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**PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH OF LEMKOS' NATIONAL IDENTITY  
IN HISTORIOGRAPHY: POLITICAL TENDENCY AND  
SCIENTIFIC ASSESSMENTS**

**Abstract**

The article attempts to trace the scientific achievements of scholars in the study of Lemkos' national identity issues. The authors take into account the entire historiography of Lemkivshchyna — as a historical and ethnographic region. The attention is concentrated on specific periodization, which allows isolating specific stages in the historiography of Lemkivshchyna. However, the authors allege that there was no generalized ethnological research of Lemkivshchyna.

**Keywords**

Lemkivshchyna, Lemkos, historical and ethnographic region, national identity

Recently, the researchers' interest in the Lemkivshchyna has resulted in numerous publications including ethnographic explorations, monographs, research papers, and some dissertations. However, it is important to emphasize that the majority of works are devoted to the study of ethno-cultural identity of Lemkos. Comprehensive analysis of historiography on Lemkos ethnographic research was made by known researcher M. Mushynka<sup>1</sup>. Attempts to summarize Polish historiographical framework on Lemkos study issues were made by Polish researcher A. Zheba<sup>2</sup>.

Taking into consideration the extensive historiographical research base, we should single out certain periods, which largely determined the nature of researches, but also had effect on the value of scientific publications. In particular, these are works of domestic and foreign researchers of the second half of XIX — the 30s of the XX century, the study of the Soviet period, the works of the Diaspora representatives and contemporary studies of Ukrainian, Polish and Slovak scholars.

Especially numerous are the writings that appeared during the second half of the nineteenth — the first third of the twentieth century. One of the first works directly dealing Lemkos, was study prepared in 1841 by I. Vahylevych, in which the author focuses on the Lemkos' ethnic and cultural features. However, he questioned the generally accepted theory that the *Lemkos* ethnicon derives from adverb *lem*, which means "only" (*lyshe*). The researcher believed that the Lemko dialect was formed under influences of not only the south-rusish, but under notable Czech, Slovak and Polish influences<sup>3</sup>. Actually in our opinion there is no doubt about this statement, because the Lemkivshchyna area is on the verge of not only national borders but also ethnic and cultural interferences.

Later in Lviv was published the study of O. Toronskyy dedicated solely to Galician Lemkos. As for the origin of Lemkos ethnographic groups, he stresses: "the Lemkos are aborigines, of the same tribe with Hungarian and Galician Rusyns"<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Lemkivshchyna. Zemlya-lyudy-kultura, 2, New York-Paris-Sidney-Toronto 1988, p. 407-462.

<sup>2</sup> A. Zięba, Łemkowie i Łemkowszczyzna w historiografii Polskiej, [in:] A. Zięba (ed.), Łemkowie i łemkoznaństwo w Polsce, 5, Kraków, 1997, p. 32-43.

<sup>3</sup> I. Vahylevych, Lemky — meshkanci zachidnogo Prykarpattya (perekład z polskoi, pidgotovka do druku ta vstupna zamitka I. Krasovskogo), Narodna tvorchist ta etnografia 4, 1965, p. 76-79.

<sup>4</sup> A. Toronskyy, Rusyny-lemky, [in:] Zorya Galyckaya album' na god' 1860, Lvov, p. 395.

90s of the XIX century were marked by a period of prosperity of ethnology in Galicia. Of particular importance was the scientific activity of V. Hnatyuk, who has devoted much time collecting folklore. In some writings he describes the social and political aspects of the Transcarpathian Lemkos life, analyses national relations in the Pryashivska diocese, cites religious and linguistic statistics, emphasizes the denationalizational policy of the Hungarian government<sup>5</sup>. The value of his works primarily is that Mr Hnatyuk for field studies has repeatedly traveled to the Carpathian part of Lemkivshchyna and personally saw the ethno-political situation of the local population.

In the late nineteenth–early twentieth century works of I. Brashchayko<sup>6</sup>, I. Verkhratsky<sup>7</sup>, O. Nazariyiv<sup>8</sup>, S. Tomashivsky<sup>9</sup> appeared, in these works the authors explore Ukrainian-Rusyns, who were ruled by Hungary. In particular I. Verkhratsky investigated problems of Lemko talk formation, affirming generally that the dialect of Galician as the Transcarpathian Lemkos have been under the strong Slovak influence. At the same time the author stressed the close and mutual contacts of Galician and Transcarpathian Lemkos. Of special value in the Transcarpathian Lemkos study are works of S. Tomashivsky, who being one of the first researched the ethnographic territory of Hungarian Rus on scientific level. Scientist stressed the inability to set the number of Ukrainians in Hungarian Rus' and their territory on the basis of periodic censuses, which in his opinion, could only play a supporting role. Instead, he stressed that historical, linguistic, anthropological and ethnological materials must be of primary importance. In another work S. Tomashivsky analyzes the develop-

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<sup>5</sup> V. Hnatyuk, *Prychynok do istorii znosyn Galyckyh i Ugorskyh Rusyniv*, [in:] *Literaturno-naukovyy visnyk*, 7, Lviv 1899, p. 162–178; V. Hnatyuk, *Rusyny Pryashivskoi yeparhii i ich govory*, [in:] *Zapysky Naukovogo Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, 35 and 36, Lviv 1900, p. 1–70; idem, *Slovaky chy Rusyny?* (*Prychyny do vyyasnennya sporu pro nacionalnist zachidnykh rusyniv*), [in:] *Zapysky Naukovogo Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, 42, Lviv 1901, p. 1–81.

<sup>6</sup> I. Brashchayko, *Deskilko sliv za ugorosko-ruske prostonarodne zhytye i poeziyu*, Lviv 1908.

<sup>7</sup> I. Verkhratsky, *Znadoby dlya piznannya ugorskyh govoriv*, [in:] *Zapysky Naukovogo Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, 10, Lviv 1901, p. 11–113.

<sup>8</sup> O. Nazariyiv, *Etnografichna terytoriyaugorskyh Ukrainciv-Rusyniv*, [in:] *Zapysky Naukovogo Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, 20, Lviv 1911, p. 165–191.

<sup>9</sup> S. Tomashivsky, *Prychyny do piznannya etnografichnoi terytorii Ugorskoï Rusy, teper i davishe*, [in:] *Zapysky Naukovogo Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, 62, Lviv 1905, p. 1–18; idem, *Shkilnyctvo na Ugorshchyni i Rusyny*, [in:] *Zapysky Naukovogo Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, 5, Lviv 1905, p. 7–13.

ment of school in Hungary. Actually this study shows that the Transcarpathian Lemkos were practically deprived of forming and affirming the Ukrainian national identity with help of school. S. Tomashivskyy cites a lot of statistical material to confirm this.

The beginning of the First World War and the Russian troops stay in Lemkivshchyna in some way contributed to the emergence of new works concerning Lemkos. In this context, stands out written for ideological motives work of K. Belhovskyy<sup>10</sup> who being under the influence of moscowphiles trends tried to prove the ethnic identity of Russians and Lemkos.

Interwar period was very important in the expansion of historiographical basis of Lemkos issues. Primarily, the reason for the emergence of new works was the ethnic policy of the Second Commonwealth, whose members propagandized and tried to support the idea of Boyko's, Hutsul's and Lemko's separatism.

However, the revival of cultural, educational and national political processes contributed to the emergence of works, aimed to rise Lemko's Ukrainian national identity. Works of F. Kokovsky<sup>11</sup> and Y. Tarnovych<sup>12</sup> attract special attention among the publications of Ukrainian researchers of Lemkivshchyna in the interwar period. Works of Kokovsky are especially valuable, because it's author was a contemporary of the described events and used a lot of material from his own journeys.

The emerge of Y. Tarnovych's work in 1936 became a special event in studying Lemko's ethnographical region, since it was the first illustrated work, dedicated to Lemkivshchyna's history and, at the same time, the first research, based on the use of sources. But it should be emphasized, that the author focuses on the research of Galician part of Lemkivshchyna, paying only minor attention to Transcarpathian part. The research by Y. Tarnovych has generalizing character; the author tries to trace the history of Lemko's ethnographic array from ancient times to the interwar period.

Among works that highlighten some aspects of ethno-demographic development of Lemko's Transcarpathian part, the research of V. Ogonovskyy<sup>13</sup> really

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<sup>10</sup>K. Belhovskyy, *Russkiy Narod v Karpatah. Lemky. V polzu russkih gorcev v Karpatah*, Kiev 1914.

<sup>11</sup>F. Kokovsky, *Schidnymy megamy Lemkivshchyny*, Lviv 1936.

<sup>12</sup>Y. Tarnovych, *Illustrovana istoriya Lemkivshchyny*, Lviv 1998.

<sup>13</sup>V. Ogonovskyy, *Chyslo ukrainciv u megah teperishnyoi Slovachyny, Sychasne i mynule. Visnyk ukrainoznavstva 2, 1939, p. 59–68.*

attracts attention as he analyzes Lemko's demographical situation, basing on official census, that has been conducted in 1773, 1900, 1921 and 1938.

Works of R. Reinfuss<sup>14</sup>, one of the leading polish researchers of Lemko's ethnographical array, were of a great importance among works of polish authors and till today haven't lost their scientific value. These works are devoted to the research of Lemko's ethno-cultural identity, to the clarification of ethnographic boundaries of Lemkivshchyna and to the tragic events of the First World War in the region. The scientific value of these studies is based on its extensive field data, although not actually covering the issues related to social, political and cultural life of Lemkos.

In the Soviet period the study of Lemkivshchyna was slowed down because of the ideological motives. Some historians who have studied West-Ukrainian region, mentioned mainly Lisny and Syanozky counties, which in the interwar period belonged to Lviv province. The researchers have focused particular attention on socio-economic problems, overstating at the same time the role of communist's movement cells. The deployment of national movement was interpreted solely as the increase of opinions against occupation among population, while the problems of national identification were ignored.

The work of Lviv scientist O. Karpenko<sup>15</sup> was one of the first studies in Soviet times where social performances of eastern Lemko's communities were considered and where the researcher presented the events of Liske uprising of 1932. However, under the influence of ideological motives he had to emphasize the urgent role of Communist party of western Ukraine in the organization of the uprising.

The works of V. Ilko<sup>16</sup> and I. Kompaniyets<sup>17</sup> should be mentioned among others of the Soviet period, in which occasionally the aspects of ethno-political processes in Lemkivshchyna are highlighted. The researches of mentioned above authors despite experiencing considerable ideological influence, contain valuable, recorded factual material.

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<sup>14</sup>R. Reinfuss, *Cmentarze wojenne na Łemkowszczyźnie*, Wierchy 13, 1935, p. 108–116; idem, *Etnograficzne granice Łemkowszczyzny*, Warszawa 1936, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup>O. Karpenko, *Selanski povstanya u Polshi*, Lviv 1955.

<sup>16</sup>V. Ilko, *Zakarpatske selo na pochatku XX st.*, Lviv 1973.

<sup>17</sup>I. Kompaniyets, *Stanovyshche i borotba trudyashchych mas Galychyny, Bukovyny ta Zakarpatty na pochatku XX st. (1900–1919)*, Kiev 1960.

The study of Lemko's ethno-historical region was conducted by the representatives of Ukrainian Diaspora, the majority of which tried to justify and scientifically prove the assertion about affinity of Lemko's ethno-national group and Ukrainian ethnos. The work of V. Buchatsky was one of the first in this direction. It was the historical research with the usage of author's own memories. However, it should be noted, to our mind, that the author has made a series of chronological inaccuracies and unsubstantiated scientific claims. In particular, he notes that Transcarpathian Lemkos are not cognate with Galician, while observing that they belong to "the group of Slavic tribes, which had inhabited the Hungarian plain before Magyars came in X century"<sup>18</sup>.

There was an important publication, made by Diaspora researchers that consisted of two volumes "Lemkivshchyna. Land–people–history–culture"<sup>19</sup>. In this comprehensive research, that had been prepared by a group of authors, for the first time, culture-educational and socio-political movement in Lemkivshchyna was highlighted, all Lemko's communities were listed for voivodships and districts. However, we should emphasize that material from the archives (from Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine) hadn't been included to the source base of this research, and that, to some extent, diminished scientific importance of the publication. The work itself wasn't devoid of some subjective statements. Along with the studies, that substantiate Lemko's Ukrainian national identity, some works, in Diaspora's historiography, which are aimed at denying this claim, may be found. Among such works, the research of P. Magochij, the active supporter of pro-Russian ideas may be singled out<sup>20</sup>. In his works the author tries to show the formation of Carpathian Rusyns' national identity as a separate ethnic group, which is, in our opinion, more of his wishful thinking than of a real fact. But at the same time, he also argues that after 1918 only Ruthenian, Russian and Ukrainian orientation had a real chance to establish itself in the region, however, at the end of the 1930s Ukrainian orientation has gained most supporters<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup>V. Buchazky, *Lemkivshchyna i Lemky. Istorychno-pobutova monografia*, Toronto 1961, p. 10.

<sup>19</sup>*Lemkivshchyna. Zemlya–lyudy–istoriya–kultura: u 2 tomah*, 2, New York–Paris–Sidney–Toronto 1988, p. 407–462.

<sup>20</sup>P. Magochij, *Nasha Otzuznynna. Istoriya karpatskyh rusyniv*, Uzgorod 2005, p. 50; idem, *Rusyny na Slovensky. Istorychnyj pereglad*, Pryashov 1994, p. 214; idem, *Formuvanya nazionalnoyi svidimosti: Pidkarpatska Rus (1848–1948)*, Uzgorod 1994, p. 195.

<sup>21</sup>Idem, *Rusyny na Slovensku*, p. 165.

The authors of some publication attempted to prove Russian identity of Lemkos. In particular, I. Lemkin suggests the history of Lemkivshchyna in which a great attention is paid to the events of the First World War, claiming in the introduction that “Lemkos nationally belong to the great Slavic-Russian Motherland”<sup>22</sup>. The author is an active supporter of the pro-Moscow ideas among Lemkos, diminishes and, at worst, distorts the activities of Ukrainian public and political national-democratic forces in the region.

After Ukraine has gained its independence, the study of Lemkivshchyna was activated. Individual and made in collaboration scientific-popular publications in the form of brochure of I. Krasovsky<sup>23</sup> and O. Nimets<sup>24</sup> may be singled out among them. In these works authors proved that Lemkos are a primordial part of the Ukrainian nation. However, again, there is no archive material in them.

In Ukrainian historiography of modern times that deals with Lemkos' issues, generalizing ethno-historical publication “Lemkivshchyna”, prepared by the Institute of Ethnology of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, deserves a special attention<sup>25</sup>. High scientific level is indicated by the authors that took part in it — prominent Ukrainian and foreign scholars of ethnology: Y. Goshko, M. Mushynka, S. Pavluk, S. Sopolyga and others. The value of this research is based on the fact, that it was the first edition in Ukrainian historiography, devoted to this issue. Basing on the materials from the Ukrainian archives, the authors are tracing some aspects of socio-political, culture-educational and demographic situation of Lemkos. The emphasis in this study is being made on ethno-cultural identity of Lemkos' ethnographic group. At the same time, the material from foreign archives hasn't been used, in particular, from Warsaw, Krakow, Peremyshl and other cities.

S. Pap<sup>26</sup> attracts attention to the scientific research of ethno-political processes in Transcarpathian part of Lemkivshchyna, where the author by studying

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<sup>22</sup>I. Lemkin, *Istoriya Lemkoviny v 5 chastah*, New York; *Izдание Lemko-Soyuza v USA i Canadi*, Yunkers 1969, p. 24.

<sup>23</sup>I. Krasovsky, D. Solynko, *Hto my lemky*, Lviv 1991; I. Krasovsky, *Tilky z ridnym narodom... Pro sytuaziyu v seredovyshchi karpatskyh rusyniv*, Lviv 1992.

<sup>24</sup>O. Nimets, *Vid Syanu do Popradu (Pro zabuti i dovgo zamovchuvani storinky z istorii lemkiushchyny)*, Vyznytsya 1994.

<sup>25</sup>*Lemkivshchyna. Istoryko-etnografichne doslidzhenya: u 2 tomah*, 1, Lviv 1999, p. 360; 2, Lviv 2002.

<sup>26</sup>S. Pap, *Istoriya Zakarpatya u 3 tomah*, 3, Ivano-Frankivsk 2003.

the history of Transcarpathian, pays a lot of attention to its Western part — Pryashivshchyna.

Of particular importance are the works of scientists who now reside within Slovakia, i.e. directly in the Transcarpathian area of Lemkivshchyna. Among them are works of I. Vanat<sup>27</sup>, M. Mushynka<sup>28</sup>, M. Sopolyha<sup>29</sup>. The value of these works is that the authors draw conclusions by studying the source base of the Slovak archives.

Of particular interest among the papers of researchers of Prešov Region is “Dictionary of local lore of Rusyns-Ukrainians from Prešov Region”. This publication includes biographical materials as well as materials of general historical character.

As a certain novelty in a methodological approach is distinguished research of I. Lubchyk<sup>30</sup>. Indeed, for the first time author takes into account the whole Lemkivshchyna territory as historical and ethnographic region. He attempts to match the regional differences in the formation and development of Lemkos’ national identity, determine the number of factors that define this process.

Among the foreign scientists who develop Lemkos subject-matter, the most distinguished are Polish researchers. One of the first works on Lemkos, which appeared in the postwar period, is the work of Polish historian A. Kviletsyky, where the author analyzes the demographic data about Lemkos and the number of their communities. Speaking of Lemko ethnogenesis, he argues that they are “descendants of the ancient Wallachia shepherds”<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup>I. Vanat, *Narysy novitnyoi istorii ukrainciv Skhidnoi Slovachyny* u 2 kn., 1, Pryashiv 1979, s. 364.

<sup>28</sup>M. Mushinka, *Do genezy narodnoi kultury rusyniv-ukrainciv Karpatskogo regionu ta istorii yiyi doslidgennya*, [in:] *Slovensko-ukrajinské vzťahy v oblasti národnostných menšin: Zbor. mater. z medz. vedec. konf; idem, Rusini-Ukrajinci — jedna národnost*, Prešov 1997.

<sup>29</sup>M. Sopolyha, *Do pytan etnichnoi identyfikacii ta suchasnyh etnichnyh procesiv ukrainciv Pryashivshchyny*, [in:] *Naukovyy zbirnyk muzeyu ukrainsko-ruskoj kultury u Svydnyku*, 22, Pryashiv 2001, p. 208–234.

<sup>30</sup>I.D. Lubchyk, *Etnopolitychni procesy na Lemkivshchyni naprykinci XIX–30 rokah XX st.: problema nacionalnogo samousvidomlennya*, Ivano-Frankivsk 2009.

<sup>31</sup>A. Kwilecki, *Fragmety najnowszej historii Łemków. Materiały szkoleniowe* pod red. P. Lubońskiego, Warszawa 1984, p. 34.

In the 1990s Polish historiography of Lemkos was supplemented by monographs of B. Horbal<sup>32</sup>, O. Duts-Fayfer<sup>33</sup>, E. Michna<sup>34</sup>, J. Moklak<sup>35</sup>, J. Czajkowski<sup>36</sup>.

Work of O. Duts-Fayfer is characterized by certain superficiality, clearly manifested by adherence to the idea of Lemkos separatism. Trying to explain to readers who are Lemkos, researcher notes that they are “people of the mountains”. In particular, writing about Lemko republic in Florynts, she argues that this is “manifesto of emerging among Lemkos trends of national independence”. The study was published in Polish and Lemkos’ dialect simultaneously.

The issues of Lemkos’ national identity examines Polish researcher E. Michna. The author doesn’t study the archival materials, but makes her own conclusions on the basis of historiography and respondents survey, most of which, as she says, „have an emotional character”. However, the author tries to convince the reader that most of Lemkos identify themselves with the Rusyns. In consequence the researcher concludes: affirmation of identity in Lemkivshchyna — is “largely the result of incomplete processes of national development which began with national differentiation of the eastern Slavic region”<sup>37</sup>.

The most complete research of the ethno-political processes of the Galician area of Lemkivshchyna was made by J. Moklyak, one of the Polish scholars. However, in our opinion, in most cases the author ascertains the events, pays a lot of attention to Congresses in Lviv, moskowphile movement, but does not reveal the dynamics of Ukrainian national identity of Lemkos. In conclusions the researcher asserts that a special role in the establishment of the Ukrainian national identity of Lemkos played Greek Catholic clergy.

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<sup>32</sup>B. Horbal, *Działalność polityczna Łemków na Łemkowszczyźnie 1918–1921*, Wrocław 1997.

<sup>33</sup>O. Duts-Fayfer, *Lemky v Polshchy*, Luvin 1992.

<sup>34</sup>E. Michna, *Kwestie etniczno-narodowościowe na pograniczu Słowiańszczyzny Wschodniej i Zachodniej*, Kraków 2004, p. 327.

<sup>35</sup>J. Moklak, *Aspekty polityczne życia religijnego Ukraińców w Galicji. Ekspansja prawosławia rosyjskiego*, [in:] S. Stępień (ed.), *Polska–Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa. Studia z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na pograniczu etnicznym*, 1, Przemyśl 1990, p. 199–206; idem, *Łemkowszczyzna w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Zagadnienia polityczne i wyznaniowe*, Kraków 1997.

<sup>36</sup>J. Czajkowski, *Studia nad Łemkowszczyzną*, Sanok 1999, p. 54.

<sup>37</sup>E. Michna, *Kwestie etniczno-narodowościowe*, p. 327.

Mentioned Polish researcher of Lemkivshchyna, R. Reinfuss, in his new works<sup>38</sup> assigns an important role of Wallachia colonization in forming the Lemkos culture. E. Tchaikovsky is trying to justify in his monograph the similar thesis. Moreover, he alleges that the formation of Lemkos' national identity wasn't based on its own traditions but was consolidated by external impulses.

Polish historian-archivist K. Nowakowski<sup>39</sup> studied ethno-political processes in the interwar period in the Galician part of Lemkivshchyna. However, his work is just a declaration of random events of Lemkos political and cultural life: on the whole author avoids conclusions.

Religious issues were the most important for the formation and development of Lemkos' national identity, and therefore it is no coincidence that they attract the attention of Polish researchers. Some aspects of the problem were indicated in the studies of P. Best<sup>40</sup>, J. Bruski<sup>41</sup>, A. Krochmal<sup>42</sup>, J. Moklak<sup>43</sup>, B. Prach<sup>44</sup>, R. Potocki<sup>45</sup>. In particular, P. Best researched issues related to the Apostolic Administration of Lemkivshchyna. However, the author did not use archival funds and relied only on the Polish authors. J. Bruski highlighted development of the Orthodox movement in Lemkivshchyna.

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<sup>38</sup>R. Reinfuss, *Łemkowie w kulturze górali karpaccich*, Almanach Karpacki 15, 1997, p. 45–54; idem, *Śladami Łemków*, Warszawa 1990.

<sup>39</sup>K. Nowakowski, *Sytuacja polityczna na Łemkowszczyźnie w latach 1918–1939*, [in:] J. Czajkowski (ed.), *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, 1, Rzeszów 1992, p. 313–350.

<sup>40</sup>P. Best, *Apostolska Administracja Łemkowszczyzny w latach 1934–1944*, [in:] S. Stępień (ed.), *Polska–Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, 4, Przemyśl 1998, p. 247–250.

<sup>41</sup>J. Bruski, *Zakarpacie a Łemkowszczyzna. Podłoże i rozwój ruchu prawosławnego w okresie międzywojennym*, [in:] A. Zięba (ed.), *Łemkowie i łemkoznawstwo w Polsce*, p. 146–159.

<sup>42</sup>A. Krochmal, *Specyfika stosunków wyznaniowych na Łemkowszczyźnie w XX w.*, [in:] *Łemkowie i łemkoznawstwo w Polsce*, p. 135–143; idem, *Stosunki między grekokatolikami i prawosławnymi na Łemkowszczyźnie w latach 1926–1939*, [in:] *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, p. 285–297.

<sup>43</sup>J. Moklak, *Aspekty polityczne życia religijnego Ukraińców w Galicji. Ekspansja prawosławia rosyjskiego*, [in:] S. Stępień (ed.), *Polska–Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, 1, Przemyśl 1990, p. 199–206; J. Moklak, *Łemkowszczyzna w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Zagadnienia polityczne i wyznaniowe*, Kraków 1997.

<sup>44</sup>B. Prach, *Apostolska Administracja Łemkowszczyzny*, [in:] *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, p. 299–311

<sup>45</sup>R. Potocki, *Wokół sporów religijnych na Łemkowszczyźnie w latach 1926–1939*, *Biuletyn Ukrainoznawczy* 6, 2000, p. 99–111.

Relations between the Greek Catholics and Orthodox in the Lemkivshchyna investigated A. Krochmal, citing in her study a lot of statistical material. However, in one of her studies, she, like J. Bruski, observes that the aim of foundation of the Apostolic Administration of Lemkivshchyna was to hinder Lemkos transition to Orthodoxy, that, according to researcher, was the result of Ukrainization of Lemkivshchyna by the Greek Catholic clergy. J. Moklak showed offensive Orthodox movement in the early twentieth century in Galicia as a whole and in the Lemkivshchyna in particular. Research of B. Prach is dedicated to the Apostolic Administration of Lemkivshchyna. The author rightly stresses that its creation was accomplished in the context of the Polish ethnic policy concerning Lemkos. R. Potocki, exploring the religious situation in the Lemkivshchyna in the interwar period, rightly noted that the spread of Orthodoxy among the Lemkos “was considered by authority of the Second Commonwealth of Poland as a lesser evil, rather than integration of Lemkivshchyna with Eastern Galicia”. However, work is not devoid of bias in the presentation of material.

Among the works of Polish authors deserve attention the study of N. Klasztorna. She attempts to analyze the Lemkos understanding of “their world” which the author interprets as a complex of cultural and customary norms that were common among Lemkos within their ethnographic territory. This problem researcher tried to determine with help of Lemkos memories, who were natives of Yaselsky and Novosonchivsky districts, and now live in south-eastern part of Ukraine. We emphasize that almost all respondents to the question “Where are Lemkos from?” answered that from the Ukrainians<sup>46</sup>.

J. Pereni<sup>47</sup> is one of the Hungarian researchers, who studied some aspects of social and political situation of Transcarpathian Ukrainians.

The author draws attention to the difficult socio-economic situation of the Transcarpathian population, reveals the policy of Magyarization of Hungarian government. Work is full of statistical material. Researcher rightly stresses that state power only partially managed to limit the relationship between Galician and Transcarpathian Ukrainians, however, it was impossible to disconnect the two branches of the Ukrainian people completely.

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<sup>46</sup>N. Klasztorna, *Łemkowskie pojmowanie „swego świata”: jego obraz, utrata i poszukiwania*, Biuletyn Ukrainoznawczy 7, 2001.

<sup>47</sup>J. Pereni, *Iz istorii zakarpatskykh ukraincev (1849–1914)*, Budapesht 1957.

In general it should be noted that today there are many studies on the Lemkivshchyna. Among them Polish historiography precedes, while Ukrainian is insignificant. However, scientific researches of several Polish authors, paradoxically, today are characterized by political stratification and tendentious coverage of certain issues, particularly related to Lemkos' national self-identification.

Overall there were no comprehensive ethnological researches of Lemkivshchyna as integral historical and ethnographic region. Subject of such research should be ethno-political and national-cultural processes in the region, determination of features of the formation and consolidation of Lemkos' national identity.

**Orest Krasivski, Igor Lyubchik**

**PROBLEMY BADAŃ TOŻSAMOŚCI NARODOWEJ ŁEMKÓW  
W HISTORIOGRAFII: POLITYCZNA TENDENCYJNOŚĆ I OCENY  
NAUKOWE**

**Streszczenie**

W artykule tym autorzy podejmują próbę prześledzenia naukowych osiągnięć polskich, słowackich i ukraińskich badaczy w zakresie badań nad tożsamością narodową Łemków. Pewną nowością w tym względzie jest ujęcie całości historiografii poświęconej Łemkowszczyźnie — jako integralnemu regionowi historyczno-etnograficznemu, co ma swoje uzasadnienie naukowe i metodologiczne. Uwaga skupia się na specyficznej periodyzacji, która pozwala wyodrębnić określone stadia w historiografii Łemkowszczyzny. W tym kontekście, szczególnie wartościowe są badania ostatniego ćwierćwiecza XIX i początku XX stulecia. W okresie tym powstało wiele prac, które do czasów współczesnych nie straciły na wartości.

Podkreślano już, że najbardziej płodny okres, który zapoczątkował obiektywne badania tego tematu w Polsce i na Słowacji, a także na Ukrainie, to wczesne lata 90. XX w. Niewątpliwie przyczyniło się do tego nasilenie nastrojów demokratycznych w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej.

Szczególną uwagę poświęca się analizie historiografii polskiej. Autorzy podkreślają jednocześnie, że ukraińscy badacze rzadko zajmują się Łemkowszczyzną, w związku z czym publikacji naukowych na ten temat mamy niewiele.

Konkluzja artykułu jest następująca: brakuje wyczerpujących studiów etnologi-

cznych historycznego i etnograficznego regionu Łemkowszczyzny. Studia takie powinny zdefiniować cechy tworzenia i utrwalania tożsamości narodowej Łemków. Podjęcie i opublikowanie obszernych i złożonych badań historycznych i etnologicznych mogłoby zanegować funkcjonujące stronicze interpretacje w tej kwestii.

