, that the peripheral location had a side-tracking effect and delayed the development. European integration helped to accelerate that development, but the border-

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<sup>10</sup> Compare: A. Burda, *Dlaczego w Polsce jedne regiony rozwijają się szybciej niż inne?*: [www.pmrconsulting.com](http://www.pmrconsulting.com)

-related “subsidies” do not suffice for the borderland regions to develop exceptionally fast. The rise in standard of living is noticeable but it is strongly linked with the overall economic development, and the peculiar characteristics of the local population, even though it may be evident in certain behaviours, does not translate into exceptional economic gains.

*English verification by Jarosław Sawiuk*

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[http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Referendum\\_w\\_Polsce\\_w\\_2003\\_roku](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Referendum_w_Polsce_w_2003_roku)

Section 3

**MEANDERS OF THE EXISTENCE  
OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES  
IN THE POLISH SPACE**



## **MULTICULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE BORDERLAND – OLD BELIEVERS IN POLAND**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Old Believers is a religious community, sparse and little known, yet worth a closer examination due to their religion, traditions and place in the socio-political life of old Poland. Throughout history, the socio-political situation of this group was significantly impacted by the geopolitical circumstances, especially the changing state affiliation. This work undertakes to complete the following goals:

- explain the origin and analyse the circumstances of spatial development of Old Believers within different states, as well as to identify their concentrations in Poland in late 20<sup>th</sup> century;
- analyse the religious activity and selected elements of the sense of group separateness of Old Believers in Poland in late 20<sup>th</sup> century;
- determine the forms and character of their social and religious organisational activity, especially in the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Due to its complexity, the research problem will be approached from an angle of different sciences, mostly geography but also religious studies, history and sociology. In terms of geography, such branches as geography of religion, political geography and historical geography were applied. In order to fulfil the research goals, both study methods (field research and indoor) as well as technical methods (cartographical and statistical) were used.

The main method used was the analysis and synthesis of the processed source material from literature, mostly historical works related to this religion group (including Iwaniec 1977). However, the lack of more geographical works was noticeable. The interpretation of the gathered source materials also covered

archival materials, collected by the former Department of Denominations of the Voivodeship Office in Suwałki (related to population size and their life as a group).

In order to obtain data on the size, distribution of clusters, and socio-religious situation of this highly dispersed, small and very distrustful and closed group, in-depth field research was conducted, based on structured interviews (with 55 people self-identifying with the Old Believer community). In the framework of the interdisciplinary methodological approach, the observation method was also used. This, together with other sources obtained through interviews, allowed me to describe the socio-cultural behaviour of the Old Believers, as well as to formulate some theoretical generalisations (related, among other things, to the elements of their ethnic identity and their activity within their group organisation).

The time scope of the work covers history from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the first clusters of Old Believers emerged within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While discussing the origins of the Old Believer movement, the time scope was expanded with a retrospective dating back to mid-17<sup>th</sup> century.

## **2. MULTICULTURAL HERITAGE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY**

According to Z. Zdybicka (1992), culture means the mode of existence of man, the way of its development, constituting a bridge between living in time and living in eternity. Created by individuals and social groups, it took on heterogeneous properties, often determined by the differentiation of societies in the process of the development of their national identity, specific religious affiliation, as well as in the context of their language, traditions and customs. Contacts between members of different groups, assigned to specific geographical space, led to the meeting of cultures. Although this was happening since time immemorial, only the recent transformations, unprecedented in depth and scale, have created a phenomenon called multiculturalism. Multiculturalism, as construed by J. Królikowska (2012), was born over a relatively short period of time under the influence of economic trends referred to as globalisation, as such assuming the use of population and economic resources of the whole world according to the canon of financial viability.

Thus, multiculturalism usually seems to be a very modern phenomenon. It should be noted, however, that this use of population and economic resources



from different cultural groups with certain territorial status is not merely contemporary. In the past, under the influence of the territorial formation of state structures, voluntary or forced migration, the transfer and adoption of ideas, there were meetings as well, followed by attempts at coexistence of members of multiple cultures, similarly shaped by the canon of economic viability. The richness of cultural diversity and the resulting numerous combinations of relationships contributed to the complementation of “values” represented by different groups in a given area, as well as determined their creative functioning. Therefore, modern multiculturalism was not born *in cruda radice*. And, even if the continuity of existence of cultural diversity within a social organism was interrupted (or some fungibility occurred), there were traces of it left behind, contributing to the materialised image of its (multi)cultural past.

When posing the problem of multiculturalism in the modern world, we should also take into account what comes from the past, and what we have inherited, our legacy. Paraphrasing Ch. Matthews's work (in Kobyliński 2009), in which he expressed his understanding of cultural heritage, we can assume, in the context of the title of this work, that the multicultural heritage is the product not only of the present, but also of a long-lasting process of telling history, through which communities come to identify themselves as communities (Rykała 2013).

As a multidimensional phenomenon, multiculturalism requires similar research studies. As a social fact, expressing the state of coexistence of cultures in a given space, it is a good object of reflection for geographers. The connotation of multiculturalism with a country (including the contact of the culture of majority with the cultures of the minorities) allows political geography to study it; by relating it to heritage, especially material one, historical geography seems predestined to reflect. This paper attempts to apply an integrated research approach to multicultural heritage (though with no reference to its material component).

### **3. THE ORIGINS OF OLD BELIEVERS AND THE SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR CLUSTER UNTIL THE END OF THE 1960s**

The emergence of the socio-religious group of Old Believers is dated to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when a split occurred in the Orthodox Church in Russia. The immediate cause of the schism was a dispute in relation to correcting religious books, unifying the liturgy and reforming church rituals introduced by Moscow Patriarch Nikon.

The initiator of church reforms, which led to a split within the Orthodox Church, was – according to E. Iwaniec (1977) – Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich (1629–1676). He saw in a reformed church the instrument of centralisation of the Russian state. The Orthodox Church of the time was not consistent in the sphere of religious rites, nor in many other matters of faith. The reform of the Russian Church was meant, among other things, to merge it with the Orthodox Church in Left-bank Ukraine, subordinate to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich was considered, in accordance with the prevailing ideology, the heir of Byzantine emperors, endowed with the historical mission to free Constantinople from Turkish occupation. However, to attain this objective, the Tsar had to first remove all differences between the Russian Church and the Orthodox Churches of the East. The council called in Moscow in 1654 decided to make numerous corrections to church texts, based on old Slavic and Greek manuscripts. Old Believers, however, contend that, contrary to the resolutions of the council of 1654, the council called again in Moscow in 1655 made corrections not according to old manuscripts but, as proven by later studies, mainly based on contemporary Greek texts (Iwaniec 1977).

The reforms were met with misunderstanding and resistance from the Orthodox community (among other things, concerning the changes to the way of crossing oneself). The council called in 1656 decided to exclude all those using the old way of crossing themselves from the Church. It also made some changes to the rites. Revised church books and the reforms of Patriarch Nikon concerning some rites were ultimately approved in 1667 by the council of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ranks opposed to religious reforms, including church reforms, gave birth to the Old Believer movement. They included middle and lower clergy, as well as peasantry, for whom church reforms were a challenge against the Old Believer tradition.

At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there was a religious division among the Old Believers in Russia. As a result, they formed two main groups: Popovtsy and Bezpopovtsy. The main reason for this split was the problem of having their own clergy. Bezpopovtsy, after the extinction of priests ordained before Nikon's reforms, decided that Christ would be their sole priest. They found their ideal in monasticism, strict asceticism and devotion to tradition. They propagated purity and rejected the possibility of entering into marriage. Popovtsy recognised the priestly “blessing”, namely the sacrament of marriage, and thus the need to have clergy, as indispensable (they started to acquire them from the official Church).

Separatist tendencies resulting from the inconsistent interpretation of many religious issues resulted in the formation of further communities. Three groups

gained most importance among the Bezpopovtsy: Pomorians (in Olonetsky District), Fedoseevtsy (Novgorod-Pskov, north-eastern areas of the old Republic), and Filippians (Arkhangelsk Governorate). In Popovtsy community, the following groups gained the widest prominence: Vetka (the areas of the old Republic bordering the Ukrainian Starodub), Diakonovtsy (Starodub, Podolia, Moldova), Chernobyltsy (Starodub, the areas of the Republic near Chernobyl).

Despite the emerging divisions, there were common doctrinal foundations that have survived until today and still distinguish the Old Believers from the reformed Orthodox Church. The most important rules say that:

- services can be celebrated only by old books, published before 1654 and considered to be fully correct;
- Christ's name should be spelled Isus, and not Iisus, as in Orthodox Church;
- the word *alleluia* should be repeated twice, not three times, and add “Praised be God”;
- when crossing oneself, the sign of the cross should be made with two fingers (to express the belief in the two natures of Christ), not three;
- only an Orthodox cross may be worshipped (fig. 1);
- baptism may be performed by three-time immersion in water, not by pouring water.

There are many other rules that have been laid accurately in the pleas of Lazarus, Nikita Dobrynin and Solovetsk (Iwaniec 1977).

Old Believers, persecuted for their views, decided that under the cruel terror against them, the most suitable places to practice their old faith, apart from secluded places in Russia, were areas outside of the country. They began to come to Sweden, Courland, Turkey, Austria, Prussia, and Poland.

Back in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they reached the eastern borderlands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. E. Iwaniec (1977) associates the history of Old Believers in the lands located in contemporary Poland with three regions: Suwałki-Sejny, Masuria and Augustów.

The oldest cluster is located in the Suwałki-Sejny region, where Old Believers settled back in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Working together and mutual support allowed such clusters to thrive fairly early on. Developing villages were becoming an incentive for other Old Believers to settle in these areas. In addition to such earliest Old Believer villages as Głuszyn and Budzisko Moskale (Buda Ruska), there were others, often founded on royal estates: Głębokki Rów (1787), Szury, Wodziłki, Łopuchowo, Pogorzelec Biały and others. Newcomers included both Popovtsy and Bezpopovtsy (Fedoseevtsy, Filippians). Głębokki Rów and Pogorzelec became centres of huge religious impact (Iwaniec 1977).



Fig. 1. Orthodox cross  
of the Old Believers  
Source: author's photo



Fig. 2. One of the religious and moral  
precepts of the Old Believers was wearing  
beards. Every self-respecting man should  
not change the appearance, which God  
gave him to his likeness  
Source: author's photo

In the interwar period, during the first census of 1921, the Suwałki-Sejny region was inhabited by 3705 Old Believers, grouped in six parishes: Aleksandrów, Głęboki Rów, Pogorzelec, Suwałki, Sztabinki and Wodзилki (Sawicki 1937, Iwaniec 1977, Rykała 1999).

One important event of the interwar period that impacted all communities of Old Believers in Poland with the power of its resolutions was the First National Congress of Old Believers-Bezpopovtsy in Vilnius in 1925. The Congress established the Governing Council of Old Believers, which adopted the duties of managing the affairs of the Church in Poland between councils. It also adopted the official name of the denominations: Eastern Old Believer Church without clerical hierarchy (Piekarski 1927, Sawicki 1937).

The Second World War was a difficult period for them. After the occupation of Poland by the Germans, they fled to the Soviet Union and Lithuania. After the war, only a few returned to Poland. In 1959, there were only 167 Old Believers

in the Wodziłki parish, and only 359 were present in the whole Suwałki-Sejny region in 1968. The biggest clusters remained in Wodziłki (61 people), Suwałki (60) and Buda Ruska (25)<sup>1</sup>.

The second oldest region for the settlement of Old Believers was Masuria, where they appeared in 1820s and 30s from the Suwałki-Sejny region. This migration was initiated by the most conservative Old Believers, who did not consent to conscription in the Tsarist army, nor vital records in their parishes. Compliance with these rules was contrary to the basic principles of their faith (fig. 2). Thus, they sought a more favourable position of the authorities in Eastern Prussia, Masuria, having in mind the relatively liberal Prussian rule in Suwałki-Sejny region in 1795–1806. The first village of Onufryjewo was founded in 1830. Wojnowo, Gałkowo, Zameczek, Ładne Pole, Piaski were next. In the 1830s, these villages had 829 Old Believers (Iwaniec 1977).

The activity of Masurian monks who came to the area with the first settlers, as well as the persistence of repressive policies against Old Believers in Russia prompted the decision to build a monastery in Wojnowo. The impact of the Wojnowo monastery, mostly founded by Piotr Ledniewow (Paweł Pruski), extended well beyond the borders of Masuria. The monastery was able to flourish owing to the division of work introduced by the monks, a rich library, the upbringing and education of children, as well as the printing house in Pisz operating on behalf of the monastery (founded in 1859, it published the “Istina” periodical, among others). The departure of Paweł Pruski from Wojnowo in 1867, the economic crisis among the Old Believers in Masuria and the growing number of Edinoversty at the expense of Old Believers – all that led to the collapse of the monastery and the loss of high position in the community of defenders of the old faith that the Old Believers suffered in Masuria. Nuns from Moscow's Fedoseevtsy centre tried to save the situation. They gathered at the monastery in Wojnowo, along with the nuns from burnt convents in Pupy (Spychow) and Osiniak. It was owing to their efforts that the nunnery in Wojnowo saw its heyday in the years preceding the First World War. In 1913, there were approximately 200 Edinoversty and 700 Old Believers (mostly Pomorians and Fedoseevtsy) in Masuria. Economic difficulties following the Great War impoverished the Old Believer community, as well as the Wojnowo monastery (Iwaniec 1977).

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<sup>1</sup> The department of Religious Affairs, Regional Office in Suwałki. Based on the data provided by supervisor of the parish in Wodziłki.

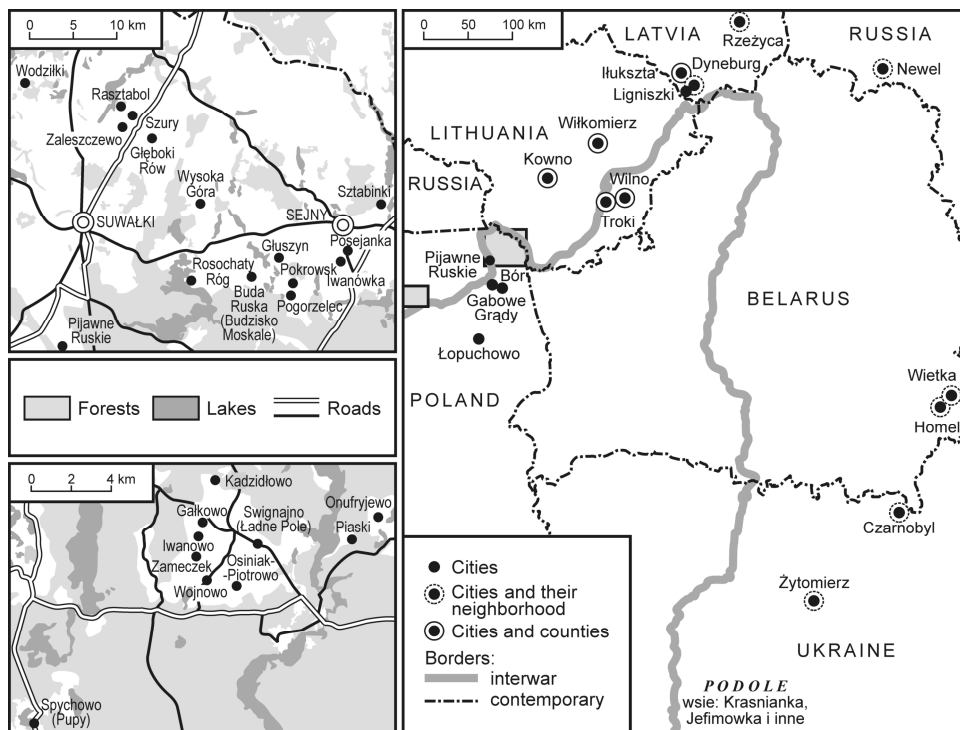


Fig. 3. Larger clusters of Old Believers formed in the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries on the lands belonging to the First Republic and Kingdom of Prussia

Source: author's elaboration

During the Second World War, many Old Believers and Yedinovertsy were killed, while others left Masuria.

In 1947, there were approximately 440 Old Believers in the Wojnowo parish. In the whole Mrągowo district<sup>2</sup>, according to the author's estimates, there were some 600 Old Believers. The Edinovertsy community almost ceased to exist, as their parish was subordinated by their leader, father Avayev, to the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Metropolitan in Warsaw (in the 60s and 70s it has about 100 followes). In 1968, the population of Masurian Old Believers was 412, with the biggest clusters in Wojnowo (115) and Galkowo (106)<sup>3</sup>.

The third cluster of Old Believers is the Augustów region, where they settled in two waves. The first ones came with their fellow believers settling down in

<sup>2</sup> The department of Religious Affairs, Regional Office in Suwałki. Based on the data provided by the governor of Mrągowo country for the Regional Office in Olsztyn.

<sup>3</sup> The department of Religious Affairs, Regional Office in Suwałki. Based on data collected by J. Krassowski.

Suwałki-Sejny region. The second wave came after the January Uprising from Mount Calvary region (among others, due to a number of allowances by local authorities seeking to populate the Suwałki and Augustów woodsmaneries, as well as the conflict with the local authorities in their previous location). The oldest village in the region was Pijawne Ruskie, which over time became a parish village. Other settlements, such as Gabowe Grądy and Bór, also gained importance. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were 337 Old Believers in the Augustów region. After the First World War, which was a period of migration deep into Russia for many Old Believers, there were 932 followers of the old faith in the Augustów district (Iwaniec 1977, Rykała 1999).

The Second World War did not spare the Old Believers and their settlements. Many of them were deported to forced labour in Germany, while the villages of Gabowe Grądy and Bór were burned down. After the war, some Old Believers came back, while others joined their families in the Soviet Union. In 1968, this region was inhabited by 516 Old Believers, mostly in Augustów (218), Grabowe Grądy (164) and Bór (114)<sup>4</sup>.

#### **4. POPULATIONS, CLUSTERS AND THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS SITUATION OF OLD BELIEVERS IN THE LAST TWO DECADES OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

For almost 40 years after the war, Old Believers did not create an institution representing their community. As a result of border changes after the Second World War, the majority of believers, especially their authorities, found themselves in the Lithuanian SSR. In these circumstances, the acts of the Communist authorities to regulate the legal status of the Church according to the Regulation of the President of Poland of 1928, as well as the Regulation of the Council of Ministers of the same year, could not be applied due to the lack of an entity they could apply to in Poland (Pietrzak 1979, Urban 1994, Rykała 2011). Three religious communities continued to operate, though, two in Białystok province, in Augustów and Suwałki districts, with several hundred followers, as well as the community in Wojnowo in Olsztyn province, in Mrągowo district. The church community was the basic organisational unit, without its own legal personality. In the early eighties, Old Believers made several attempts to regulate the legal status of their communities. The parishes' need to exist was justified by their

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<sup>4</sup> The department of Religious Affairs, Regional Office in Suwałki. Based on official data.

long-lasting history, own churches (in Suwałki and Wojnowo with parish houses) and cemeteries, but above all by the number of followers.

In individual parishes number of the faithful in 1982 was, according to the estimates of the Old Believers, as follows: in Wojnowo community – 124 people (including Mrągowo – 24, Gałkowo – 24, Wojnowo – 24), in Wodзилki community – 61 people, Suwałki community – 91 people (mostly in Suwałki – 54) and in Gabowe Grądy – 163 people (mostly in Augustów – 55, Gabowe Grądy – 43, Bor – 28)<sup>5</sup>. These data, however incomplete due to the inclusion of adults alone (except from Wojnowo parish), showed the biggest clusters of Old Believers, as well as the estimated number of followers on the eve of their efforts to regulate the legal status of their communities. Official data from this period slightly underestimated the number of people in individual parishes. According to these estimates, the Church had 440 followers, including 90 in Wojnowo parish, 60 in Wodзилki, 90 in Suwałki and 200 in Gabowe Grądy (Rykała 1999).

After taking into account the efforts and pleas of the Old Believers, on November 20, 1982, the governor of Suwałki province authorised the creation of four religious communities of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The community seated in Gabowe Grądy (of the Dormition of the Mother of God) included: the cities of Augustów, Elk and Gołdap, as well as the villages of Gabowe Grądy and Bór. The community in Wodзилki ( of St. Presentation of Mary) included the village of Wodзилki, while the community in Suwałki (of St. Nikolai) covered Suwałki, Sejny and Olecko, as well as the villages Aleksandrowo, Maryna, Sokołowo, Bakalarzewo, Leszczewo, Blizna, Boksze, Płociczno Osiedle, Lipniak and Szury. The community of Wojnowo (of Dormition of the Mother of God) covered the following towns: Ruciane-Nida, Piaski, Wojnowo, Onufryjevo, Gałkowo, Ukta, Śwignajno, Osiniak.

In 1983, steps have been taken to finally legally regulate the denomination. The Supreme Council of the Old Believers was established, whose members were chosen by the National Congress of Old Believers in Suwałki (First Council of Old Believers in Poland). It was agreed, that the Old Believer Church and the Supreme Council of the Old Believers will operate on the basis of the revised statute of the Church (whose version was approved by the Minister of Confessions in 1984). The newly chosen council set for itself the goal of resolving numerous issues that emerged in the Old Believer community, which until this time lacked official representation. These included the need to teach

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<sup>5</sup> The department of Religious Affairs, Regional Office in Suwałki. Based on the parish registration applications from the Old Believers.



religion, care for the old cemeteries, and restore contacts with the Council of the Old Believers Church in Vilnius (established in 1966).

In 1986, the Pimonov Family Foundation<sup>6</sup> was established, which was meant to materially support the Old Believers Church in Poland. Its statute provided for expenses for, among other things, the restoration of churches and cemeteries, the construction of parish houses (the foundation helped in construction of two parish houses in Suwałki and Gabowe Grądy, and others, as well as the monument dedicated to Old Believer victims of fascism in Gabowe Grądy), as well as other renovation activities. In addition to the undoubted successes, there were also failures. Nastawniks from Wodzilki and Suwałki chosen by the Supreme Council and the Old Believer community abandoned their parishes and emigrated to the US.

The implementation of the resolutions of the Second Old Believer Council in People's Poland in 1988 was limited to renovating churches, cleaning cemeteries, organisation of religious classes in parish houses (in Suwałki and Gabowe Grądy). At the time, there were, according to the Church's own estimates, some 2.5 thousand<sup>7</sup> Old Believers, 2,627 in 1989. The community in Suwałki had 854 followers, Wodzilki – 138, Gabowe Grądy – 1207, and Wojnowo – 428<sup>8</sup>. The Church owned four operating temples located in parish towns (fig. 4).



Fig. 4. The temple in Wodzilki  
Source: author's photo

<sup>6</sup> Leonid Pimonov, physicist, professor of the French Centre for Scientific Research became the honorary chair of the Council of Old Believers.

<sup>7</sup> The department of Religious Affairs, Regional Office in Suwałki. Minutes of the council 1988.

<sup>8</sup> The department of Religious Affairs, Regional Office in Suwałki.

The Third Council of the Church of Old Believers took place in 1993 in Suwałki. The main task that the delegates undertook was the recovery of the temple and monastery in Wojnowo, formally no longer owned by the community, by the Old Believers.

When discussing this period, one issue comes to the forefront. Why, after so many years without organisational activity, was there an awakening, resulting in the establishment of the Supreme Council and the regulation of the legal situation of the communities? It can be assumed, that the direct cause was the 1982 destruction of the temple in Pogorzelec and its subsequent sale, according to the decision of the head of the Giby municipality, to the Roman Catholic parish in Sejny. The material from the demolished temple was moved to Giby and used to construct a Catholic church. This sense of harm prompted the need to establish representation, which would protect the interests of Old Believers.

After these organisational and consolidation activities, the Church entered a new phase of its existence, in the new political system. The Old Believer community in Poland had more than 2 thousand members in early 1990s. In 1994, 2,137 people identified with it (Rykała 1999).

The least numerous representation of this denomination, of just 67 people, was present in the historically distinct Masuria region. In the Suwałki-Sejny region, there were 850 Old Believers, while the Augustów region was the most populous, with 1,220 followers (tab. 1, fig. 5).

The Old Believer community in Masuria was not only the smallest, but also the oldest as far as age structure is concerned. People over 60 accounted for 47.3% of this community, with only 7.3% below 20. In other regions, middle-aged people and those under 20 were similarly numerous, while people over 60 accounted for 16.5% in Suwałki-Sejny community and 15.1% in Augustów.

One of the characteristics of the Old Believer community of the period was their low level of education. In each of these regional communities, more than half of the people had primary education and performed physical labour in local production and service companies or, in the case of rural residents, worked in agriculture. Only 9.6% of Masurian Old Believers had higher education (including lawyers), with 1.2% in Suwałki-Sejny region and only 0.8% in Augustów region.

At this time, based on the analysis of selected aspects of religious life, a certain loosening of observance of Old Believers' principles of faith, traditions and rites may be observed. Among them, 95% declared themselves as believers, and 47.7% – as believers and practicing regularly. Only 4.5% described themselves as non-believers and not practicing, but still feeling they belonged to the Old Believer community. The most affirmative attitude towards religion, manifesting

itself in the participation in religious practices, observance of fasts, holidays, participation in confession, recitation of prayers, etc. could be observed in older people who felt the biggest need to cultivate their old faith. The tried to instill their committed attitude in younger co-believers, who not always saw the need to uphold the traditional religious principles and practices in the world of modern temptations.

In order to deepen the relationships between the young generation and the faith, the Church organised religious classes (in parish houses in Suwałki and Gabowe Grądy). Half of the children of Old Believer denomination took frequent part in these classes, while the other half attended them only sporadically. According to the children attending the classes, they were not very interesting, as they were often frequented by all followers, regardless of their age, and they were limited to the verbal communication of truths and principles of faith, as well as the learning of reading and songs in Old Church language.

Table 1. The population of clusters of Old Believers  
in Poland in the mid-1990s

Suwałki-Sejny region		Augustów region		Masuria region	
Place	Population	Place	Population	Place	Population
Wodзилki	27	Augustów	910	Wojnowo	16
Leszczewo	10	Gabowe Grądy	130	Gałkowo	12
Buda Ruska	9	Bór	113	Mrągowo	12
Głuszyn	9	Blizna	8	Piaski	8
Żłobin	7	Szczerba	4	Ruciane-Nida	7
Romanowce	5	Karczewo	3	Ukta	6
Aleksandrowo	5	Białobrzegi	11	Śwignajno	3
Sztabinki	4	Białystok	5	Osiniak	2
Hołny Wolmera	4	Gołdap	7	Zgon	1
Posejanka	1	Łomża	4		
Szury	6	Elk	20		
Lipniak	3	Grajewo	5		
Płociczno Osiedle	3				
Suwałki	722				
Sejny	30				
Rosochaty Róg	5				
Total	850		1,220		67

Source: study based on own field research.

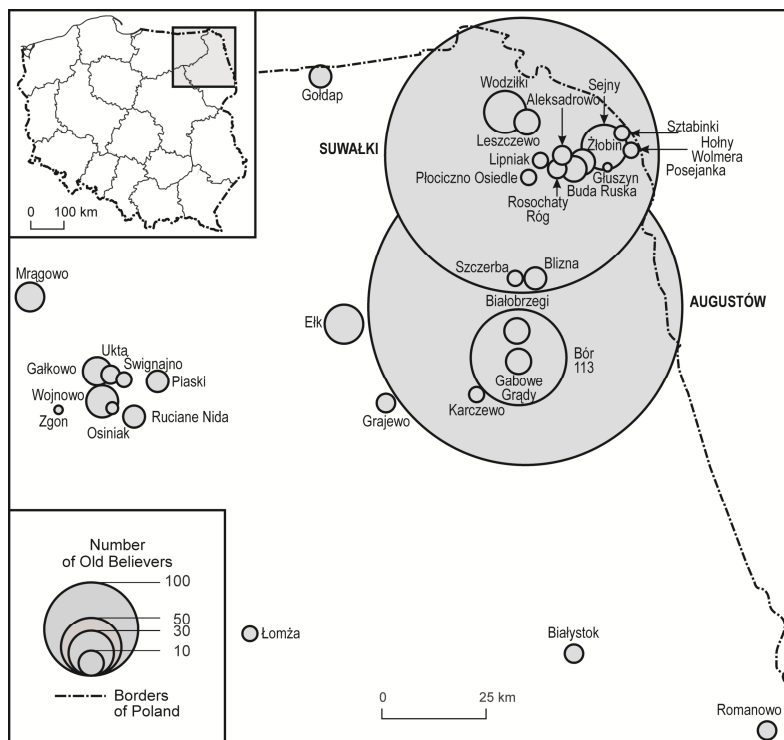


Fig. 5. Clusters of Old Believers in the mid-1990s  
Source: author's elaboration

Another form of activating the younger generation meant to deepen their religious knowledge were the youth meetings organised by the Old Believer Church starting in the 1990s in Suwałki. However, almost 70% of young people did not participate, explaining themselves with the need to travel far from their towns to Suwałki (from Masuria and Augustów region), as well as their lack of need to integrate with their community.

The emergence of new, more institutionalised forms of socio-religious activation of the community was accompanied with the disappearance of other, more lively forms such as characteristic rituals, games (such as communal flax and wool spinning, youth games). One of the most characteristic distinguishing features of the Old Believer rituals were baths taken in banyas. People owning banyas (67.7% of rural families) kept these traditions almost every Saturday. Those without banyas took baths at their neighbours or relatives, sometimes located in different towns.

The cultivation of ancestral faith is also demonstrated by the degree of knowledge of the liturgical language. In the case of Old Believers, as many as

79.4% declared knowledge of the Old Church Slavonic language, while 21.6% did not use it at all. People (mostly older) knowing the language primarily understood what was written in their holy books.

In the case of daily language, Russian (in its Polonised version) dominated among Old Believers in the 1990s. It was spoken in 71.6% Old Believer homes, mostly in Suwałki-Sejny and Augustów communities. A further 19.3% used Polish in their daily lives (47% of the Masurian community spoke it), with 5.7% using German (29.5% of Masurian Old Believers). Some homes were bilingual – 3.4% used Polish and Russian equally.

In the context of religion and everyday language used to contact their fellow believers, as well as historical events in the Old Believer community since its inception, the question of the sense national identity of Old Believers seems especially interesting. More than half of respondents (54.6%) identified with the Russian nationality, including 61.5% of Old Believers in the region of Suwałki-Sejny and 68.8% in Augustów. For them, belonging to a religious community was equal to a large extent to being a part of a nation, which left the Russian land due to persecutions. Polish nationality was expressed by 32.9% of Old Believers. They felt that living in Poland preordains them to be “Polish from the heart” or “one hundred percent Polish”. Such identifications were often expressed by people using Russian in everyday contacts. A small number of people (6.8%) did not feel they belonged to any nationality. In the Masurian community, 29.4% of Old Believers had some trouble describing their own identity in mid-1990s. They considered themselves Masurians (11.8%) or Slavs (17.6%). Still others (29.4%) identified themselves with the German nation. These were people born and educated at the time when these lands belonged to Germany. After the war, they struggled to go to the Federal Republic of Germany, but for political reasons did not get such permission from state authorities. Those declaring a certain nationality were often not fully convinced by it. It was the proof of how many Old Believers had difficulties in finding their own national identity, subjected to so many trials over the years.

Family contacts prevailed among fellow believers (89.8% cases). They were virtually the sole basis for maintaining the ties between Old Believers from three historically distinguished regions. Apart from family relations, Old Believers mainly maintained neighbourly contacts with other followers. In addition, common participation in services was a frequent form of meetings in the community.

Many Old Believers from Poland maintained lively relations with foreign countries. There was, however, certain variety in their directions, depending on their place of residence. Masurian Old Believers almost exclusively contacted

Germany (Hamburg and its area, as well as bigger cities in the Ruhr region), more precisely with the Old Believers who left their homeland (in the 70s and 80s) as part of the "Family reunion" initiative. Foreign contacts of Old Believers in Suwałki and Augustów regions were different. They were mostly Old Believers from Lithuania (Vilnius, Klaipėda), Latvia (Riga) and Russia (Novgorod), and mostly familial in character.

The sphere of contacts maintained by Old Believers was not, however, limited to their fellow believers, but also included other denominations. These contacts were mainly neighborly and professional. The relations between Old Believers and the surrounding population were usually good, both in cities and rural areas. The same could be said about local authorities, that were not hostile or resentful towards Old Believers, but also not supporting of their culture and religion.

## **5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

The socio-religious situation of Old Believers in the 1990s showed possible development of the community in the subsequent century. This was to be ensured by the persistence of faith among older population, as well as its communication, along with related traditions, to the younger generation of believers. The positive perception of the community was fostered by: the regulation of the legal existence of the Church, the establishment of the Supreme Council, systematic councils and the implementation of their resolutions. However, commitment to faith varied among Old Believers, depending on age and place of residence (region). Older believers were the most active in religious practices and devotion to the matters of the Church, although part of the younger generation was also quite committed. The situation of the Old Believer community in Masuria, with its lack of churches and young people among their ranks, was the biggest challenge to the maintenance of ancestral faith.

The fate of Old Believers clusters and their Church in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, the period of stabilised democracy in Poland, is worth investigating. During this time, different social groups underwent, after the ideological or national self-determination during the first stage of transformation, another attempt to reformulate their cultural code. In this context, the condition of this religious group, still exotic for most Poles, albeit not as hermetic as in the 1990s, seems especially interesting.

*Translated by Jarosław Sawiuk*

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## **JEWISH SEPULCHRAL HERITAGE IN SILESIAN VOIVODESHIP DIVIDED BY THE BORDERS SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

In the area of the contemporary Silesian Voivodeship, until the period of Hitler's terror<sup>1</sup>, a few hundred religious buildings functioned in about 47 fully organized Jewish communities<sup>2</sup>. These were cemeteries, pre-funeral homes and synagogues accompanying them, as well as prayer houses and mikvehs. They were managed by Jewish communities, oftentimes distinct from each other in many respects. Apart from urban Jewish communities of Gliwice, Bytom and Katowice, among others, Jews formed smaller village concentrations in such towns as Łazy, Zaborze and located in the south, Rajcza. Upper Silesia is also an area where communities in which conservative Jews prevailed coexisted with qahals, who promoted the ideas of Haskalah and assimilation with non-Judaic environment. Jews of particular communities inhabiting the contemporary Silesian Voivodeship until the Second World War, also functioned in different sociocultural environments, which was a result of the location of communities on territories of different, nonexistent these days, countries. During their func-

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<sup>1</sup> The author, treating the start of the Nazi terror as the dividing line, understands the term differently for different parts of the voivodeship. In the part of the Silesian Voivodeship which belonged to German Reich in the interwar period, she assumes November 1938 as the start of the terror, and in particular the so-called events of Kristallnacht. However, for the rest of the voivodeship, she assumes the moment of the outbreak of the Second World War on 1 September 1939 as the start of the Nazi terror.

<sup>2</sup> According to the author's calculations, in the contemporary space of the Silesian Voivodeship, presumably 47 Jewish communities functioned in the interwar period, that is communities having (at least) a cemetery and a common place of prayer.

tioning, for the longest period of time, Jewish communities belonged to one of the three countries: the Kingdom of Prussia, the Russian Empire and the Austrian Empire<sup>3</sup>. After the formation of the Second Polish Republic, most of the area of the contemporary Silesian Voivodeship was incorporated into this newly created country, whereas the remaining part, belonged to German Reich. The laws and privileges in these political units were also different. It seems that political transformations occurring in this area were one of the key incentives shaping the functioning of Jewish religious communities. However, they were not the only incentives. The author, based on preliminary analysis regarding the objects, distinguished factors which hypothetically had a significant influence on the variation of physiognomy of religious objects in the study area. These are:

- nature of settlement (city/village),
- dominant religious confession in the religious community (conservative /Reform),
- degree of assimilation of Jewish population with the dominant socio-cultural patterns in the local community.

These cemetery complexes will be verified in the further analytical part of the article. The aim of the article is the characterization of differences in the physiognomy and distribution of Jewish religious objects in the Silesian Voivodeship on the example of cemeteries. The analysis of selected cemetery complexes provides a huge amount of information about the former functioning of Jewish communities and their spatial variation in the given area. The material concerning Jewish religious objects is relatively most detailed in terms of burial spaces, which, despite destructive processes, constitute clear elements of Jewish material culture in the landscape. The same cannot be said about the rest of the groups of objects, whose number can be described as marginal<sup>4</sup>.

Burial spaces comprise an important link of geographical analysis, which is stated in detail by, among others, L. Kong (1999) in the work "Cemeteries and Columbaria, Memorials and Mausoleums: Narrative and Interpretation in the

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<sup>3</sup> Considering the issue in detail, these were: the lands of the Kingdom of Poland connected by personal union with the Russian Empire in years 1815–1832, and after 1832, being an integral part of Russia, lands being an integral part of the Kingdom of Prussia, lands being part of the Austrian Empire, as well as the lands remaining under Austrian rule.

<sup>4</sup> Field surveys conducted by the author in the Silesian Voivodeship in the years 2015–2016 revealed the existence of only 14 buildings which used to be synagogues out of about 53 synagogues existing at least until 1938. To this day, the relics of only individual prayer houses and mikvehs have preserved (among others, in Będzin, Bytom, Jaworzno, Bielsko-Biała, and Częstochowa).

Study of Deathscapes in Geography". Synthetic works raising the subject of burial from a geographical perspective are still rare, for instance, the work of A. Długozima (2011), and oscillate mainly around tourism geography, such as works of J.J. Lennon and M. Foley (2000), S. Tanaś (2013). The issue concerning Jewish cemeteries of the Silesian Voivodeship has not been raised within the scope of spatial study by researchers covering the subject of the Jewish material legacy and the history of the followers of Judaism on the Polish territory. There emerged monographs regarding single necropolises, for example, by L. Hońdo (1995, 2004, 2012), presenting the results of performed inventories. There are numerous articles presenting the history of objects (sometimes only in the popular scientific scope) and selected issues associated with them, for example, a conservation issue, written by K. Domański (1994, pp. 218–223), R. Garstka (2008), A. Kwiecień (1992), I. Rejduch-Samkowa (1985, p. 108), D. Rozmus and S. Witkowski (2003), R. Skoczek (2012, pp. 395–406), M. Wodziński (1999a, pp. 10–11, 1999b, pp. 57–67). Only D. Rozmus (2015, pp. 99–111) analysed in detail the impact of universal religious law on the Jewish cemetery space, however, he did not describe the issues from the perspective of a territory unit, basing on the analysis of only selected necropolises, and thus limiting his considerations to the convention of a case study. The conclusions presented in the work were based on the results of the prospection of 49 cemeteries and 18 objects by the cemetery (mainly pre-funeral homes) in the Silesian Voivodeship which was carried out by the author. In order to acquire information, a query in the Documentation Department of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw was conducted, through which data from archival materials and published works were obtained. The studies were performed in years 2015–2016.

## **2. TOMBSTONES OF JEWISH CEMETERIES AS A SOURCE MATERIAL IN SPATIAL ANALYSES**

Without a cemetery, Jewish community cannot gain full independence. It belongs to the basic objects usually owned by every fully organized religious community, being an enclave in the space dominated by religious dissenters. The importance of necropolises in the structure of Jewish community is stressed by, among others, M. Nosonovsky (2009, p. 241), who points out, however, that it constitutes a subsequent link in the community hierarchy of buildings in relation to the dominant position of the synagogue. Nevertheless, as a result of political determinants, burial grounds can gain a superior significance in the Jewish community. An example constitutes the functioning of the Jewish communities

on the territory of the former Russian Empire in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, where, among others, large-scale secularization and Holocaust caused cemetery and burial ceremony themselves to become the most important pillar of Jewish community, as S. Charny (2009, p. 262) asserts. Thus, assuming possessing a necropolis by a given group of religious followers as the criterium deciding upon their formal status (as a religious community), an approximate number of qahals which functioned in the study area before the outbreak of the Second World War was defined<sup>5</sup>. On the basis of the number of towns within the Silesian Voivodeship in which there are Jewish cemeteries, it can be concluded that there were about 47 religious communities (although there existed a total of 64 Jewish cemeteries<sup>6</sup>). Jewish burial customs were preserved in the form of material legacy – particular elements of cemetery complexes. The author subjected them to analysis, among others, due to the effects associated with the functioning of the Jewish necropolis as two-plane burial space. It comprises both sacrum and profanum for the followers of Judaism, as O. Goldberg-Mulkiewicz (2000, p. 9) points out, which is expressed in its physiognomy. The cemetery territory combines two worlds: the dead, to whom it becomes *beit olam* (house of eternity) and the living, who consciously form the space, keeping in mind that it is *beit moed I col hai* (the final place for all the living), and thus it becomes in a sense *beit chaim* (house of life) (Tomaszewski and Żbikowski 2001, pp. 66–67, Wiśniewski 2009, pp. 97–98). Numerous conditioned by religion and culture detailed rules of conducting burial ceremonies change necropolis, as R. Parciack (2012, pp. 31–32) explains, “into an area of significance in terms of social order, reflecting the life of community, its structure, values and approach, which it assumes towards the essence of life and death”.

Among necropolises of the Silesian Voivodeship, in the area of 46 objects, tombstones called matzevas have been preserved. Facing the lack of archival documentation, they are often a basic source of information about Jewish communities inhabiting towns of the Silesian Voivodeship until the Second World War. The notion of matzeva itself has a very broad spectrum, exceeding far beyond the traditional definition of it as being a vertical straight stele with a Hebrew epitaph and a symbolic bas-relief. Necropolises, in terms of this element of cemetery, vary substantially within the Silesian Voivodeship, in

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<sup>5</sup> Regardless of whether a given Jewish community ended its activities during the Second World War or earlier, for instance, in the interwar period.

<sup>6</sup> This is due to the fact that in some villages Jewish communities founded more than one cemetery as a result of filling up the first burial place. This took place in Będzin, Bytom, Cieszyn, Gliwice, Lelów, Mysłowice, Pilica, Sosnowiec, Szczekociny, Żarki.

particular with regard to the languages of inscriptions, which is an interesting subject of analysis, taking into account the claims that the language of inscriptions constitutes a cultural indicator showing attachment not only to a given language but also loyalty towards the nation (Mythum 1994). Multi-lingual inscriptions on tombstones of Jewish cemeteries were the subject of analysis, among others, in the M. Nosonovsky's studies (2013, pp. 119–120, 124–125) on the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Judaic necropolis located in Jamaica (Hunts Bay). He identified not only two- but also trilingual inscriptions (Hebrew-English-Spanish/Portuguese), which according to him attest to the identity of the buried. The identifications were multidimensional in nature: as a religious community (Hebrew), family (Portuguese/Spanish), and state community (English). On Polish territory (within contemporary limits), bilingual inscriptions were probably used from the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>. F. Wiesemann (1992, p. 30) states that, on the German territory, inscriptions in the national language began to appear on tombstones in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The researcher emphasizes, however, that despite the fact that Hebrew was replaced by German in epitaphs, extremely orthodox communities still functioned. For instance, in Burgpreppach in Lower Franconia, until the liquidation of the Jewish community in 1942, the Jews followed conservative funeral customs in terms of the tombstone art. An exemplification of this type of cemetery has been documented by the author also in the area of Silesia. Apart from the traditional language of epitaphs – Hebrew, which is common in all Jewish cemeteries, during the inventory within the study area, inscriptions in German and Polish were recorded<sup>8</sup>. On the developed by the author map (fig. 1), a division of the voivodeship into two main parts is seen, which clearly correspond to the course of political borders existing after 1815 (until the outbreak of the First World War). The first, covering the area incorporated into the Russian Empire, is almost exclusively Hebrew-speaking in terms of inscribed epitaphs. Tombstones with German inscriptions in a small number occurred in the Jewish cemetery in Sosnowiec at Gospodarcza Street, where the author found one type of such a matzeva placed on the grave of a child who died in 1883.

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<sup>7</sup> In the Jewish cemeteries of the Silesian Voivodeship, the author did not find any bilingual inscriptions older than the 19<sup>th</sup> century (their vast majority comes from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century). She did not find older epitaphs of this type in the works of other researchers regarding other Polish regions either.

<sup>8</sup> During the analysis, the author did not take into account memorial plaques placed in cemeteries after the Second World War commemorating, for instance, the victims of the Holocaust, or cenotaphs.

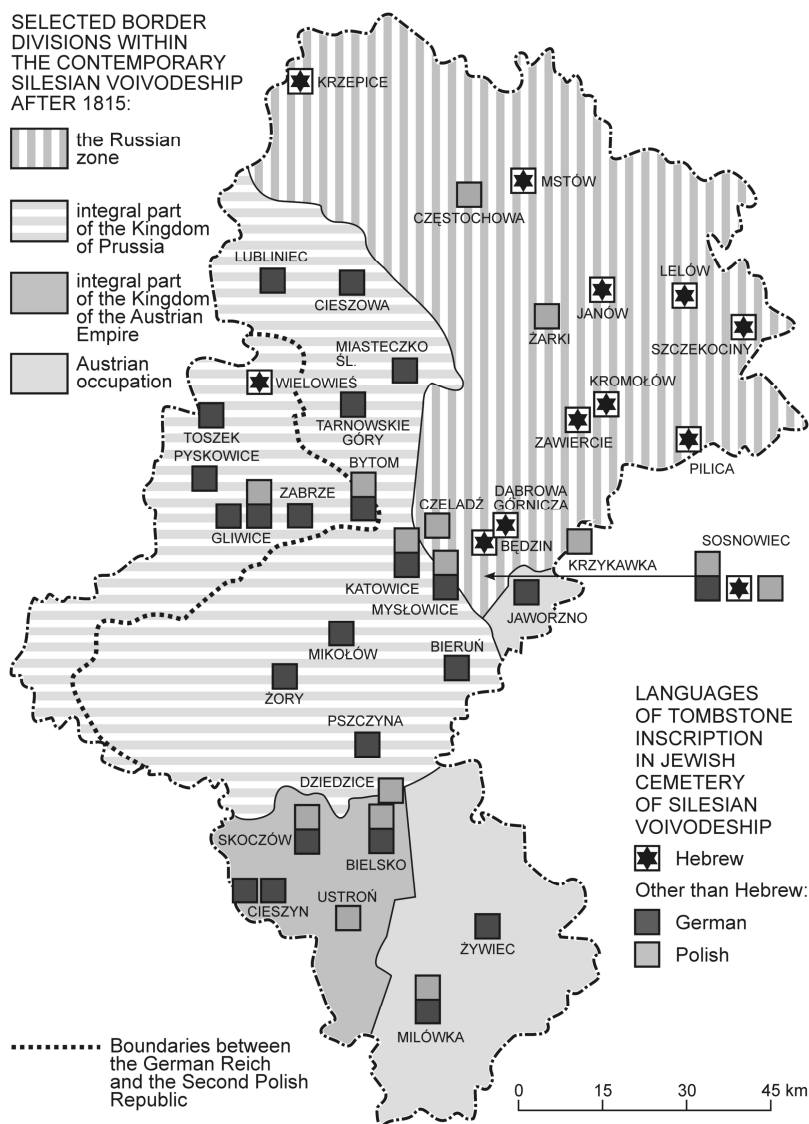


Fig. 1. Languages of tombstone inscriptions in Jewish cemeteries of Silesian Voivodeship  
Source: own elaboration

Similarly, in the cemetery in Będzin, there were probably a few tombstones written in German Gothic script, which is confirmed by R. Garstka (2008, p. 13). Diffusion between the Jewish centers situated on different sides of the borders was therefore surprisingly limited in terms of the language of inscriptions. In this part of the study area, there are also inscriptions in Polish, which come from the

interwar period (Częstochowa, Czeladź, Krzykawka, Żarki)<sup>9</sup>. Numerous inscriptions in German occur in the parts of the Voivodeship which belonged to the Kingdom of Prussia, the Austrian Empire and the lands which remained under Austrian rule (fig. 1). Polish epitaphs in the cemeteries in Gliwice, Bytom, Katowice and Bielsko-Biała are located mainly on the monuments over the post-war graves. Moreover, modern tombstones usually have only Polish-language inscriptions. In turn, within the Jewish cemeteries in Ustroń, Milówka, Skoczów and Czechowice-Dziedzice, using Polish-language inscriptions was common in the interwar period, that is, when these towns belonged to the Second Republic.

The author has identified two ways of the use of the inscription in German:

- 1) tombstone having only a German inscription,
- 2) tombstone having a double inscription (Hebrew-German):
  - a) Hebrew and German inscriptions on the same side of the tombstone (usually in the upper part of the matzeva, there is a Hebrew inscription, and below there is a simplified German version of the inscription),
  - b) Hebrew inscription on the front of the tombstone and German counterpart on the back side of the matzeva.

According to the author, by analysing the frequency and placement of certain inscriptions on the tombstones, the religious character of the Jewish community can be inferred. Limiting the use of the Hebrew epitaphs in favor of German ones was characteristic for the assimilated Jewish communities, the so-called progressive communities. Leading a modern lifestyle, they rejected traditional forms of writing, rich in religiously marked wording. In addition, the Prussian authorities introduced the obligation to speak German and adopt names and surnames in this language by the Jews (Spyra 1999, p. 14). Compared with the neighboring cemeteries, the Jewish cemetery located in Wielowieś stands out in this regard, and its spatial character is a reflection of the claim that the cemetery is a place of reproduction of the community as a whole, even though it may also have internal divisions forming segregation zones (Rugg 2000, pp. 262–263). In the area of the Jewish cemetery in Wielowieś, despite more than 100 preserved tombstones, there was no tombstone having German inscriptions. Moreover, within the cemetery, there are only traditional and very standardized forms of steles. This shows that the Jewish community established in the rural area, throughout the time of its functioning, remained probably very conservative, perhaps not being subject to the influence of Reform Judaism. After the Second World War, in 1945–1948, there occurred the recommendations, and even orders

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<sup>9</sup> R. Cieśla (1997, p. 288) states that in the cemetery in Krzepice there is a matzeva having an inscription in Polish (not found by the author).

of local authorities of some cities (such as, Żory or Bielsko-Biała) concerning the removal of German inscriptions from tombstones in the cemeteries (Walerjański 2006, p. 162). Fortunately, in most cases, their implementation failed. Traces of such activities, however, are visible in the cemeteries, for example, in Żory, where in some of the tombstones German inscriptions were hacked off (fig. 2), leaving only the Hebrew inscription.



Fig. 2. The Jewish cemetery in Żory. The instance of a tombstone with destroyed German inscription  
Source: author's photo

Among the cemeteries in which tombstones have been preserved to this date, the author chose 25 Jewish cemeteries<sup>10</sup>, whose space she decided to analyse in terms of the presence or absence of relief scenes on the tombstones. The analysis was made on the basis of her own inventory materials for cemeteries located in: Tarnowskie Góry (101 tombstones), Wielowieś (86 tombstones), Cieszowa (43 tombstones), Żarki (148 tombstones), Żywiec (114 tombstones), Bielsko-Biała (134 tombstones), Pszczyna (91 tombstones), Cieszyn (100 tombstones), Żory (61 tombstones), Bieruń (33 tombstones), Zawiercie (Daszyńskiego Street – 192 tombstones and Kromolów – 100 tombstones), Bytom (128 tombstones), Gliwice (old cemetery – 69 tombstones). Inventory materials prepared by other researchers for cemeteries in: Sosnowiec – Gospodarcza Street (313 tombstones)<sup>11</sup>, Sławków (288 tombstones) (Hońdo 2004), Jaworzno (174 tombstones),

<sup>10</sup> The selection of cemeteries on the basis of quantitative criterium – the number of preserved tombstones was crucial.

<sup>11</sup> [http://www.sztetl.org.pl/pl/pwk/?obj\\_id=1865,cmentarz-zydowski-w-sosnowcu-ul-gospodarcza-](http://www.sztetl.org.pl/pl/pwk/?obj_id=1865,cmentarz-zydowski-w-sosnowcu-ul-gospodarcza-) (January 2016).



Pilica (290 tombstones) (Hońdo 1995, 2004; 2012, pp. 55–259), Będzin (192 tombstones) (Garstka 2008), Gliwice (new cemetery – 431 tombstones)<sup>12</sup>, Krzepice (516 tombstones)<sup>13</sup>, Katowice (614 tombstones)<sup>14</sup>, Częstochowa (1647 tombstones), and Zawiercie-Kromołów (665 tombstones)<sup>15</sup> were also used. The author determined the percentage of the tombstones of the given cemetery taken into consideration for the analysis that have a bas-relief, and which part is devoid of any symbolic motifs carved. The author is aware that this sort of analysis is subject to a large margin of error due to significant losses of substances of stone and cast iron caused by devastation that occurred during the period of Hitler's terror and war. Despite this obstacle, however, it was decided to make estimates. The results are shown on the map (fig. 3).

Spatial distribution shows a clear advantage of cemeteries in which tombstones are poor in reliefs in the areas included in the 19th century in the lands which formed an integral part of the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austrian Empire. Limitation of relief scenes on the tombstones (especially on the matzevas) is the result of the influence of the culture of German Jews, who, while creating their communities in the spirit of the Reform<sup>16</sup>, introduced changes not only to the liturgy. Among the changes introduced by the Reform Jewish communities, the most visible ones these days concern sacral buildings: synagogues and elements of cemetery complexes. For example, obelisks with pyramid-shaped tops located in the urban Jewish cemeteries in Upper Silesia (among others in Bytom, Katowice, Mysłowice, and Gliwice) in many cases have an identical form to the tombstones in Berlin-Weissensee Jewish cemetery (Rütenik et al. 2013, pp. 40–41). Simple, decorated handcrafted matzevas, which were in use for decades, began to be replaced, especially in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by tombstones inspired by sepulchral art of the Christian religion. Some were copies of tombs that could be found in the Protestant cemeteries, sometimes even neighboring with Jewish cemeteries, which was the case, for instance in Zabrze<sup>17</sup>. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Reform Judaism in

<sup>12</sup> [http://cemetery.jewish.org.pl/list/c\\_83](http://cemetery.jewish.org.pl/list/c_83) (January 2016).

<sup>13</sup> [http://cemetery.jewish.org.pl/list/c\\_81](http://cemetery.jewish.org.pl/list/c_81) (January 2016).

<sup>14</sup> [http://cemetery.jewish.org.pl/list/c\\_82](http://cemetery.jewish.org.pl/list/c_82) (January 2016).

<sup>15</sup> [www.gidonim.com/he](http://www.gidonim.com/he) (January 2016).

<sup>16</sup> The process of losing a specific “Jewish character” by the cemeteries as a result of assimilation was covered by F. Wiesemann (1992, p. 30).

<sup>17</sup> The Jewish cemetery in Zabrze (founded in 1871) is adjacent to the Evangelical-Augsburg cemetery founded in 1868. Both cemeteries are separated by the common stone wall (Majewska 2016, p. 54).

architecture drew from the existing then Western European trends in sepulchral art, and therefore matzevas in the neoclassicist, and later Neo-Moorish form, began to appear also in Jewish cemeteries<sup>18</sup>.

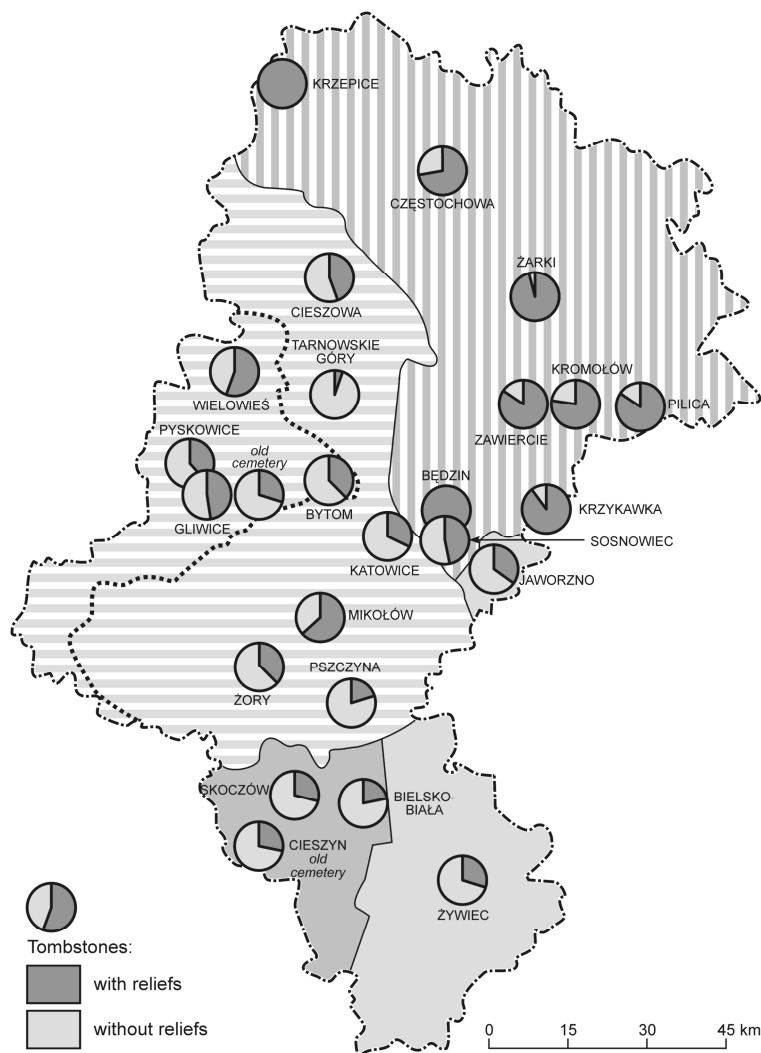


Fig. 3. The presence of reliefs or the lack of them on the tombstones of Jewish cemeteries of Silesian Voivodeship  
Source: own elaboration

<sup>18</sup> Changes in the Jewish religious architecture of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, in particular, in the context of the synagogues are raised, among others, by E. Bergman (2004).

### **3. CEMETERY DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BURIAL SITE**

Arvin wrote: “walking in the cemetery, we come in contact with the history stuck in the soil, plants and stone”<sup>19</sup>. Indeed, it is true because the cemetery is a treasure trove of knowledge about the community that managed it. The source of information for historical research are not only epitaphs carved in the tombstones. To be able to determine as accurately as possible the religious and cultural basis as well as economic status of a particular Jewish community during the period of its operation, not only an attempt of separate analysis of individual components of the cemetery complex should be undertaken. The space of the cemetery should also be treated as a holistic unit, in which one can see the differences in relation to other cemeteries.

Lining up the tombstones in rows certainly occurred in most cemeteries to make the most economical use of burial space. However, alleys do not always constitute the elements of the Jewish cemetery complex. In Pilica and Żarki, there function only provisional passages between the tombstones, which have been trodden as a result of the necessity to move around the cemetery. Wide communication routes began to be included within the study area cemeteries that were established from the second half of the 19th century on. The author suspects that laying out the alleys was mainly associated with taking into consideration the new rules of burial space planning. This is supported by the distribution of cemeteries in which the author recorded the existence of alleys (fig. 4). They occur mainly in the part of the voivodeship which was inhabited largely by, presumably, German progressive Jews (the area belonged to the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austrian Empire until the outbreak of the First World War). It is possible, however, that the cemetery alleys had also a strictly religious significance. L. Hońdo (n.d., p. 4) points out that the wide alleys, called “priests' paths”, enabled persons from the priestly family to enter the cemetery premises. Owing to this, they could avoid ritual impurity while visiting the graves of loved ones.

The turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the time when, in the developing centers of Upper Silesia, in addition to other urban elements, cemeteries were subject to significant changes. At that time, the cemeteries with a clear system of burial plots and alleys began to replace the cemeteries of disordered internal structure and almost chaotic system of burials. These changes can be seen in the Jewish cemeteries within the study area.

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<sup>19</sup> <http://lubimyczytac.pl/cytat/81452> (04.01.2016).

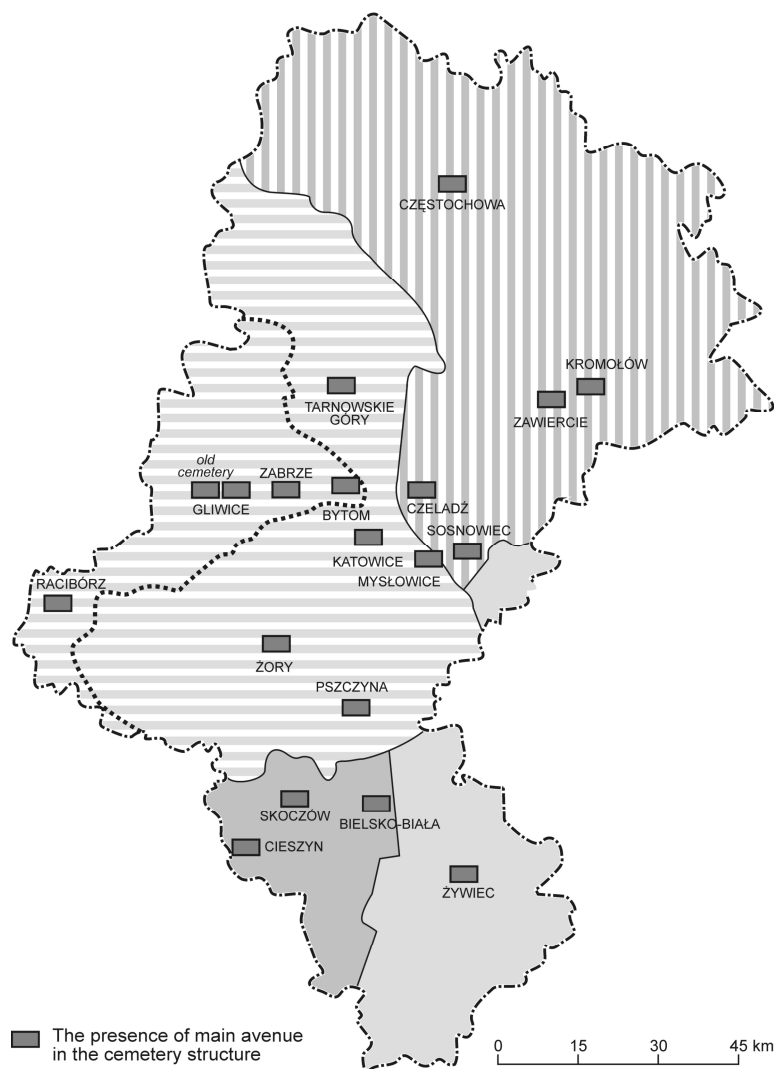


Fig. 4. The presence of the main avenue in the structure of Jewish cemeteries of Silesian Voivodeship  
Source: own elaboration

Together with the composition of the cemetery, the nature and role of the development accompanying the objects was subject to change, as well. *Bet tahara* is also known as “purification house” because, inside it, the members of the Chevra Kadisha brotherhood performed the ritual washing of the body and prepared it for the last passage. Every, even liberal, Jewish community sought to build it. It took a permanent place in the structure of municipal institutions,

although its functions were subject to change. While in Orthodox Jewish communities pre-funeral homes served primarily the purpose of the fulfillment of religious duty, in the communities of Reform Judaism, more emphasis was placed on the sociocultural role. *Bet tahara* was perceived there rather as a representative, worthy place for the last farewell of the deceased<sup>20</sup>.

Out of 64 Jewish cemeteries of the Silesian Voivodeship which existed to the time of Hitler's terror, at least 43 certainly had pre-funeral homes. The author determined the location of 40 objects in relation to the areas of cemeteries. The acquired data allowed for the conclusion that almost all of them were located on the border of the burial area, near the road leading to the cemetery. It was the most practical solution. It was the pre-funeral home where the funeral procession was leaving from. They were built on the periphery of the cemeteries for yet another reason. Part of the building was often designed for the apartment of the caretaker of a cemetery. The burial area was a space considered as unclean, therefore a residential building had to be outside its territory. A house wall was enough; it acted as an insulator protecting from the unclean land (Woronczak 1993, p. 6). Few objects, usually established at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, were separated from the burial ground with free space designed for economic purposes (eg. Gliwice, Bielsko-Biała), or they were even located in the center of the cemetery complex (Cieszyn). What was also noticeable at that time was an increase in the significance of pre-funeral homes in the structure of cemeteries. The institution of *bet tahara* led by the Chevra Kadisha brotherhood, next to the rabbinate, was among the most important institutions of the Jewish community. Particularly, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, funeral brotherhoods were monopolists in the funeral services in many religious communities. Income obtained from burials was significant<sup>21</sup> and could constitute the key revenue for municipalities. Therefore, brotherhoods' headquarters were taken care of, so that they were not only humble objects resembling sheds. Similarly to the synagogues, they were to be more representative. Pre-funeral homes were also built thanks to the foundations

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<sup>20</sup> In the memorial book of the Jewish community of Katowice, the following description of the pre-funeral home of the local pre-war Jewish community was contained: "in turn, the cemetery in Katowice had a wonderful funeral hall, decorated with vases, in which the body was laid before burial. It was said that the pre-funeral home was an edifice which from the inside looked like a theater with a stage formed by the rows of seats set for the mourners in a semicircle" (JewishGen: *Katowice...*).

<sup>21</sup> One piece of evidence of the power possessed by the burial fraternity is a record in the memorial book of the Jewish community of Sosnowiec about a lawsuit initiated against Chevra Kadisha members in Sosnowiec around 1908. They demanded extremely large sums of money for organizing burials (JewishGen: *The Book of Sosnowiec...*).

of wealthy families, which allowed for the construction of buildings that appeared to be the evidence of the great industrial fortunes (eg. Gliwice). Changes in locating these objects also resulted from changes in the way of the cemetery planning. Particular attention was paid to the relationship between the pre-funeral home and the main alley of the cemetery, which more and more often was taken into account during the planning of the burial plots. The basis of the cemetery complex began to be a clear composition axis, and a pre-funeral home positioned at its end became a dominant feature of the landscape of the entire system. Here, reference can be made to figure 5, which graphically shows an example of a thought-out position of the cemetery object in the spatial planning (Bielsko-Biała). A reverse variant is positioning the pre-funeral home in such a way that the location of the building can be considered as not corresponding to the poorly developed spatial layout of the Jewish cemetery (Żarki).

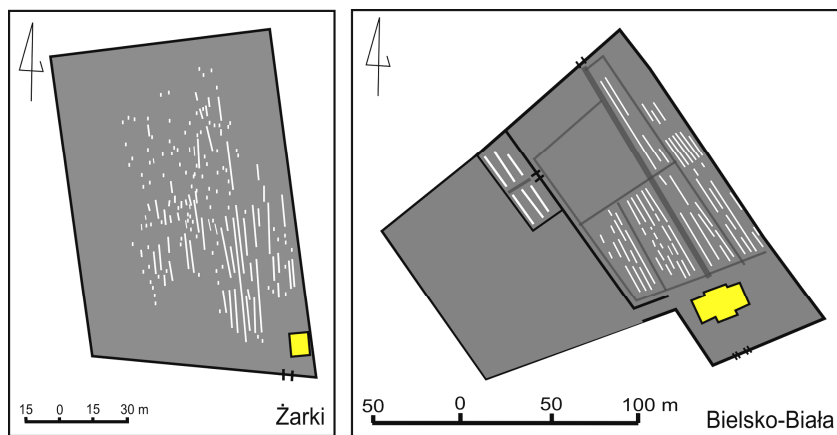


Fig. 5. Examples of the pre-funeral homes locations in the Jewish cemeteries  
Source: own elaboration

Completely or partially, buildings accompanying 18 Jewish cemeteries still exist. Their locations are shown in figure 6. Among the existing buildings, in the case of three cemeteries, their image is incomplete. This is the case in Skoczów-Wilamowice, Krzykawka, near Sławków and Zabrze. In all these Jewish cemeteries, *bet tahara* buildings are non-existent. To date, there have survived there only residential buildings, that is the former houses of gardeners/caretakers. It is worth noting that the objects by the cemetery which still exist today form two clear clusters on the map of the voivodeship. The bigger one is located in its central part within the range of the Silesian-Dąbrowa conurbation. The second one is a region which, in the years 1815–1918, was an integral part of the

Austrian Empire. The author believes that such a distribution of existing buildings to a lesser extent results from the political history of the area. It is clearly noticeable that the objects that have survived are mainly the ones in the largest former and modern urban centers. Probably pre-funeral homes built on their territory are objects characterized by a larger area and more robust construction than in the areas of small shtetls, therefore they were more likely to survive.

The author divided the study area cemetery buildings into the following categories:

1. Individual buildings:
  - 1.1. Single-function objects (pre-funeral home),
  - 1.2. Multifunction objects (pre-funeral home/mortuary/administrative rooms/carriage house/residential rooms/storage rooms),
2. Building complexes (separate pre-funeral home and buildings, eg. residential).

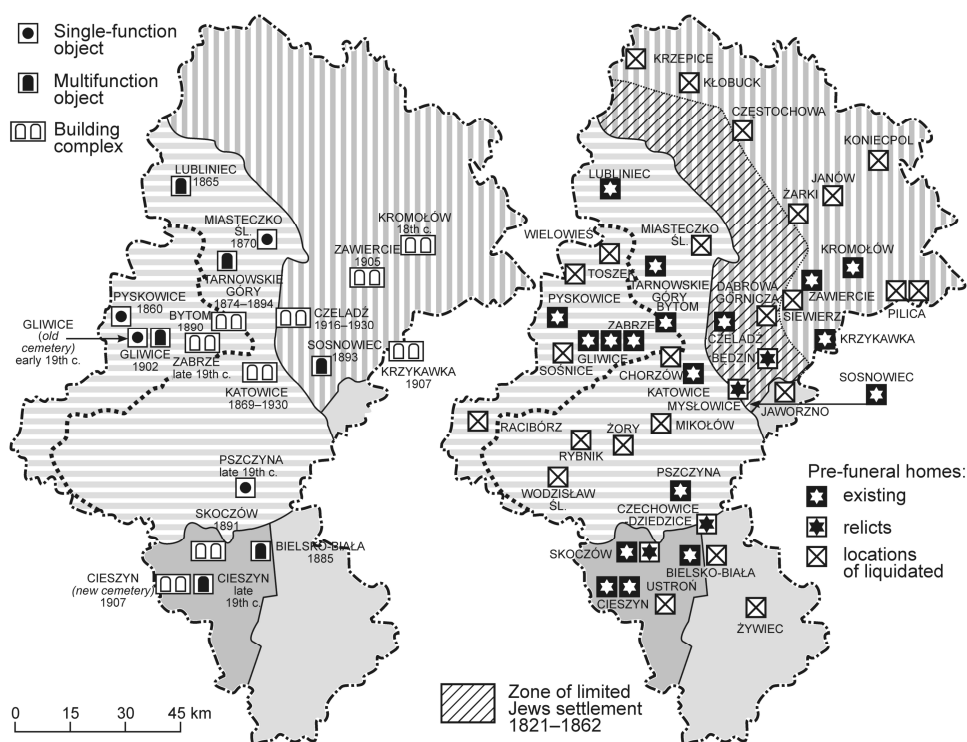


Fig. 6. Pre-funeral homes of Jewish cemeteries in the Silesian Voivodeship

Source: own elaboration

According to this division, a map showing the distribution of the particular types of construction in the voivodeship was drawn up (fig. 6). It includes all the objects, also non-existent now (eg. Miasteczko Śląskie), on which information is known in terms of their architecture and function. Given the nature of urban centers in which the objects were built, it can be assumed that impressive single multifunction buildings remained the domain of large cities, where a circle of Jews turning to the ideas of Reform Judaism expanded the fastest, reaching a significant voice in organizational matters of the municipality. When a single building is located at the cemetery which was founded in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, it can be assumed that it was a traditional *bet tahara* having only rooms for preparations for the funeral ceremony (eg. Gliwice – old cemetery). This is indicated by a small cubic capacity of the building. However, after 1850, customs began to change. Bigger buildings designed for not only the pre-funeral home but also apartment for the caretaker, among others, started to be built. It was a solution being in a slight contradiction with the tradition of separating the space reserved for the living and the space reserved for the dead. The evolution in cemetery buildings is tangible evidence of religious changes taking place within the communities themselves. Urban communities started to be increasingly subjected not only to the Haskalah but also to the new emerging lifestyle of German Jews, who were strongly associated with the confession of Reform Judaism.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The author showed the variation of cemeteries in the voivodeship on the basis of analyses of particular elements of the cemetery complexes. Territorial location of particular communities, and therefore their functioning in various political, social and cultural conditions was one of the main factors shaping the physiognomy of religious objects. Differences were also the aftermath of discrepancies in terms of religion, namely the functioning of both conservative and liberal communities.

The author distinguished two types of physiognomy of Jewish cemeteries:

1. Characteristics of the physiognomy of objects typical of the conservative communities,
2. Characteristics of the physiognomy of objects typical of the Reform communities.

They were listed in a tabular form showing the main differences between necropolises.



Table 1. Variation of physiognomy of Jewish cemeteries divided into two types of Jewish communities functioning in the study area

Physiognomic characteristics of cemeteries of Jewish conservative communities	Physiognomic characteristics of cemeteries of Jewish progressive communities
Typical of the area that formerly belonged to	
the Kingdom of Poland	the Kingdom of Prussia
Cemetery	
<p>Lack of clear division into rows, row layout may occur, but it is relatively irregular, lack of clear division of the cemetery into burial plots</p> <p>Lack of representative alley</p> <p>Burials at the cemetery conducted according to the order resulting from religious restrictions and tradition: there can be division into separate zones of burial for women and men</p> <p>Burials of priests (cohens) in the first rows – traditional order of burials</p> <p>Rare occurrence of children's tombstones, location of children's tombstones among adult graves, no separate burial plots for children</p> <p>Ohels of tzadiks/rabbis can stand out in the cemetery space</p> <p>Tombstones located on the east-west axis, or slightly deviating from the east-west axis</p> <p>Rich sculpture decoration of tombstones; rich symbolism, unprofessional, handicraft funerary art</p> <p>Mostly the traditional form of tombstones, cylindrical tombstones</p> <p>No planned plantings in the cemetery, chaotic, wild, and unplanned green area</p> <p>Cemetery is not adjacent to a heterodox necropolis</p>	<p>Clear division into rows of tombstones, clear regular distribution of tombstones, division into burial plots occurs</p> <p>Representative alley</p> <p>Burials at the cemetery conducted, to a lesser extent, according to the religious criterium and tradition; division into male and female burial plots disappears; common occurrence of family tombs</p> <p>Burials of people of merit for the community or representatives of wealthy families in the first and representative rows</p> <p>Separate burial plots for children, usually in the first, front burial plots of the cemetery, frequent marking of children's graves</p> <p>Division into zones of burial according to certain religious congregations (Orthodox, Reform) may occur in the cemetery</p> <p>Tombstones located not only on the traditional east-west axis but also on the north-south axis</p> <p>Poor sculpture decoration of tombstones, simplified symbolism</p> <p>Presence of obelisks, impressive tombs, rectangular and chest tombstones</p> <p>Green area is an important component of the cemetery complex, numerous planned plantings, tree alleys, green area – well-groomed and taken care of</p> <p>Cemetery may be adjacent to the Christian necropolis</p>

Buildings in the cemetery complex	
Modest building of the pre-funeral home, rarely including residential rooms for the gravedigger/guardian, single function building, separation of the pre-funeral home from the guardian's apartment through the creation of a building complex Random location of buildings, lack of connections with the composition layout of the necropolis	The pre-funeral home mostly includes the apartment of the gravedigger/guardian and utility rooms, brick building, representative, multifunction building Planned location of the buildings, a clear composition relationship between the pre-funeral home and the course of the alleys

Source: own study.

The author's proposal regarding the division of the Jewish cemeteries into the two groups, according to their physiognomic characteristics is reflected, among others, in the studies by Ziątkowski (2012, pp. 36–37), who, in the area of Upper Silesia, observed characteristics of a “borderland”, and precisely the suspension between the “German” (Western European) model and a “Polish” (Eastern European) model, taking into account the characteristics of Jewish communities functioning in this area in the 19th century. Jewish communities of particular towns were in many cases very different internally. Starting from the day of the partitions (the late 18th century) in the study area, Hasidic communities marked their presence, bringing into the particular communities new forms of religious life: a kind of cult of *tzadiks*, a different way of leading prayers. Groups of Jews representing Rabbinic Judaism, the most traditional, based solely on the Torah and the Talmud, so-called current of *mitnagdism*, distinguished themselves in the communities. They were opponents of Hasidism, then regarded as orthodox, just as Hasidim today (Lewalski 2013, pp. 71–72). In the communities, next to the supporters of tradition, there also appeared *maskilim* – progressive Jews, whose milieu was shaped through the influence of the Haskalah.

Therefore, in the Silesian Voivodeship, apart from the communities which seemed to have almost fully functioned in the conservative<sup>22</sup> or Reform spirit, there was a number of communities which, in terms of physiognomy of religious objects (including some cemeteries), the author could define as “intermediate” structures. The communities which, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, underwent a specific process of cultural transformation, whose ma-

<sup>22</sup> Particularly within the Kingdom of Poland, where, as reported by Lewalski (2013, pp. 67–68), the Jews established closed and isolated communities, there functioned a conservative community model.

nifestations were the changing forms and layouts of particular institutional elements – including the cemetery and synagogue, belong to this category. This was the case, for example in Zabrze, whose synagogue before the reconstruction exhibited features of a traditional, classicist synagogue in terms of its style<sup>23</sup>. In turn, after the reconstruction in 1898, it was an impressive building combining the Neo-Romanesque and Moorish features, equipped with two onion towers. Similar changes occurred within the space of the cemetery, in which grand tombs began to appear, representing through their forms the then trends in Christian, and not traditional Jewish, sepulchral art.

The issue of spatial variation of objects of Jewish religious heritage requires in many respects conducting more detailed research. The author in her discussion focused on the synthetic analysis concerning the entire study area. It is necessary to undertake archival analyzes for a better understanding of the specifics of the particular cemetery objects and fully define their character, for instance the religious character.

*Translated by Małgorzata Wojciechowska*

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<sup>23</sup> The image of the synagogue in Zabrze, before the reconstruction was published by Z. Gołasz (2012, p. 328).

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## **BORDERLAND OF NATIONS AND DENOMINATIONS – THE CASE OF THE DUCHY OF CIESZYN**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Cieszyn Silesia is a historical region currently located on both sides of the Polish-Czech border on the Olza River, in the south part of the Silesian Voivodeship. Administratively, the region is centred within the Cieszyn and the Bielsko poviats. The Czech part of the region is located within the Karviná, Ostrava and Frýdek districts. In the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Duchy of Cieszyn ceased to be part of the Kingdom of Poland, along with the entire Silesia. Later, the area, as well as the Kingdom of Bohemia, were incorporated into Habsburg territory. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Wenceslaus III Adam the Duke of Cieszyn of the Piast house, declared Lutheranism to be the primary religion in the Duchy of Cieszyn, which was a highly significant event for the future of the region. In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a greater part of Silesia found itself under the rule of Prussia, while Cieszyn and Opava Silesia remained under the rule of Austria. It is clearly evident that the history of this region differs not only from the history of Poland but also the history of the other parts of Silesia (Kubica 2011).

The aim of this article is to analyse the unique character of Cieszyn Silesia as a region with the greatest concentration of Lutherans in contemporary Poland. The fact that this region has been a borderland between nations and religions makes this place even more exceptional. The relics of tangible cultural heritage of the denominations inhabiting the area will be presented in order to indicate the diversity of the region.

The topic of religious minorities was a popular theme in literature after 1990. As far as Cieszyn Silesia and the dominant Augsburg Lutheran church are concerned, it may have been influenced by the fact that the Lutherans were an

active part of the community and the cultural life of this region. The theme of publication concerning religion and faith is more varied in the area of Cieszyn Silesia when compared to the rest of Poland. Still, there is lack of literature which would deal with the modern functioning of religious minorities on local and regional scale.

In order to achieve the aim of this article, methods used by geography of religions and anthropology were applied. Out of the many analytical methods, the emphasis of the article was placed on the so-called “cameral” method, which involves collection and critical analysis of data obtained from such source materials as literature and other publications like parish brochures and internet resources.

## **2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE IN CIESZYN SILESIA**

Cieszyn Silesia is a borderland area populated with various nationalities. Administratively, the area of Cieszyn Silesia, on the Polish side, consists of the Cieszyn powiat, the eastern part of the Bielsko powiat, and the western part of the city Bielsko-Biała (with the rights of a powiat). The whole area is located within the borders of the Silesian Voivodeship. On the Czech side, it includes the Karviná district, the eastern part of the Frydek-Mistek district, the eastern part of the Ostrava district, and the eastern part of Ostrava city. The entire area is located within the borders of the Moravian-Silesian region (fig. 1).

The development of Lutheranism was also strengthened by Wenceslaus III Adam, who issued the so-called Church Order (Polish: *Porządek Kościelny*) – a document that regulated all aspects of church life according to Augsburg confession in the Duchy. After his death, his wife, Sidonia Catherine supported the undertaking initiated by her husband by constructing the Augsburg-Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity (Żerański 2009). After assuming power, the son of the couple, Adam Wenceslaus continued the Reformation in Cieszyn Silesia. He was a devout Evangelical, as confirmed by a document issued in 1598 which stated that only the Evangelic Church is allowed in the Duchy. However, his attitude was significantly altered when he converted to Catholicism. He ordered the Cieszyn believers of Evangelicalism to convert, he banished the Lutheran preachers from his land and demanded that the temples they used be returned to Catholics (Grabowski 1996).

The devastation of the area resulting from the Thirty Years' War proved to be severe. Cieszyn Silesia was occupied by both the imperial army and the Protes-



tant Union. When Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor abolished Protestantism, nearly all Lutheran churches were closed. From that point on, the services were conducted in remote areas, forests or in the outskirts of towns. After this, the Lutheran believers entered a particularly difficult and turbulent period (Żerański 2009).

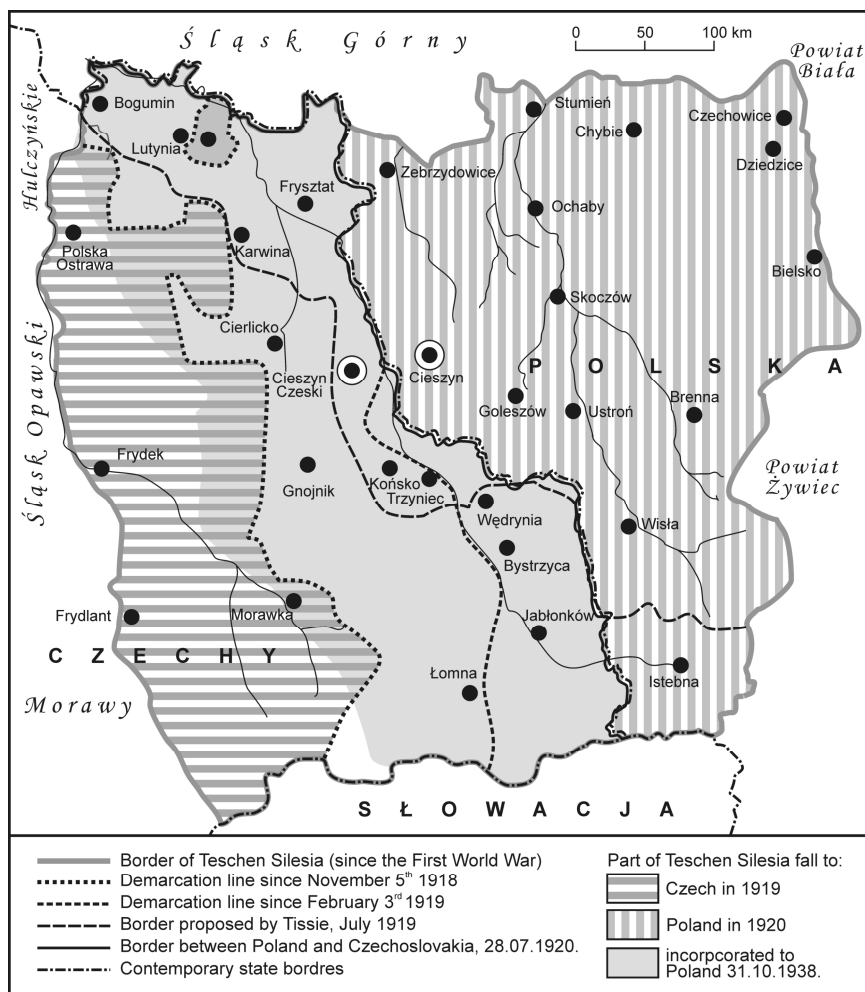


Fig. 1. The boundaries of Cieszyn Silesia in the historical period 1918–1920  
Sources: based on <http://www.cieszyn.pl/?p=categoriesShow&iCategory=2565>  
(30.07.2016)

It was not until the peace treaty in Altranstädt in 1707 when the situation improved. Emperor Joseph II agreed to restore freedom of belief in some Silesian Duchies. He also gave permission for building a few Evangelical

churches, for instance in Cieszyn and Jelenia Góra. However, the persecution of the Evangelicals and Lutherans continued. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Joseph II issued the Patent of Toleration, which granted the Evangelical and Orthodox citizens of the Habsburg Monarchy the rights only available to Christians<sup>1</sup>. The prejudice and stereotypes were still perpetuated by local factors such as the activity of the Catholic clergy. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Cieszyn was the intellectual centre for Evangelicals in Silesia and other provinces of the Austria-Hungary Empire. Other oppressive religious impediments were abolished during the Revolutions of 1848. In 1861, changes were introduced by a document issued by the Emperor, the so called Protestant Patent<sup>2</sup>. It made the Evangelical and Catholic believers equal permanently and granted the Evangelical Church complete autonomy (Grabowski 1966).

Cieszyn Silesia also includes the Bielsko-Żywiecka diocese of the Catholic Church<sup>3</sup>. Since the beginning of the Christian history in the area up until the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it was the only religion that existed in these parts. During the Counter-Reformation, Catholic beliefs were reintroduced, with the help of the ruling Catholic Habsburg House. The process of introduction of the Catholic belief was first implemented in the area of today's Cieszyn poviat. Later on, the villages on the northern part of the poviat followed. When Poland regained its independence and Cieszyn Silesia was divided, the religious structure was completely altered again. The Katowice diocese was created in 1925 and the area in question was incorporated into the Bielsko-Żywiecka diocese in 1992. The poviats (Cieszyn and Bielsko) included in Cieszyn Silesia have ten Catholic deaneries. Sixty percent of all inhabitants occupying this region on the Polish side are now Catholic<sup>4</sup>.

Other denominations can also be found in the Cieszyn and Bielsko poviats, such as the Evangelical-Methodist Church, the Seventh-day Adventist Church,

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<sup>1</sup> The Patent of Toleration (German: *Toleranzpatent*) was an edict issued in 1781 by the Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II. The patent granted citizens' rights to non-Catholic Christians (for instance the right to purchase property, access to higher education), as well as religious freedom (with some exceptions), with a reservation that Catholicism remained the prevailing and privileged religion (Michejda 1992).

<sup>2</sup> Protestant Patent (German: *Protestantenpatent*) – a document issued in 8 April, 1861 by Franz Joseph I of Austria. It instituted new laws for the functioning of the Evangelical Church in Austrian Empire, equalising its rights with the Catholic Church (Michejda 1992).

<sup>3</sup> Data from the official website of the Bielsko-Żywiecka diocese of the Roman Catholic Church: <http://diecezja.bielsko.pl/historia-diecezji/>.

<sup>4</sup> A two-piece extra to the newspaper *Głos Ziemi Cieszyńskiej*, no. 44 and 45, 11.2005, *Panorama Parafii Katolickich Ziemi Cieszyńskiej*.

the Church of Free Christians, the Pentecostal Church, the Polish Catholic Church, the Brunstad Christian Church (Norwegian Brothers) and the Jehovah's Witnesses (Żerański 2010). Such diversity of religions is also present on the Czech side of Cieszyn Silesia (in Poland also known as Zaolzie). The churches that can be found there are: Lutheranism, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the Church of Brethren and the Czech Apostolic Church. On the Czech side of Cieszyn, there is also a Jehovah's Witness hall and a Buddhist centre (Żerański 2009).

### **3. THE DIVERSITY OF NATIONS AND RELIGIONS IN CIESZYN SILESIA**

The history of the Cieszyn diocese of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, within which Cieszyn Silesia is still located, dates back to 1918. Its first Senior (bishop's counterpart) was the reverend Franciszek Michejda. Another important date in the history of Lutheranism within the area took place in 1919 when the local Evangelicals introduced a resolution in which they expressed their clear desire to incorporate Cieszyn Silesia into Poland. This was directly linked to the ongoing border conflict between Poland and Czechoslovakia (Miszewski 2013).

The Evangelicals in the area are mainly the descendants of the Cieszyn Silesian inhabitants who converted to Evangelicalism under Wenceslaus III Adam. There are 38,000 Lutherans on the Polish side of Cieszyn Silesia, 4,500 out of them living in Cieszyn and 6,500 in Wisła (Żerański 2009). The residence of the Cieszyn diocese's bishop is located in the parish in Bielsko-Biała and the current bishop of the parish is Adrian Korczago.

The Lutheran congregation in Cieszyn consists of the Cieszyn parish and its 8 branch congregations with a total number of around 7,000 people. A significant number of people of this congregation are concentrated around Wisła. The city has 5 parishes: one in the centre, and four in the districts of Malinka, Jawornik, Głębiec and Czarne, with a total population of 6,500.

Apart from the ones mentioned, there are also the Lutheran parishes in Jaworze, Skoczów, Ustroń, Goleszów, Dziągiew, Cisownica, Czechowice-Dziedzice, Międzyrzecze and Istebna (Żerański 2010). Such distribution of parishes is not coincidental. It is strictly connected to the history of this region, especially to the borders of the former Duchy of Cieszyn where, with few exceptions, most of the parish churches are currently located (Krystjanik 1998).

While analysing the extent of the distribution of the churches, certain regularity can be noticed only within the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession whose parishes are concentrated in the south of the Silesian Voivodeship. Other religions are distributed irregularly and scattered widely all over the area. A more focused group of congregations can only be noticed in Bielsko-Biała. It is the most populated city of the region, with a multi-faith society present for many years because of the migration flows. The typical anonymity of big cities is another cause for the plurality of faiths and religious groups (Krystjanik 1998).

For centuries, Cieszyn Silesia has been the location of clashes between three nations, Polish, Czech and German. At the time of Austria-Hungary, German was the dominant nation. In mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Polish intellectual society started rebelling against the Germans and fighting for their national identity in this area. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Czechs started fighting for the territorial integrity of the Duchy of Cieszyn against both Poles and Germans. They claimed their rights to Moravia and Austrian Silesia, as those lands historically belonged to the Czech lands included in the Habsburg Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, the Poles demanded Cieszyn Silesia to be a part of Galicia, divided after the downfall of Austria-Hungary between Poland and Czech on the basis of ethnicity. The battle for the national identity of the inhabitants of the Duchy of Cieszyn took place mostly at Polish, Czech and German schools. After the dissolution of Austria-Hungry in 1918, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria competed severely for the Duchy of Cieszyn. The critical factors which influenced the attractiveness of this place for these countries were mainly its high industrialisation, the massive wealth of natural resources, as well as well-developed infrastructure (Miszewski 2013).

Eventually, this rivalry led to a conflict between Poland and Czechoslovakia after the First World War, from 1919 to 1920. The main reason for the war on the border was the organisation of the parliamentary election in 1919. Whether the land would be a part of Poland or Czechoslovakia was supposed to be decided by a plebiscite. The plebiscite was not held due to a diplomatic black-mail in the Belgian city Spa. When the Soviet army was approaching Warsaw, the Czechoslovakian government banned the supplies of weapons from the West to Poland and resumed them only after the Polish prime minister Grabski cancelled the plebiscite and agreed to submit the dispute over the border to international arbitration. As a result of the Czechoslovakian military interventions, Zaolzie, which was a part of Cieszyn Silesia inhabited mostly by the Poles, was incorporated into their country (Miszewski 2013). The result of the conflict over Cieszyn Silesia was a permanent deterioration of mutual relations

between Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Czech's annexation of these lands was the main reason for the subsequent Polish seizure of Zaolzie in 1938. It was also a continuation of the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, which was commenced by the Munich Agreement<sup>5</sup> in September 1938 and the annexation of Sudetenland by the Nazis. Military actions were also undertaken in this area in 1945.

The problem of Cieszyn Silesia in the Polish-Czech relations has grown so much that even after both countries regained their independence in 1989, the repercussions of those past events are still present (for instance the destruction of Polish signs in the Czech Cieszyn Silesia, or the controversial case of devastation of the general Josef Šnejdárka's monument in Czech's Cieszyn). Fortunately, the events from years ago do not influence the relations between Poland and the Czech Republic as they used to, and both belligerent sides managed to reach an agreement in mutual European institutions (Visegrad Group, EU) and military institutions (NATO). Moreover, the Czech and Polish Cieszyn Silesia were included in the Euroregion called Cieszyn Silesia in 1998 (Miszewski 2013).

#### 4. THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF CIESZYN SILESIA

Cieszyn Silesia's cultural diversity is conditioned by several factors. The most important one is the location on the border between countries, nations and religions. Another crucial fact is that Cieszyn Silesia is located on the Moravian Gate, a place where the main trading routes in Europe such as the Amber Road and the Salt Road used to cross. The close proximity of these routes caused the influence of different nations: Polish, Czech, German and Jewish to intermix from the earliest times and create a peculiar cultural mosaic. Moreover, since the 15<sup>th</sup> century the influence of Vlach colonisation appeared in this area, along with previously unknown hut settlements and peculiar forms of folk art (Czerwińska 2015).

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<sup>5</sup> Munich Agreement – an agreement signed at the conference in Munich (29–30.09) concerning the annexation of part of Czechoslovakia's territory by Nazi Germany. It was the main point of appeasement – the policy of concessions to Nazi Germany. Without the presence of Czechoslovakia's representatives, the leaders of Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy decided to give Czechoslovakian territory demanded by the Nazis to Germany. As a result of this agreement, the Nazi Germany obtained a strip of land on the Czech-German border (Sudetenland). The surface area of the territory was 29,000 square kilometers, constituting almost 40 per cent of the Czech, Moravia and Cieszyn Silesia surface. Most of the inhabitants were German.

The location in close proximity of trading routes aided the development of settlements, for which the economic, cultural and political centre was Cieszyn. The Cieszyn villages were developing parallel to the city network. Their economy was based on agriculture and pastoralism which also had an influence on the traditions and customs of the region.

The diversity of Cieszyn Silesia's cultural heritage was also caused by its ever-changing affiliation to different countries and its heterogeneity of religions. The gradual influx of Christianity and later of Protestantism and Judaism, as well as other religious groups, established Cieszyn Silesia as one of the most religiously diverse places in Poland (Czerwińska 2015).

The presence of Christianity on this border of religions can be seen in Saint Nicolas rotunda on the castle hill, probably dating back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The rotunda used to function as a temple for the inhabitants of the surrounding settlement until the parish church in the city centre was built. The development of Christianity in the Cieszyn region also became the reason for building monasteries in the area. The first to arrive there were the monks of the Dominican Order who settled in Cieszyn. Other monasteries followed – the Franciscans and the Sisters of Saint Elisabeth (fig. 2). Till this day, their contribution to the development of the region is emphasised by the monastery buildings, serving not only as accommodation for the monks and nuns, but also as schools and hospitals. Some of the buildings connected with the religious cult and monasteries became the main reason for the designation of the walking trail of this area called *Via Sacra. Churches and monasteries in Cieszyn and the Czech's Cieszyn* (Czerwińska 2015).

In the times of Reformation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Cieszyn Silesia became an Evangelical stronghold. Reformation also brought the standards and models of western civilisation, which were welcomed along with Lutheranism, thus making the local culture more varied and prosperous.

Undoubtedly, the Evangelical believers of Cieszyn contributed to the development of the local culture, especially the literature written in their mother tongue. The activity of this community can be seen not only in the temples, but also in many other buildings of public interest, now serving as the main reason for a tourist project called *The memory route of the Cieszyn Evangelicals* (Czerwińska 2015).

National and cultural diversity of the borderland can also be observed in Jewish monuments and historical buildings. The Jews came to Cieszyn Silesia in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and, although settlement was not permitted in that place, they positioned themselves in the cultural landscape of the region. Under the law, they were allowed to handle only small-scale trade, so they settled

mainly in cities, where they set up synagogues, prayer houses and cemeteries. Most of the buildings connected with Judaism were destroyed during the first days of the Second World War. Only symbolic traces remained, such as few monuments of material culture in local cities, especially Cieszyn, and some artefacts in the local museum.



Fig. 2. The convent of Saint Elisabeth – Cieszyn

Sources: <http://trail.pl/szlaki/cieszyn-trasa-spacerowa-bobrecka-9782/zdjecia/23565>  
(30.07.2016)

One of the best-preserved traces of Judaism in the region is the Jewish house on Mennicza 4 street in Cieszyn. Since 1640, for over 150 years, it functioned as a Jewish prayer house. As the function of the building was changed before the Second World War, it survived the war and it can be visited until this day.

The only extant building that functioned as a Jewish prayer house before the war in the Czech's Cieszyn is a tenement house on Božkova 16, where a synagogue has been located since 1928 (Czerwińska 2015). Other places connected with Judaism in Cieszyn Silesia to survive the war include cemeteries. One of them, the so-called Old Jewish Cemetery, is located in Cieszyn by Hażłaska street (fig. 3). The matzevas preserved there date back to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Jewish cemeteries in the area survived the war without major damage, but they started to fall into disrepair because of negligence. Only at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, owing to the representatives from the Jewish Community in Bielsko-Biała, the cemeteries have been restored to their former glory. Similar proceeding was undertaken in the case of another Jewish cemetery, located in Skoczów in the district Wilamowice on Ptasia 2 street, which has undergone revalorisation works (Spyra 2005).

The cultural heritage of the Duchy of Cieszyn also consist of several buildings under the supervision of museums. Some traces of natural and cultural heritage, material as well as non-material, can be seen in Cieszyn. The role that the city held for centuries is reflected in epithets given to the city, for instance: “Little Vienna” or “the city of schools and churches”. The museums in this region have a lot to offer. The biggest one in the region, the Museum of Cieszyn Silesia is located by the main square, in the city centre of Cieszyn (Czerwińska 2015).



Fig. 3. Old Jewish Cemetery – Cieszyn

Sources: <http://www.cieszyn.pl/?p=categoriesShow&iCategory=2297>  
(30.07.2016)

Among different branches of museums, the one in Wisła deserves special attention due to the exceptional elements of the Cieszyn Silesia's culture – pastoralism. When typical agriculture developed in the Cieszyn Foothills, pastoralism thrived at the foot of Silesian Beskids, brought there thanks to Vlach settlements in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Czerwińska 2015).

Staying on the subject of the Cieszyn Silesia's villages cultural heritage, the best-known villages that preserve the distinct tradition include such places as: Istebna, Koniaków and Jaworzynka, the so-called Trivillage of Beskids (Polish: *Trójwieś Beskidzka*), as well as the village of Brenna. These villages are famous for preserving numerous elements of folk culture. A well-known place where folk culture seems to be still alive is the Museum in Istebna, located in a wooden cottage built in 1863. The Museum organises classes conducted by the guides wearing traditional folk costumes, speaking local dialect and accompanied by folk music. When visiting this part of Cieszyn Silesia, attention should be drawn to local art such as wooden sculpture, woodcarving, making and decorating



traditional costumes, cross-stitching and point lace, a characteristic form of craft in Koniaków. The finely crafted lace from Koniaków allowed it to compete with large scale production for years. The products of local lace makers can be admired in the Regional House of Maria Gwarek in Koniaków (fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Lace products from Koniaków

Sources: <http://metropolia.silesia.travel/Poi/Pokaz/15821/1872/muzeum-koronki-izba-pamieci-marii-gwarek-w-koniakowie> (28.08.2016)

The Poles living in Zaolzie (the common name for the western part of the Upper Silesian Duchy of Cieszyn) also attempt to shape the cultural heritage of this borderland area. In 1920, after handing over the disputed territory of Cieszyn Silesia to the Czechs, new authorities implemented detrimental policies against the Poles, back then the dominant nation in this area. Several months after the partition of Zaolzie, a census falsely indicated that the number of the Poles decreased by half within just a couple of years. Administrative separateness was abolished and the land was incorporated into Czechoslovakia. It prevented Poles from accessing local authorities, most of Polish schools were also closed (Drabina 2002).

Despite difficult conditions and hostile authorities, the Poles living there have until this day preserved the connection with their country by maintaining their local folk culture as well as their local dialect, classified as a Silesian dialect of Polish. According to the latest national census in 2011, the number of Poles in the Moravian-Silesian Region was 28,430<sup>6</sup>. However, there are disturbing signals

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<sup>6</sup> In accordance with the national census of 2011 (the given number does not include declarations of mixed nationality).

from Zaolzie where the Poles are accused of the demolition of a monument of Czech hero, general Šnejdárka, with some Czech websites advocating hostility towards the Poles from Zaolzie with such slogans as “Poles, get out of Zaolzie”.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Cieszyn Silesia has been the borderland of religions and nations where members of at least three different denominations and nationalities have lived side by side for hundreds of years. They developed material and non-material works, nowadays broadly recognised as the cultural heritage of the region. Both the heritage and the sense of local separateness, like in many other regions, form the key elements of the strategy of development and promotion of these regions.

There were several key factors that influenced the heritage. One of the most important of them was the nationality that conditioned widely understood history of the borderland, as well as the denominations present in that area, according to the rule: *cuius regio eius religio* (whose rule, his religion) (Krystjanik 1998).

Furthermore, the location of the area was also significant, in the close proximity of well-developed trading routes, it was the primary cause for settling down of communities. Another vital reason which conditioned today's image of Cieszyn Silesia was the religious tolerance common in this area, apart from some difficult historical periods such as the Counter-Reformation and both World Wars, allowed different communities to coexist despite their differences. Over the years, this enabled the construction of buildings connected with specific congregations such as monasteries, churches, prayer houses and cemeteries that permanently changed the landscape of these areas. The factor that was equally important was the plurality of coexisting communities, which resulted in mutual impact of many cultures like agriculture or pastoralism, previously absent in Silesia. It should be noted that each of the “cultures” present here now brought different art, dialect, folk costumes, handicrafts and even culinary traditions.

Despite its historical challenges, the current inhabitants of the borderland area look forward to taking advantage of the cultural heritage of the previous generations. The uniqueness of this region remains a priority for them, as it forms the basis for their tourist offer of the borderland area. This includes Cieszyn Silesia's offer that is addressed not only to the Polish visitors but also to the tourists from all over Europe. Cieszyn Silesia offers a wide range of opportunities to familiarise oneself with the cultural heritage in various ways, starting from the tourists trails, through the renewal of the folklore groups, openings of new museums, exhibitions and regional memorial rooms, regional

workshops, and projects organised on a grander scale in the context of the Euroregion. One of the examples of such projects can be the Polish-Czech's Academy of Dying Professions which includes several minor projects (Czerwińska 2015).

Since 2007, by the means of the Schengen Agreement, the borders within the region have been abolished, with the ability to move freely essential to the promotion of the region. It also facilitates initiatives not limited by space.

Despite the fact that the range of the initiatives and forms of promotion discussed earlier is varied, further development and strengthening of cooperation is greatly desired, not only within the tourist sector but also in terms of economy and society, through the appointment of joint academies, businesses or Special Economic Zones, as well as bringing the communities on both sides of the relatively young border closer together.

To sum up the analysis of the borderland like Cieszyn Silesia, it is important to recognise that this region handles its diversity in a creative way. It needs to be reminded that the cultural heritage of the area cannot be treated only as the heritage of the previous generations. It is a certain collection of material and non-material works of the historical, as well as present generations. It is a collection which particular components that are constantly evoked, repeated, while new elements are dynamically added by subsequent generations.

*English verification by Jarosław Sawiuk*

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## **GEOGRAPHICAL-POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE ORIGINS OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE REGION OF ŁÓDŹ**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The presentation contributes to the research on the origins and spread of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Poland, with the special attention to be paid to the Łódź region. The aim of this presentation is to establish geographical-political aspects determining factors behind the settlement of the said area by the Orthodox population. Certain cities in Poland will constitute a reference point for the research. While analysing these factors, the features that distinguish the region of Łódź from other regions inhabited by the Orthodox population make themselves visible. The ongoing changes in the religious structure within the country will be related to past events.

According to the Central Statistical Office data “Religious denominations in Poland 2012–2014”, 504,400 people declared the affiliation to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 2014. When referring to the development of the parish network and its present form, it should be mentioned that the process of shaping of the contemporary territorial structure within the new country borders took place in the 1940s and 1950s. At that time, the priority was to regulate the jurisdiction over the Orthodox parishes. It should be stressed that those changes were the elements of a multiple-stage process of diocese structure formation. Warsaw Metropolis, which was located within the whole territory of Poland, on the 7 of September 1951 was divided into four dioceses:

- the Warsaw-Bielsko diocese,
- the Białystok-Gdańsk diocese,
- the Łódź-Poznań diocese,
- the Wrocław-Szczecin diocese.

The area of the diocese was based on the administrative division of Poland. In the 1980s, two new dioceses were created – the Przemyśl-Nowy Sącz (in 1983) and the Lublin-Chełm (in 1989). The turn of the 1980s and 1990s brought the religious revival which was the result of, among others, the political situation, which means that people were granted greater freedom and civil liberty. The effect of such events was the creation of new pastoral establishments. A great number of the Orthodox believers inhabit the area which belongs to the Warsaw-Bielsko diocese (the eastern parts of the diocese) and the Białystok-Gdańsk diocese, which is reflected in a good financial situation of the dioceses. In other dioceses, the congregation is spread across them in a diasporic manner or indirectly. Within the Wrocław-Szczecin diocese and the north of the Białystok-Gdańsk diocese, diasporas are the result of the displacement of the Orthodox population right after the Second World War. At that time, Ukrainians, Belarussians, Russians, Lemkos and Poles were displaced. Within the Przemyśl-Nowy Sącz diocese and the Lublin-Chełm diocese the diasporic character of the Orthodox clusters is also visible. It is the result of the displacement of the Lemkos to the west and the north of the country and the displacement of the Ukrainians to the area of the former USSR right after the Second World War, or the earlier departures into the USSR after the First World War (Mielnik 2012).

The following sections will present the origins of the Orthodox populations, by starting from the formation of the Orthodox Church in Poland. Because of the contributive character of this case study, only some selected cities related to the Church will be discussed in order to outline the nature of the origins of the Orthodox population in the region of Łódź.

## 2. THE METHODIAN MISSIONS

While referring to the origins of the Eastern Orthodox Church on the Polish lands, it should be noted that there are some controversies regarding this matter. It is worth noting that among some scholars there is the view that the origins of the Orthodox Church are related to the relations between Slavs and Byzantine culture. The development of the missionary movement of Cyril and Methodius (the Greek apostles) on the Polish lands in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, influenced the adoption of a more advanced form. They carried out missions in, for instance, the Great Moravian Empire which included some of the contemporary lands of Poland such as the Lesser Poland and Silesia. It must be considered that the face of the Methodian Missions influenced the formation of Christianity in the southern parts of contemporary Poland. Scholars assume various stands with

respect to the origins – according to some, it is a part of the Christianity in the Slavic Rite, others claim that it is the Christianity in the Roman Rite but only preached in the Slavic language (Rykała 2011). It is impossible to expressly verify the influence the Methodian Mission had on the Polish lands. In the book *Łódź wielowyznaniowa. Dzieje wspólnot religijnych od 1914 r.* (Multi-faith Łódź. Religious community since 1914) we read: „[...] the Cyril and Methodius mission was of episodic nature and did not play a significant role in Christianisation of these lands” (Badziak et al. 2014, p. 253). On the other hand, P. Gerent (2007) states that in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Silesia along with Wrocław found themselves within the border of the Great Moravian Empire and the adoption of the Christianity in the Byzantine Rite was most likely to have occurred.

The origins of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Polish lands depended primarily on the territorial conditions. In accordance with archeologic researches, there is a great likelihood that it took place in the 1070s, the times of Mieszko I of Poland, and definitely from 1018 to 1031, under the reign of Bolesław I the Brave, in the area of the Red Cities and the southern part of Podlachia (Rykała 2011).

Under the reign of the first crowned king of Poland Bolesław I the Brave, the Orthodox population in the Russian-Byzantine Rite were located within the country. In the chronicles, there are records of marriages between Piasts and Russian Princesses. Marriages between Dukes of Mazovia and Dukes of Little Poland with the ladies of Russian courts took place even in the period of the feudal disintegration. Undoubtedly, it had an impact on strengthening the Orthodox Church in Poland. Since the 1030s until the fourteenth century (without the years from 970 to 981 and from 1018 to 1031), Podlachia, the Chełm region and the lands between the rivers Wieprz and Bug were under the reign of Russia. The Christianisation mission which was undertaken by the Eastern Orthodox Church commenced on these lands since 988<sup>1</sup>. Christianization of Kievan Rus'<sup>2</sup> dates back to 988. At that time, Kievan Rus' was composed of the eastern land of the current Lublin region (called the Red Cities) and the north-eastern regions located by the river Bug. In the thirteenth century, after the inception of the Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia, the role of the Eastern

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<sup>1</sup> At the beginning, the Christianisation was held out by the Kiev and Bilhorod Bishopricks, next Volodymyr Vladyka-ship (created before 1085 and it included Volhynia, Polesia, Podlachia, Red Cities with Halych, Przemyśl and Belz and later Lviv (Stempa 2016).

<sup>2</sup> Kievan Rus' was one of the greatest countries on the map of the Christian Europe (Stempa 2016).

Orthodox Church significantly increased, considering the political and cultural circumstances. The area of the Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia also expanded due to the incorporation of the lands between the rivers Wieprz and Bug including the city Lubaczów, Przemyśl and a great part of the Lublin region. The groundbreaking time for the Christianisation of the areas of meadows of the Bug River was the fourteenth century. At that time the division of the only, until then, the Metropolis of Kiev occurred. Also, the Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia had undergone the division. Halych Land was incorporated into Poland as well as the land between the rivers Wieprz and Bug and a part of Volhynia and Podlachia in 1366. The remaining lands of Volhynia and Podlachia were incorporated into Lithuania (Stempa 2016). For the spatial distribution of the Orthodox Church on the Polish land was of significant important to sign the Personal Union in Krewo 1385 between Poland and Lithuania. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Eastern Orthodox Church was of great importance as well (Rykała 2011).

### 3. THE ORIGINS OF THE UNIATE CHURCH

From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Greek traders made their way to Poland. They came to major cities of the Kingdom such as Poznań, Lublin and Zamość where they established factories. On their trading routes there was also Kalisz. In the eighteenth century, the Orthodox soldiers who fought the Great Northern War also arrived in Kalisz. In the 1850s, more representatives of the Church in Greece from the areas of today's Macedonia and the Albanian-Macedonian borderline came to Kalisz. According to historians, the migration was the effect of the Turkish oppression in the Balkan Peninsula.

Undoubtedly, the economic aspects played a crucial role. The Greeks' migration from Macedonia to the Kingdom of Hungary began in the first half of the eighteenth century. Their further expansion onto the Polish land occurred at a later point in time. They settled down in Greater Poland in the places such as Poznań, Kalisz or Piotrków Trybunalski, where strong communities emerged. They called themselves as "the Greek Church of Oriental Rite". In 1793, there were 41 representatives of the Orthodox Church in Kalisz. According to the data from 1811, there were 66 people of Greek faith out of 7256 inhabitants. The first private chapel in Kalisz was located in a townhouse bought by market square in 1782 (the construction of town churches was not allowed by the act of 1764). In the 1780s also a cemetery was established. The Russians came to the city after the fall of the November Uprising. They were primarily representatives of civic administration, teachers and military personnel. The Russians constituted the



largest percentage among the Orthodox population as the group of emigrants that came earlier decreased due to departures and the process of Polonisation (The history of the Orthodox community of the Kalisz region).

#### **4. THE ORIGINS OF CONGRESS POLAND UNTIL THE JANUARY UPRISING – 1815–1863**

In 1815 Poland was divided between the three annexationists – Russia, Austria and Prussia. To determine the area which was incorporated into the Russian Empire the borderline lied from the north to the south comprising the cities such as Suwałki – Kolno – Mława – Brodnica – Aleksandrów Kujawski – Słupca – Kalisz – Częstochowa – Sosnowiec – Sandomierz – Tomaszów Lubelski. At the beginning the annexationist policy was liberal. Due to the fact that new Orthodox churches were not built, it became more difficult to stay faithful to the Orthodox Church. The military took Poles as wives and converted to Catholicism. Their children also were baptized and raised in the Catholic faith. In 1836 a law concerning mixed marriages was introduced, stating that children from such marriages should be baptized in the Orthodox faith (Sokół and Sosna 2003).

After 1831 Russification had no reflection in the construction of Orthodox churches. In 1848, even Nikolai I said that “in the whole province of Chełm which is densely populated with the Unite people only one Orthodox church functions permanently in Lublin, and there are five regimental Orthodox churches and due to the lack of other buildings, they are located in Jewish houses”. In further years, the government of the Kingdom decided to build Orthodox churches, however only in the cities where the army was stationed (among the indigenous people of Chełm there is not a substantial number of the Orthodox believers) (Krasny 2003, p. 355).

The times after the fall of the November Uprising were called “Paskevich's dictatorship” after the name of the governor. The times of constitutional activity of the Kingdom of Poland ceased. In 1835 the Orthodox church of Saint Alexander Nevsky in Warsaw was consecrated, and two years later the same steps were undertaken in the case of the Orthodox church in Novogeorgievsk Fortress (which is a Russian name for Modlin Fortress). The occupied Catholic churches were adapted for the purposes of the Orthodox churches. Orthodox chapels and churches were also located in private residential buildings. The end the 1830s was also the end of the extensive construction of Orthodox churches. By the end of the 1840s only 5 Orthodox churches, which were designed by

Russian architects in the Russian-Byzantine style, were built (Sokół and Sosna 2003).

According to the tsarist edict from 1936, all the people of the Orthodox Church and the Catholic-Unite believers were incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church of the Greek-Russian Rite (Gašior 1998).

## **5. FROM THE JANUARY UPRISING TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

The wave of Russification came after the fall of the January Uprising. After 1863, the Russian Empire attempted to incorporate the Kingdom of Poland to the Empire. For the accomplishment of the economic assumptions of crucial importance were prohibitive duties. The import of raw materials from other countries was prohibited by escalating the value of duty several times. The effect of such action was the increase of industrial development for the purposes of the internal market with Russia. The greatest growth could be observed in the textile, metal industries, mechanical engineering, mining and steel industry (Cynalewska-Kuczma 2004).

At that time, many Russians (officials, military personnel and policemen) came to Poland and Kalisz, as the main city of the province became a crucial administrative centre. The number of the Orthodox population increased, in 1893 it reached 3.4% and in 1909 it went up to 10.9% of the inhabitants of the city and in 1913 it fell to 6.6%. In the 1870s, by the decision of the Russian government the construction of a new Orthodox church commenced, financed by the structural church fund. The First World War cost thousands of lives. The national census of 1921 proved that there were 323 Orthodox believers and 9 Greek Catholics left in the city (including 84 people of Russian nationality, 43 people declared Ukrainian/Rusyn nationality – they probably were the former tsarist clerks and anti-Bolshevik soldiers, 193 people of Polish nationality meaning further generations of the Russians and Ukrainians who came to Poland in the nineteenth century. After the Second World War, the Orthodox population reached several dozens. The community was exiled to Siberia, however some of them left for Western Europe (The history of the Orthodox community of the Kalisz region).

In accordance with the declaration of 1953, Piotrków Trybunalski was created a centre of Piotrków province. The percentage of the Orthodox believers increased between 1856–1871 from 0.4% (40 people) to 3.4% (505 people). It should be mentioned that the majority of the Orthodox who lived in the city was

born in the Empire and taking into account the male-female ratio that arrived there, because of political circumstances, it is understood that the number of men was two-fold higher. It goes without saying that the majority of the Orthodox believers played administrative roles and worked in education (due to the political situation the official language was Russian). Because of the First World War, the number of the Orthodox believers decreased in the city, only hundreds of people survived (Janczak 1989).

An Orthodox parish was created in Piotrków Trybunalski in 1788. The Orthodox church was located in the attic of a residential building that belonged to a Greek merchant (now Czarnieckiego Square 10)<sup>3</sup>. Even tsar Alexander I participated in the prayer service in that place. The creation of the Orthodox church was influenced by the influx of Greeks to the city. Since 1768, according to the parliamentary law, believers of different religions were restored their rights, however, they were restricted by some rules. For instance, the building of the Orthodox church could not indicate that it was a sacral building (without the dome), moreover, the parish documents were granted a status of business records. Despite such restrictions, the Greeks managed to build Orthodox churches in the cities such as Warsaw (on Podwale Street), Lublin (Church of the Nativity), Piotrków Trybunalski (Church of All Saints), Kalisz (Church of St. Anastasius) and Opatów (Church of St. George) (Sokół and Sosna 2003).

While speaking of Łódź, the first Orthodox settlers were reported in 1857, and there were three of them. Others came here in accordance with the January Uprising, when with the 37<sup>th</sup> Yekaterinburg Infantry Regiment, also the Orthodox chaplain Jan Nikolski came. The congregation used his priestly service or went to the Church of All Saints in Piotrków Trybunalski. Despite the low number of the Orthodox population (in 1875 there were 73 people, in 1881 there were 135 people) attempts were made to construct an Orthodox church. At that time, Łódź was forming as a booming textile centre and building an Orthodox church would add to the reputation of the city. The Orthodox church in Łódź was built to mark the celebration of saving Tsar Alexander II after the unsuccessful assassination attempt on the 2 of April 1879. The Orthodox Church of St. Alexander Nevsky was consecrated in 1884 (fig. 1). The parish was a part of the Warszawa-Chełm diocese and it included the poviats and cities Łask and Łódź as well as the cities Zgierz and Pabianice. The congregation comprised of such nationalities as Georgians, Serbs, Greeks, Czechs, Germans<sup>4</sup>. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the parish community

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<sup>3</sup> [http://dziedzictwo.ekai.pl/@@piotrkow\\_cerkiew\\_wwswietych](http://dziedzictwo.ekai.pl/@@piotrkow_cerkiew_wwswietych).

<sup>4</sup> <http://cerkiwlozdz.pl/pages/5>.

included people working in administration, on official posts, in the police and workmen. Next, in 1896, a regimental Orthodox church of St. Alexius Metropolitan of Moscow was consecrated (fig. 3). It is worth mentioning that in the city are also located two more Orthodox churches such as the church of St. Olga (fig. 2) built next to an orphanage and the church of the Assumption of the Mother of God at the Orthodox cemetery in Doły (fig. 4).

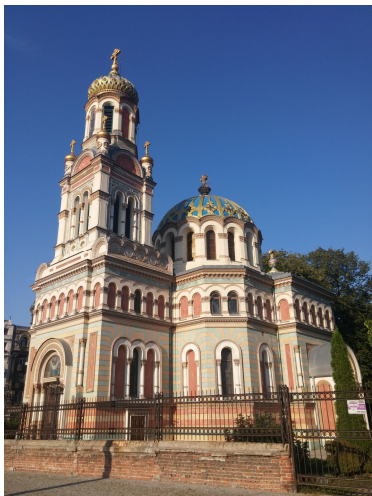


Fig. 1. The Cathedral of St. Alexander Nevsky in Łódź  
Source: author's photo 2016



Fig. 2. The orthodox church of St. Olga in Łódź  
Source: author's photo 2016



Fig. 3. The orthodox church of St. Alexius Metropolitan, nowadays roman catholic church  
Source: author's photo 2016



Fig. 4. The church of the Assumption of the Mother of God at the Orthodox cemetery in Doły  
Source: author's photo 2016

The fall of the January Uprising and the Russification policy influenced a greater influx of the Orthodox believers. Apart from the already mentioned infantry regiment, Russian police and administrative personnel appeared in the

city. According to the data, which presumably do not include the army, there were 1264 people in Łódź in 1894. The data from 1987, from the first census of the Orthodox population (including a small group of the Edinoverie) indicated that there were 6,820 people. In turn, the census according to the mother tongue proved 7,400 people (2.4% inhabitants of Łódź) (Badziak et al. 2010). It is worth mentioning that Russians contributed to the development of the textile industry in the city. At the end of the nineteenth century, a Moscow businessman Włodzimierz Stolarow was a co-executor of the industrialization of the old Olęder settlement – Dąbrowa which is a suburban settlement located in the south of the city (Kulesza 2013).

Moreover, the Orthodox population lived, among others, in Łowicz, Wieluń, Łęczyca, Sieradz, Łask, Opoczno, Tomaszów Mazowiecki and Rawa Mazowiecka. According to the data from the Poviát Offices handed to the Voivode Office in Łódź, the number of the believers in the cities looks as follows – Wieluń – 43 (7 November 1927), Łęczyca – 34 Russians (9 June 1923), 107 (9 November 1927), Sieradz – 15 (December 1926), Łask – 8 (January 1927), 50 (15 November 1927).

According to the data from the registration card of the Piotrków parish of 1 January 1938, in Tomaszów Mazowiecki, there were 400 believers in 1938<sup>5</sup>. Tomaszów was founded in 1788 on the area of the Nadpilicka Forest. The founder of the city the earl Tomasz Ostrowski from Ujazd, supported the development of the textile industry in Tomaszów. It was the industry as well as the construction of the railway system in 1882–1885 were the main city-forming factors. After the administration was taken over the Russian authorities, the Orthodox population came to the city. The army and the officials appeared in the city. First, the sermons took place by the exterior altar for the army. Not far from the city there is Spała where Tsar Nicolas II arrived with his family for hunting. In 1901 the tsar took part in the consecration of the Orthodox church of St. Nicolas Thaumaturgus (Koperkowicz 2002).

In turn, in Łowicz the influx of the Orthodox population in the first phase was strictly connected with the Moscow merchants who came here to trade furs in the Łowicz markets. For a long time, the city was an important point on the trading route from the east to the west of Europe. The eighteenth century is the time when the army of the Russian Empire arrived to Łowicz. At the time of the Congress Kingdom the army did not quarter in the city, however, Prince Constantine used to visit Łowicz. Tsar Alexander I assigned a part of the Łowicz area along with the city to his brother Prince Constantine in 1820. His wife,

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<sup>5</sup> APL, UWŁ, sygn. 2532, Statystyka Wyznaniowa, k. 75.

Joanna Grudzińska was granted the title of the Princess of Łowicz. Next, the remaining parts of the Łowicz area, tsar Nicolas I handed to the Prince (Wysoki 2013).

Skierniewice, a place where tsar Alexander I used to visit with his family is also worth mentioning. There is a palace of archbishops from Gniezna which belonged to Nicolas I since the 2 of October 1838. It was the second – best tsar residence in the Kingdom of Poland (Wiernicka 2015). In this palace in autumn 1884 there was a meeting of the three monarchs – Russian tsar Alexander III, German tsar Wilhelm I and Austria-Hungary tsar Franz Joseph I (Bołtryk 2004). The presence of the tsar family firmly upgraded the position of Skierniewice. Moreover, the first train arrived to the city in 1845 and it was inaugurated by the governor Ivan Paskievich (Wiernicka 2015).

## 6. THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC

After the regaining of independence by Poland, areas inhabited by the Orthodox population found themselves within the borders of the country. The statistical data from the census of 1931 show that there were 3762 believers in Poland. They were mostly Ukrainians, Belarussians from the Volhynia, Polesia, Navahrudak, Grodno regions, the eastern part of Białystok region and a part of the Vilnius region (in this region, the Orthodox population constituted majority) as well as from the Chełm and Podlachia region (the Orthodox population did not constitute majority in this region due to historical events). Moreover, other nations such as Russian, Czechs, Poles and Romanies should be mentioned. The alteration of nationality influenced the alteration in the religion situation. In the new political conditions, the Orthodox became the minority religion which was often viewed in the framework of the annexation and they were discriminated. The Polish policy gave the Orthodox Church a two-way treatment. On the one hand, the desire to eliminate and minimize the assets of the Orthodox Church, and on the other hand, the government aimed to normalize the situation so that the Church could exist in the new situation. The Orthodox Church operated without specific legal regulations for a long time. The decree “The Temporary regulations on the attitude of the Polish Government towards the Orthodox Church” of the 30 of January 1922 was prepared without the consultations with the Church authorities. As stated in the decree, the Orthodox Church was allowed to conduct masses, however, to set up a parish, the permission from the government was required. Additionally, the decree did not include the material

matters what was reflected in the influence of the government into the matters of the Orthodox Church. In the interwar times, there were disputes concerning the properties and the assets of the Church.

The first “Decree on the compulsory public management” of the 16 of December 1918 enabled the Orthodox authorities the disposition of their properties on the area of the former Kingdom of Poland. There also were issued the same decrees on the other parts of the country. On the 17 of December 1920 an act was issued on the seizure of the lands in some poviats as the property of the country (Kuprianowicz 1999). After the regaining the independence, operation on the demolition of the Orthodox churches began. According to the data of the Orthodox Metropolis, in the Chełm and the south Podlasia regions in 1929 there were:

- 67 functioning Orthodox churches,
- 165 buildings were consecrated as a church,
- 96 churches were closed,
- 24 churches were burnt down,
- 25 churches were demolished,
- 4 churches were transformed to schools,
- 1 church was used for residential purposes.

The aim of this operation was to reduce the density of the Orthodox churches, disperse the Orthodox population and to assimilate them into the Polish society (Kuprianowicz 2008).

Operation Vistula constitutes one of the most important events for the Orthodox population in Poland that took place after the Second World War. During the years 1944–1946 as a part of the operation, there was a mass deportation of the Ukrainian population. About 480 thousand people were repatriated to USSR (according to the estimates, about 185–190 thousand Orthodox were repatriated). At first, the departures took place voluntarily, and at the end of the said period, they were forced. Simultaneously, the structures of the Orthodox Church were liquidated. The authorities of the Church issued a request (September 1945) for the possibility of functioning of 6 facilities in the Chełm and the south Podlasia regions, arguing that they will satisfy the needs of the Orthodox Poles.

Some actions were taken in order to restore the parishes or at least to maintain the religious practices. Seeing that the operation is not fully successful, the government authorities decided to repatriate the people from the east and the south-east regions of the country (the Chełm and the south Podlasia and the Lemkos regions) to Regained Territories – the territory of the west and north Poland. The undertaken actions had a crucial impact on the Orthodox Church.

The effects of the repatriation which are mentioned are the weakening of the social relations – influenced by the repatriation of several thousand people, the influence on the structure and integrity of the Church, placing the congregations in a difficult position of shaping the parish structure in new conditions. As a result of such actions and difficulties the Orthodox population had to face, some of them abandoned the Church.

It is worth mentioning that the people living in the eastern parts of the country was mixed in regional, dialectal terms and country affiliation terms considering the change of the border. Mostly, they were Ukrainians who differed in terms of religion, some of them were Greek Catholics, others were Orthodox believers. Polish policy aimed at creating a homogeneous country in terms of nationality and religion (Kuprianowicz 2007).

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the Łódź region constitutes as a distinctive area in terms of the origins of the Orthodox population when compared to the rest of Poland. The people who were handling trade came to the cities of the region even before the times of the partitions. Of crucial importance was the location of the region in the center of Poland and on the trading routes. The fairs which were organized in the cities attracted people. It should be mentioned that the discussed areas became the shelter for the emigrants from the Albanian-Macedonian borderland who fled from the Turkish pressure.

Later, the protective policy of the Russian Empire influenced the increase of the industry. It aided the development of the industry and offered the trade area in the east. Undoubtedly, the Orthodox churches which were built in the Kingdom of Poland were not only the place for the believers to practice their religion but also a tool for integration with the Russian Empire. Thanks to the construction of the churches and naming them after the current tsar, the inhabitants gained the favour of the Russian rulers and the churches were the sign of submission to the authorities. It also had a positive impact on the economic development. The majority of the people who came to these Orthodox territories were involved in the Russification intensified after the fall of the January Uprising. At that time, the administrative workers such as clerks, teacher and post office workers came to the cities. The language used at schools was Russian. The regiments stationed in the cities and garrison churches were built for them in the cities.



For the above reason, the origins of the Orthodox population in the Łódź region creates a different kind of the national and cultural borderland. The influx of people to these areas was caused by the political situation. There are population centres diversified in terms of nationality, languages and customs. Some areas can be indicated where the Orthodox Church did not exist in the past and by the political decision they were repatriated, not always with their own consent.

*Translated by Joanna Derzewska*

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