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National and Religious Relations in the Territory of the Polish Carpathians since the late 18th Century

Since the late 18th century, national and religious relations in the territory of the Polish Carpathians have resulted from the historical and political situation this region, religious diversity and the settlement processes which had continued over the centuries. As no comprehensive studies dealing with this issue for the region of the Polish Carpathians have been available, for the purpose of this article, the analysis of this phenomenon was carried out on the basis of the existing cartographic sources and the literature available. The following source references were used: "Wyznania w Rzeczypospolitej w 1772" ("The Religions in the Republic of Poland in 1772"), by S. Litak¹, "Mapa rozmieszczenia wyznań w Polsce" ("The Map of Religion Distribution in Poland") by J. Wąsowicz² which contained the relevant data for the period between the two world wars, and the thematic maps included in the geographical and statistical Atlas of Poland by E. Romer ("The Church", "Roman Catholics").³

All aforementioned maps show Poland within its historical borders corresponding to the chronology of the phenomena presented. The statistical data referring to the national and religious relations in the territory of the Carpathians have been taken mainly from the works by J. Buzek,⁴ K. Zamorski,⁵ P. Eberhardt⁶ and the publication of the General Statistics Office (GUS) "Historia Polski w liczbach" ("The History of Poland in Numbers.")⁷ Basically, these data refer to the period of the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, and cover the entire territories of Galicia and Cieszyn Silesia regions⁸ but combined with the above-mentioned cartographic analysis which seems to be justified for a presentation of a historic background and the phenomenon under discussion for the area of interest. All the more that the fundamental changes in the ethnic and religious structures which had been formed before the partitions of Poland, took place no earlier than the end of World War II. A valuable supplement to the above-mentioned sources and studies is an article by A. Jackowski and M. Soja, dealing with religious and national issues in south-eastern Poland until 1939, the only work devoted to this subject and covering this territory in contemporary geographic literature.⁹

From both the map showing the religious diversity in Poland in 1772 and the map of the situation in the 1920s, one can see that Roman Catholics prevailed in the Polish Carpathian region, especially in its western and central part, whereas compact groups of Greek Orthodox Catholics lived in its eastern and south-western parts. The territories with the prevailing Greek Orthodox Catholic population extended much further eastwards up to the borders of the Republic of Poland at that time. Protestant influences can be found mainly in the Cieszyn Silesia region. Both studies do not take into account the Jewish population, i.e. people of Judaic religion. This group will be discussed further in the study.

The Carpathian region fell into the influence of Christianity as early as the mid-10th century. According to some sources these influences should be associated with the Great Moravian State and the Slavic (Methodius)¹⁰ rites connected with it.

A distinction made between the two parts of the Carpathian region, both Christian but of different religions, began in the Middle Ages when these territories belonged to different states, and thereby forming an ethnic borderland along the Jasiółka and Wisłok rivers from in the 10th to 12th centuries. The territory west of this line was inhabited by Polish people of the Roman Catholic religion, whereas Ruthenian people under the influence of the Eastern Orthodox Church (Byzantine rite) prevailed in the eastern part of the region. In the late 12th century, the Ruthenian Duke Volodar founded the Eastern Orthodox Church of John the Baptist in Przemyśl. Some researchers believe that it was the cathedral church of the Przemyśl bishopric, which supposedly had been founded here before the year 1110.¹¹ However, most researchers date the establishment of the bishopric in Przemyśl in the early 13th century (before 1220).¹² After Red Ruthenia had been incorporated into the Polish state (after 1349), the settlement of Polish people increased in this area, and, consequently, the number of Roman Catholics increased. In 1375, a Roman Catholic diocese was established in Przemyśl. The influences of the Western, Roman Catholic Church must have been present here much earlier, as the relics of two western-type rotundas dated to the turn of the 10th century have been discovered in Przemyśl. According to historians and archeologists, these structures might have been built after Red Ruthenia had been temporarily incorporated into Poland by King Boleslaus the Brave from 1018-1031. The research which was carried out by M. Parczewski proved that the western border of the Ruthenian settlement in the Carpathians in the 17th – 19th centuries shifted some 20-40 km eastward.¹³ These changes may be associated with the Polish settlement migrations throughout the centuries. As a result, a mixed zone with Polish (mainly Roman Catholic) and Ruthenian (originally Eastern Orthodox, and after the Brześć Union, Greek Catholic) populations in the eastern part of the Polish Carpathians, i.e. the Sanok and Przemyśl areas, was established. Simultaneously, as a result of the Wallachian colonization of the Low Beskid and Sącz Beskid regions, a wedge of the Eastern Slav population, i.e. the Lemko people, was formed west of the medieval ethnic border. Among the most important features of the Lemkoland was the language, a dialect of the Ruthenian language, and currently of the Ukrainian language. This language

was formed as a result of three elements – the participation of the Ruthenian people in the Ruthenian-Wallachian colonization, the influence of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the migrations of people within the Lemkoland itself.¹⁴ The Lemko neighbors in the east were the Boyko people, a group of Ruthenian highlanders which was formed as a result of subsequent waves of Ruthenian-Wallachian settlement superimposed on the former Ruthenian settlement.¹⁵

In 1596, on the grounds of the Brześć Union, the Eastern Orthodox Church in Poland accepted the superior authority of the Bishop of Rome, still preserving its own liturgy and rites. In this way, the Greek Orthodox Church was created in the Polish territory. Initially, the bishops of Przemyśl and Lvov (Lwów) rejected the Union. The local people were also hostile towards it. Disputes and conflicts connected with the implementation of the Union continued for almost a hundred years. However, from 1692-1702, the Eastern Orthodox Church lost three bishoprics in south-eastern Poland, in Halicz, Lvov and Przemyśl, including all parishes and monasteries, to the benefit of of the Uniate Church.¹⁶ The Eastern rite of the Catholic Church survived on the territory of the former Galicia province until 1945 and was revived in the 1990s. It was such a strong and persistent phenomenon that it almost completely eradicated the Eastern Orthodox Church in this territory.

We should refer to the data on the national and religious breakdown of the population of Galicia, obtained from the censuses which were carried out from 1857-1910. The language (spoken) and religion were taken as criteria for the censuses. The Austrian authorities did not recognize Yddish as a language, so Jewish people usually declared Polish as their mother tongue, or, to a lesser extent, German or Ruthenian.

Thus the statistics based on the language criterion do not specify the Jewish nationality, so the figures referring to the Polish population should be considered higher than they actually should be. Therefore for a proper analysis of this phenomenon, the criterion of religion seems more useful, so most researchers believe it is more accurate.¹⁷ In the 1910 census court districts were used as administrative units, while in other censuses counties were used.

In 1910, according to the census category “language spoken” in Galicia 58.6% (4,703,000) of the total population stated Polish, 40.3% (3,234,000) Ruthenian and 1.1% (88,000) German as their first language. The breakdown by religion was as follows: 46.5% Roman Catholics, 42.1% Greek Orthodox Catholics, 0.5% Protestants and 10.9% followers of Judaic religion. These figures, when compared with the data from the previous censuses (Tab. 1) allow us to observe that Roman Catholics slightly outnumbered Greek Catholics. The third significant religious group was the Jewish community (followers of the Judaic faith) who accounted for more than 10% of residents of the Galicia province.

Considering great discrepancies between Western and Eastern Galicia, a more accurate picture of the national and religious relations in this territory can be seen when each group is analyzed separately (Tab. 2 and 3.) In this study we are particu-

Tab. 1.
The population of Galicia by language and religion from 1857-1910

Year	Population by religion				Population by language		
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Judaic	Other	Polish	Ruthenian	German
	% percentage of the total population						
1857	44.7	44.8	9.7	0.7	-	-	-
1869	46.1	42.5	10.6	0.8	-	-	-
1880	45.6	42.2	11.6	0.6	51.5	43.0	5.5
1890	45.4	42.3	11.6	0.7	53.3	43.2	3.5
1900	45.8	42.5	11.1	0.6	54.8	42.3	2.9
1910	46.5	42.1	10.9	0.5	58.6	40.3	1.1

Source: *Historia Polski w liczbach. Ludność. Terytorium*, GUS, Warszawa, 1993, p.93.

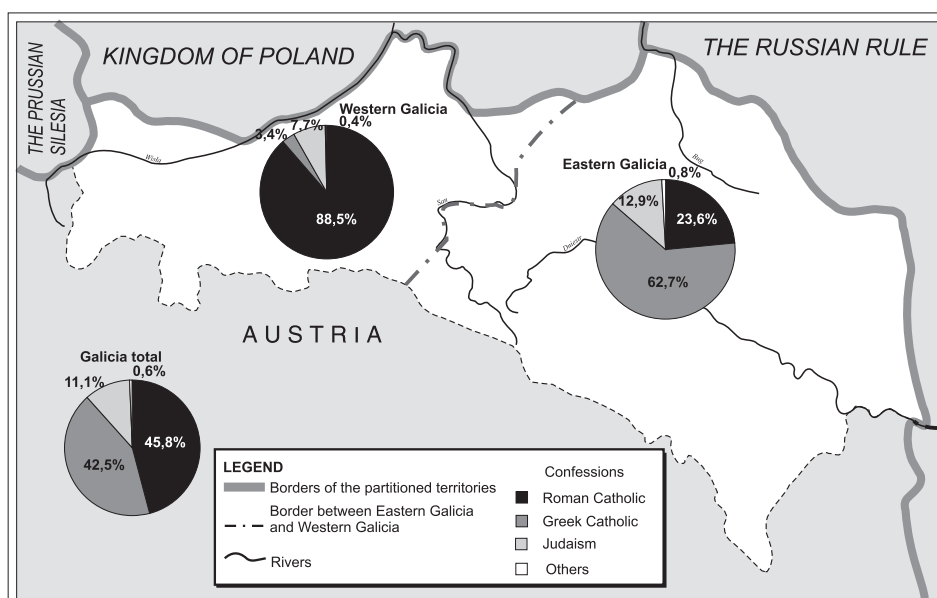


Fig. 1.
Population distribution in Galicia in 1900 (by religion)

larly interested in the part of Galicia which was within the boundaries of the Polish Carpathians. The analysis will be based on the religion and language breakdown in specific counties of the Galicia province that was published in the above-mentioned work by J. Buzek (Tab. 5, 6)¹⁸.

Tab. 2.
The population of Western Galicia by language and religion from 1857-1910

Year	Population by religion				Population by language			
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Judaic Religion	Other	Polish	Ruthenian	German	Other
	% of the total population							
1857	88.7	4.0	6.8	0.5	-	-	-	-
1869	88.3	3.8	7.5	0.4	-	-	-	-
1880	87.7	3.8	8.0	0.5	95.0	2.7	2.2	0.1
1890	88.1	3.6	7.9	0.4	96.4	2.5	1.0	0.1
1900	88.5	3.4	7.7	0.4	95.3	3.1	1.5	0.1
1910	88.6	3.2	7.9	0.3	96.1	2.8	0.9	0.2

Source: K. Zamorski, *Informator statystyczny do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Galicji*, Kraków-Warszawa 1989, p. 88.

Tab. 3.
The population of Eastern Galicia by language and religion from 1857-1910

Year	Population by religion				Population by language			
	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Judaic	Other	Polish	Ruthenian	German	Other
	% of the total population							
1857	21.4	66.5	11.3	0.8	-	-	-	-
1869	21.9	64.9	12.4	0.8	-	-	-	-
1880	22.4	63.3	13.4	0.9	27.9	64.7	7.2	0.2
1890	22.6	62.9	13.6	0.9	30.9	64.4	4.6	0.1
1900	23.6	62.7	12.9	0.8	33.7	62.5	3.7	0.1
1910	25.3	61.7	12.4	0.6	39.8	58.9	1.2	0.1

Source: K. Zamorski, *Informator statystyczny do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Galicji*, Kraków-Warszawa 1989, p. 89.

Western Galicia was divided into 30 counties, twenty of which were situated in the territory of the Polish Carpathians, completely or in part. Eastern Galicia was divided into 51 counties but only six of them were situated within the territory of the Polish Carpathians (Sanok, Brzozów, Przemyśl, Jarosław, Lesko).

It can be observed that all of Western Galicia was ethnically Polish. The Polish nationality accounted for more than 95% of the population, with almost 90% of Roman Catholics. Assuming that the discrepancy between the percentage of people defined as Polish and the percentage of Roman Catholics results from the fact that a group of Jewish people fell under this category (according to the religion criterion they accounted for 8% of the population of Western Galicia), the conclusion can be derived that Western Galicia was inhabited by nearly 90% of Polish

Catholics. J. Buzek's studies have shown that the borderline of language between Polish and Ruthenian territories in Western Galicia was almost identical with the borderline of religion.¹⁹ In the entire period under discussion (1857-1910), Greek Catholics accounted for about 4% of the total population, and a slightly decreasing trend could be observed. The analysis of the situation in some Carpathian counties allows us to determine the areas of higher concentration of Greek Catholics in this region. Five counties — Nowy Sącz, Grybów, Gorlice, Jasło and Krosno, in which Greek Catholics constituted 15%-25% of the population, have been found. The population was concentrated mainly in the south, in the mountainous areas, near the Hungarian border at that time.²⁰ Thus ethnically and ethnographically it was the Lemkoland which was formed as a result of Ruthenian settlement the Western Carpathians.

Eastern Galicia presented a more complex national and religious mix than Western Galicia. Uniates (more than 60% of the population) dominated in this area but there was also a slight decrease in that population in the period under discussion (1857-1910) with regard to Roman Catholics (who accounted for 21.4% of the total population in 1857 and 25.3% in 1910.) Followers of the Judaic faith were more numerous than in Western Galicia, amounting to 11%-14%. Already in the late 19th century, some researchers claimed the existence of a clearly Ruthenian-Polish zone in the western part of this region. The part of Eastern Galicia within the Polish Carpathians belonged to this zone. In the former Jarosław, Przemyśl and Sanok counties, considered by Buzek to belong to language borderland territories, Roman Catholics accounted for 30% -50% of the total population. Only in the Brzozów county, also belonging to the borderland area, Roman Catholics prevailed, accounting for 78% of the total population (Tab. 5, 6.) Such a great percentage resulted from the character of the town of Brzozów which was the property of the bishops of Przemyśl.

From the mixed zone to the eastern border of the Republic of Poland the Ruthenian area was extended, in which Greek Catholics accounted for at least 50% of the total population. Today only two former counties of that zone – Lesko and Dobromila are within the territory of the Polish Carpathians. At the turn of the 19th century, Uniates accounted for more than 2/3 of the total population (about 70%), Roman Catholics formed distinct minorities of less than 10% in the Baligród and Ustrzyki Dolna area and up to 25% around Lesko and Bircza.

The picture of national and religious relations in Eastern Galicia was additionally complicated by the fact that a significant number of Greek Catholics who lived in the language and cultural borderland used Polish as their first language. E.g. in 1900, ten municipalities with prevailing Greek Catholic populations reported that Polish was their first language.²¹

So far we have only briefly touched the issue of the Jewish population in the Galician part of the Carpathians. Supposedly, Jews appeared here as early as the first half of the 11th century but some historians believe that the oldest records

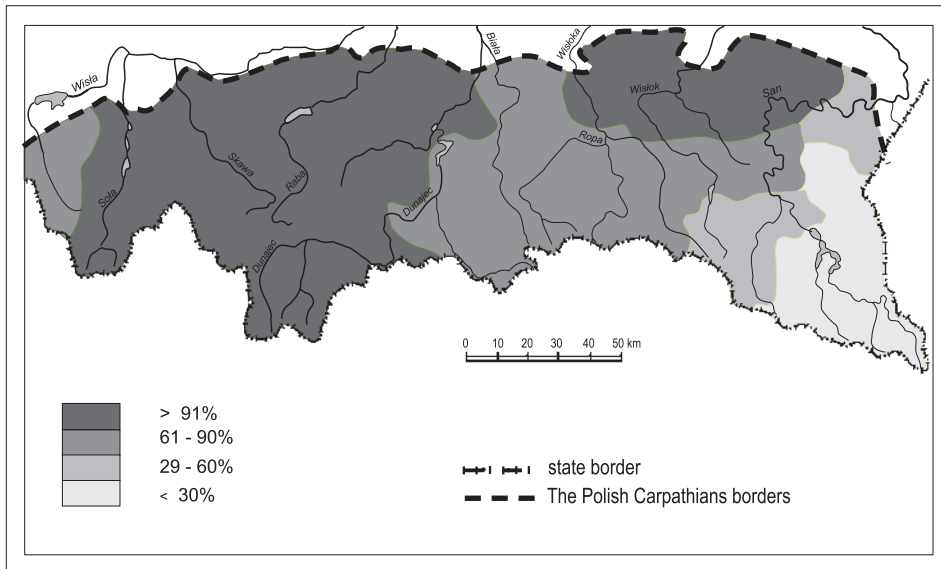


Fig. 2.
Distribution of Roman Catholics in the territory of the Polish Carpathians in the early 20th century.

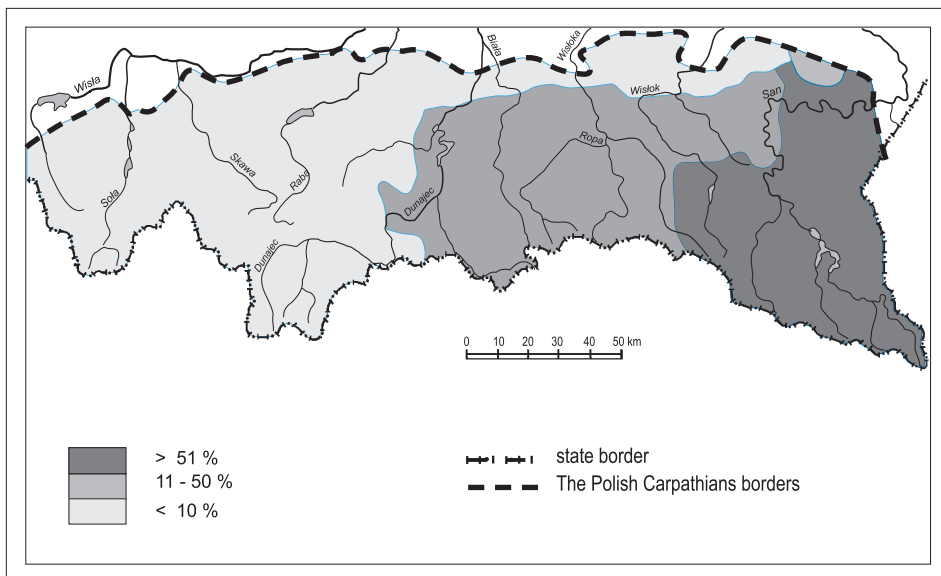


Fig. 3.
Distribution of Greek Catholics in the territory of the Polish Carpathians in the early 20th century

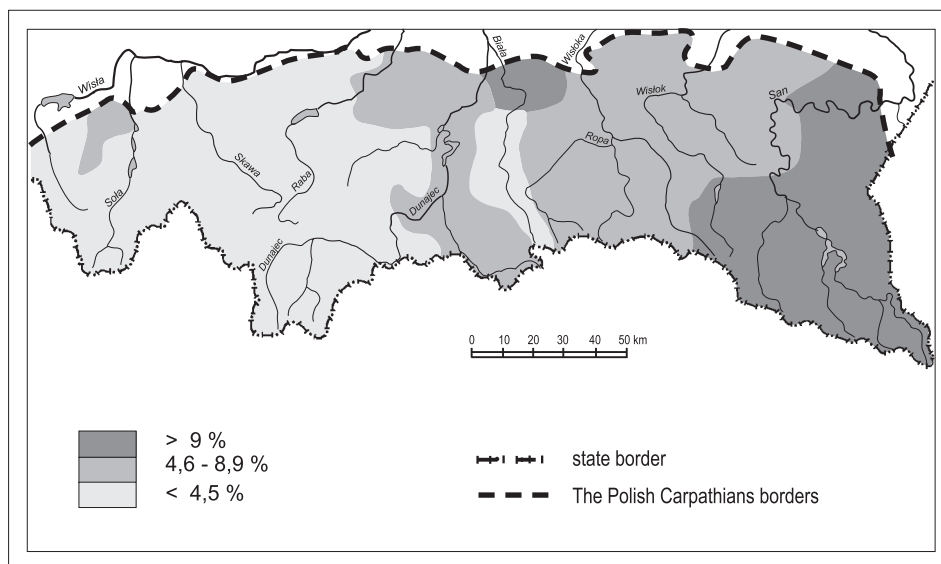


Fig. 4.
Distribution of Jewish people in the territory of the Polish Carpathians in the early 20th century.

regarding the existence of a Jewish community within the territory of the Poland of today refer to Przemyśl.²² Source references confirm Jewish settlement in Carpathian towns beginning since the mid-14th century (e.g mid-14th c. in Sanok; 1434 in Krosno; 1463 in Jasło; 1567 in Rymanów and 1570 in Bircza.)

Some of the towns were granted the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* (e.g. Biecz, from 1569, Jasło from 1589 and Krosno from 1549, as well as the towns which belonged to the Church or monasteries, such as Brzozów, Domaradz, Jaśliska). However, this law was not strictly observed in practice. These privileges were abolished in 1867, by a decree of Emperor Franz Joseph. According to the 1764 census, the largest number of Jews lived in the Ruthenian Voivodship (more than 100,000, which accounted for more than 15% of the total Jewish population both in Poland and Lithuania.) In the Przemyśl Region there were 36 Jewish communities and 6 communities in the Sanok Region. At the turn of the 19th century, Jews accounted for about 11% of the total population of Galicia, and their share in the total population clearly increased eastward. The Jewish people were dispersed in the rural areas of the entire region under discussion, with the lower numbers in the south-western part, and larger communities in the towns.²³

The group of Protestants deserve at least a brief note. This group was of Polish or German nationality. In the period subject to this study, the Enagelics constituted a small percentage of the total population, no more than 0.5%. In the early 20th century there was only one Protestant community in Galicia, consisting of

a purely Polish population. It was a municipality of Salmopol, situated near a compact Polish Protestant area in the Cieszyn Duchy.²⁴ Other Protestant communities in Galicia were established as German colonies after the partitions of Poland (e.g. Gablau, Majkowice, Bogucice in the Bochnia District and Wiesendorf Wiachendorf in the Sącz District.) Gradually, their German population became polonized and in 1900 the only larger German settlement in the territory of the present Polish Carpathians was registered in the Bielsko County (15.7% of the total population); smaller groups could be found in the Kęty, Wieliczka and Sącz Counties.

National and religious diversity in the Cieszyn Silesia differed from Galicia (Tab. 4.) Next to the prevailing Polish residents, there was a significant percentage of German residents, while the Jews accounted for not much more than 1% of the population. It is also the area of the strongest Protestant influence in the Polish Carpathians (14.2% of the total population), but Polish Protestants constituted a significant part of this group.

Tab.4.
The population of the counties of Cieszyn Silesia in 1900 by language and religion

County	Residents by language			Population by religion		
	Polish	Czech	German	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Judaic
	% of total population					
Bielsko	66.3	0.8	32.8	61.9	33.3	4.4
Cieszyn	76.8	6.2	17.0	55.5	41.7	2.6

Reference: *Historia Polski w liczbach. Ludność. Terytorium*, GUS, Warszawa 1993, p. 95.

In the early 20th century, the national and religious breakdown in the territories now being part of the Polish State was presented in a work by P. Eberhardt,²⁵ including political divisions of that time. For the part of Poland under the Austrian rule, the author used the statistical data from the 1910 census which have been discussed in this chapter, considering the religion as the leading criterion.²⁶

In this way a national breakdown in the part of Poland formerly under the Austrian rule was developed,²⁷ showing the following nationalities: Poles: 78.7% of the total population, Ukrainians: 12.6%, Jews: 7.3%, Germans: 1.2% and other nationalities: 0.6%. Since the national identity of the residents of the Spisz and Orawa regions was not well defined and the group was not large (ca. 0.6 % of the total population of the area under discussion), this group was considered composed fifty percent of Poles and fifty percent of Slovaks. According to the thesis presented at the beginning of this article, this picture might be considered as representative of the entire area of the Polish Carpathians, and the national and religious diversity was discussed above. For the sake of comparison, it is worthy to consider P. Eberhardt's national breakdown for the entire Polish territory within its current borders for the same period (1900) – Poles: 54 % of the total population, Germans: 34.5%,

Tab. 5.
The nationality (language) structure of the population of Galicia according to the political regions; data as on December 31, 1900.

No.	Region	Population as on December 31, 1900.						Proportional share of the population of							
		Total		Religion of that population				Roman Catholic		Greek Catholic		Judaism		Other	
		Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Judaism	Other	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Judaism	Other	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Judaism	Other		
Western Galicia															
1.	Biała	101 492	92 091	98	6 783	2 520	90,7	0,1	6,7	2,5					
2.	Bochnia	105 093	98 289	111	6 357	336	93,6	0,1	6,0	0,3					
3.	Brzesko	97 345	91 611	34	5 674	26	94,2	-	5,8	-					
4.	Gorlice	83 069	56 641	20 356	6 045	27	68,2	24,5	7,3	-					
5.	Grybów	32 960	21 890	9 598	1 471	1	66,4	29,1	4,5	-					
6.	Jasioł	83 794	70 610	7 965	5 201	18	84,3	9,5	6,2	-					
7.	Kraków	86 445	83 799	230	2 170	246	96,9	0,3	2,5	0,3					
8.	Krosno	82 480	63 033	13 567	5 839	41	76,5	16,4	7,1	-					
9.	Limanova	75 980	73 607	8	2 337	28	97,0	-	3,0	-					
10.	Mysłenice	88 714	86 861	63	1 768	22	97,9	0,1	2,0	-					
11.	Nowy Sącz	119 773	91 051	16 662	10 460	1 600	76,1	13,9	8,7	1,3					
12.	Nowy Targ	78 995	74 092	2 416	2 474	13	93,8	3,1	3,1	-					
13.	Pilzno	50 250	47 273	38	2 935	4	94,1	0,1	5,8	-					
14.	Ropczyce	78 480	71 250	255	6 927	48	90,8	0,3	8,8	0,1					
15.	Rzeszów	134 322	121 281	1 964	11 007	70	90,3	1,5	8,1	0,1					
16.	Strzyżów	55 993	50 242	1 870	3 879	2	89,7	3,4	6,9	-					
17.	Tarnów	107 470	92 103	121	15 200	46	85,7	0,1	14,2	-					
18.	Wadowice	107 383	103 513	69	3 741	60	96,3	0,1	3,5	0,1					
19.	Wieliczka	61 922	59 130	33	2 643	116	95,4	0,1	4,3	0,2					
20.	Żywiec	108 629	106 545	45	1 778	261	98,2	-	1,6	0,2					
Eastern Galicia															
1.	Birzów	78 694	61 306	12 150	5 225	13	78,0	15,4	6,6	-					
2.	Dobromil	68 987	15 122	46 549	6 617	682	21,9	67,5	9,6	1,0					
3.	Jarosław	136 573	66 165	56 003	14 026	379	48,4	41,0	10,3	0,3					
4.	Lesko	30 940	7 560	19 455	3 906	19	24,4	62,9	12,6	0,1					
5.	Przemysł	144 875	49 742	73 917	20 659	557	34,3	51,0	14,3	0,4					
6.	Sanok	103 590	39 360	53 920	10 284	26	38,0	52,1	9,9	-					

Source: Own work based on: J. Buzek, "Rozsiedlenie ludności Galicji według wyznania i języka" [Distribution of the Population of Galicia according to Religion and language], *Wiadomości Statystyczne o stosunkach krajowych* [Statistic Information about the National Relationships], R. XXI, z. II, Lwów 1909.

Tab. 6.
Religious structure of the population of Galicia according to the political regions; data as on December 31, 1900.

No.	Region	Austrian population						Proportional share of the particular language groups							
		Total		The languages spoken by that population				Polish		Russian		German		Other	
			Polish	Russian	German	Other									
			Western Galicia												
1.	Biała	100 517	84 567	6	15 811	133	84,1	-	-	15,7	0,2	-	-		
2.	Bochnia	104 952	104 444	29	339	140	99,5	-	-	0,3	-	-	-		
3.	Birzesko	97 195	97 061	9	116	9	99,9	-	-	0,1	-	-	-		
4.	Gorlice	82 923	61 526	20 962	377	58	74,2	25,2	0,1	0,5	-	-	-		
5.	Grybów	50 812	41 172	9 612	23	5	81,0	18,9	0,1	0,1	-	-	-		
6.	Jasło	83 693	75 490	7 970	214	19	90,2	9,5	0,3	0,3	-	-	-		
7.	Kraków	85 528	82 838	87	1 994	609	96,9	0,1	2,3	0,7	-	-	-		
8.	Krosno	82 108	68 464	13 584	39	21	83,4	16,5	0,1	-	-	-	-		
9.	Limanowa	75 921	75 920	-	1	-	100,0	-	-	-	-	-	-		
10.	Myślenice	88 607	88 415	21	154	17	99,8	-	0,2	-	-	-	-		
11.	Nowy Sącz	119 236	101 773	16 481	979	3	85,4	13,8	0,8	-	-	-	-		
12.	Nowy Targ	78 146	75 746	2 879	18	3	96,9	3,1	-	-	-	-	-		
13.	Pilzno	50 215	50 200	14	1	-	100,0	-	-	-	-	-	-		
14.	Ropczyce	78 389	78 167	102	96	24	99,8	0,1	0,1	-	-	-	-		
15.	Rzeszów	134 119	132 822	236	860	201	99,0	0,2	0,6	0,2	-	-	-		
16.	Strzyżów	55 930	54 189	1 739	2	-	96,9	3,1	-	-	-	-	-		
17.	Tarnów	106 917	106 236	47	525	109	99,4	-	0,5	0,1	-	-	-		
18.	Wadowice	107 192	106 805	31	268	88	99,6	-	0,3	0,1	-	-	-		
19.	Wieliczka	61 810	61 803	1	5	1	100,0	-	-	-	-	-	-		
20.	Żywiec	108 369	107 475	19	809	66	99,1	-	0,7	0,2	-	-	-		
			Eastern Galicia												
1.	Brzozów	53 325	48 523	4 802	-	-	91,0	9,0	-	-	-	-	-		
2.	Dobromil	33 071	8 493	24 398	180	-	25,7	73,8	0,5	-	-	-	-		
3.	Jarostaw	135 596	88 510	45 468	1 178	440	65,5	33,5	0,9	0,3	-	-	-		
4.	Lesko	95 156	23 135	71 076	896	49	24,3	74,7	0,9	0,1	-	-	-		
5.	Przemysł	144 275	67 899	70 416	4 909	1 051	47,1	48,8	3,4	0,7	-	-	-		
6.	Sanok	50 936	28 818	21 988	118	13	56,5	43,3	0,2	-	-	-	-		

Source: Own work based on: J. Buzek, "Rozsiedlenie ludności Galicji według wyznania i języka" [Distribution of the Population of Galicia according to Religion and language], Wiadomości Statystyczne o stosunkach krajowych [Statistic Information about the National Relationships], R. XXI, z. II, Lwów 1909.

Jews: 7%, Ukrainians (Ruthenians): 3.3 %, Russians: 0.5%, Byelorussians: 0.2% and other nationalities: 0.5%.

The most significant changes in the national and religious breakdown in the territory of the Polish Carpathians in the period between the two world wars is a gradual increase of the share of Roman Catholics and a decrease in the share of Greek Catholics in the total population. The process of Polish migration eastwards encroaching the originally Ruthenian territories continued, which resulted in the subsequent shift of the Polish-Ruthenian ethnic and religious border.²⁸ Religious relations underwent certain transformations within the Lemkoland itself. From 1926-1932 the conversion of Greek Catholic Lemkos into the Eastern Orthodox religion was noted on a large scale. This situation was caused by many factors, of which the most important were the increasing need of self-definition of this group, the increasing activity of the Eastern Orthodox Church, spreading pro-Russian attitudes and conflicts with the Greek Catholic clergy. It is believed that about 40 villages converted into the Eastern Orthodox religion. Depending on the sources, the number of converts ranged between 15,000 – 25,000.²⁹ In response, in 1934, the Apostolic Administration of the Lemkoland (AAŁ) was established on the initiative of the Roman Catholic Church and Greek Catholic Church to prevent further conversions into Eastern Orthodox religion. This administration was directly subject to the Holy See. It survived until 1947 and during the course of its existence no massive conversions into the Eastern Orthodox religion were observed. It should be noted, however, that the last parishes which converted to Eastern Orthodox Church in 1932, i.e. two years before AAŁ was established.

The contemporary picture of national and religious relations in the Polish Carpathians was formed as a result of the changes which occurred during World War II and immediately after. The annihilation of Jews was the primary goal of the Nazis. Carpathian Jews did not escape this tragic fate. More than ten thousand Jews were sent to death camps in Bełżec and Auschwitz. A transitory camp was organized in Zaslav near Zagórze. Only from 1941-1942, ten thousand Jews were murdered in this camp. Only a small percentage of the Jewish population survived the Holocaust. On the other hand, as a result of the new political system, the Ukrainians fell victim to the action of forced resettlement from 1944-1950. Almost 483,000 Ukrainians, including the Lemkos (ca. 70,000 people) and Boykos, were evacuated to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic between October 15, 1944 and July 1946. From 1947-1950, under the "Wisła" action, Ukrainian-speaking people were forcefully resettled to western and northern Poland under an administrative decision.³⁰ Because of these changes, the territory of the Polish Carpathians today is almost nationally homogenous, like the entire Polish territory.

Post-war statistical data did not deal with the national structure in the early 1990s. Only the first post-war census which was carried out in 1946 included the question about nationality but the data from this census are rather unreliable. Having in mind the lack of the sources available it is impossible to present the current

national and religious breakdown in the Polish Carpathians. Certainly the percentage of Polish population is similar to the national average, i.e. 98%. Among the ethnic minorities, the Ukrainian minority is especially numerous, estimated to be 265,000 (0.7% of the total population.)

Notes:

¹ Published [in], *Struktura terytorialna Kościoła Łacińskiego w Polsce w 1772 roku (Territorial Structure of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland in 1772)*, Lublin 1979.

² The map was prepared mainly on the basis of the data from the census of 1921 published in the Index of Places by GUS, 1923-26. Reference: J. Wąsowicz, *Wyznania w Polsce (Religions in Poland)*, Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny, 1930, nos 29-30.

³ E. Romer, *Atlas Polski (Atlas of Poland)*, Lwów 1916.

⁴ J. Buzek, *Rozsiedlenie ludności Galicyi według wyznania i języka (The Distribution of the Population of Galicia, by Religion and Language)*, *Wiadomości Statystyczne o Stosunkach Krajowych*, 1909, Annual. XXI, number II.

⁵ K. Zamorski, *Informator statystyczny do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Galicji. Ludność Galicji w latach 1857-1910 (Statistical Information on the Socio-Economic History of Galicia. The Population of Galicia in 1857-1910)*, Kraków-Warszawa 1989.

⁶ P. Eberhardt, *Między Rosją a Niemcami. Przemiany narodowościowe w Europie Środkowo-wschodniej w XX w. (Between Russia and Germany. National Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe in the 20th c.)*, Warszawa 1996.

⁷ *Historia Polski w liczbach. Ludność. Terytorium (The History of Poland in Numbers. Population. Territory)*, Warszawa 1993.

⁸ Eberhardt's work referred to separate data for this part of historical Galicia and Cieszyn Silesia which are currently parts of Poland's territory.

⁹ A. Jackowski, M. Soja; *Certains aspects de la géographie de la religion dans la Pologne du Sud – Est jusqu'en 1939* [in:] *Regions Paysannes aux Espaces Fragiles*, Univ. Blaise Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand, 1992, pp. 671-678.

¹⁰ Z. Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku (The Population of the Polish-Ruthenian Borderland in the Second Half of the 18th c.)*, Przemysł-Rzeszów 1993, Vol. I, pp. 47-49.

¹¹ M. Bendza, *Prawosławna diecezja przemyska w latach 1596-1681. Studium historyczno-kanoniczne. (The Eastern Orthodox Diocese in Przemysł from 1596-1681. A Historical and Canonical Study)*, Warszawa 1982, p. 36.

¹² A. Kunysz, *Przemysł w dziejach i wczesnym średniowieczu (Przemysł throughout History and in the Early Middle Ages)*, Przemysł 1981, pp. 153-167; A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI wieku (The State and the Church in Ruthenia in the 11th c.)*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 156-157.

¹³ M. Parczewski, *Początki kształtowania się polsko-ruskiej rubieży etnicznej w Karpatach (The Beginning of the Polish-Ruthenian Ethnic Border in the Carpathians)*, Kraków 1991, p. 66.

¹⁴ J. Czajkowski, *Dzieje osadnictwa historycznego na Podkarpaciu i jego odzwierciedlenie w grupach etnograficznych (The History of the Settlement in the Podkarpacie Region and Its Reflection in the Ethnographic Groups)*, [in:] *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat (Lemkos in the History and Culture of the Carpathians)*, Ed. J. Czajkowski, Part. I, Sanok 1995, p.164.

¹⁵ Currently only a small part of Western Boyko Land is within the borders of Poland.

¹⁶ Z.Budzyński, op.cit., p. 56-58.

¹⁷ In the studies on the national breakdown exclusively on the basis of the religion criterion, the following assumptions were usually made: Roman Catholics were considered of Polish or, rarely, German nationality; Greek Catholics of the Ukrainian nationality, followers of the Judaic religion of the Jewish nationality. After P. Eberhardt, op. cit., p. 81.

¹⁸ J.Buzek, op.cit.

¹⁹ J. Buzek, op. cit, pp. 10-11.

²⁰ J. Buzek, op. cit., p. 9.

²¹ J. Buzek, op. cit., p. 10.

²² A. Potocki, *Podkarpackie judaica (The Judaics of the Podkarpacie Region)*, p.5

²³ A.Jackowski, M.Soja, op.cit., p. 4.

²⁴ J. Buzek, op. cit., p. 29-31.

²⁵ P. Eberhardt, op. cit., p. 81.

²⁶ According to the theses explained in reference 86.

²⁷ The entire former Western Galicia and six counties in Eastern Galicia — Brzozów, Jarosław, Sanok, Przemyśl, Cieszanów i Lesko, part of Cieszyn Silesia, north-western. Spisz and north-wesetren part of Orawa.

²⁸ A. Jackowski, M. Soja; op. cit., pp. 3-5.

²⁹ The diagram of clergy of the Apostolate Adminsitration of Lemko Land of 1936 mentions 18,000, Eastern Orthodox sources 25,000, GUS in 1938 nearly 16,000; according to: A. Krochmal, *Stosunki między grekokatolikami i prawosławnymi na Łemkowszczyźnie w latach 1926-1939 (Relations between Greek Catholics and Eastern Orthodox People in Lemko Land from 1926-1939)*, [in:] *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, op. cit., s. 290.

³⁰ K. Pudło, *Dzieje Łemków po drugiej wojnie światowej.(Zarys problematyki)*,(The History of the Lemkos during World War II. Outline) [in:] *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, op. cit., s. 355-365.

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