

Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Poland Since 1945*

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In addition to the usual problems associated with the study of East European post-war history — unavailability of important archival material, ideological factors, highly biased sources, and the lack of the perspective of time — the study of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Poland and Czechoslovakia since 1945 confronts the researcher with considerable imbalance among available sources. Whereas there is a large body of literature on Ukrainian Catholics in Poland, there is little material available on Ukrainian Orthodox in Czechoslovakia. The amount of information obtainable in the West on Ukrainian Orthodox in Poland and Ukrainian Catholics in Czechoslovakia seems to fall somewhere in between.

There is, furthermore, considerable difficulty in identifying and isolating the objects of study. Ethnic assimilation of Ukrainians in both Czechoslovakia and Poland, as well as controversy about whether such groups as Lemkos and Rusyns are Ukrainian, make it difficult to ascertain who the Ukrainians of these countries are. The absence of separate Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox Churches in Czechoslovakia and Poland compounds the problem, and it is even reported that until recently, the censors forbade mention of the existence of Greek-Catholics in Poland,¹ although the Greek-Catholic Church does have semi-official status in that country.

The fact that virtually all Greek-Catholics in Poland are Ukrainian makes this group relatively conspicuous, and identification of Ukrainians in Poland is somewhat easier than in Czechoslovakia — although the official tendency to regard the Lemko ethnic group as something other than Ukrainian does obscure matters to some extent. Since there are no official breakdowns by nationality of either the Polish government census or of church statistics, one must rely on estimates to ascertain the number of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox as well as the overall number of Ukrainians in the country.

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Although the overall estimates vary from 250,000 to a million Ukrainians, 500,000 to 600,000 seems a likely number.² This would include at least 350,000 to 400,000 Ukrainian Greek-Catholics and at least 150,000 to 200,000 Ukrainians in the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.³

On the eve of World War II, the population of the Ukrainian lands which had been incorporated into inter-war Poland included some three and a half million members of the Greek-Catholic Church, which was almost entirely Ukrainian, and over four million Orthodox believers, of whom three-quarters were Ukrainian. In the lands which were to remain in Poland after the war, there were some 715,000 Ukrainians in 1940, including 175,000 who had joined the Latin-rite Catholic Church.⁴ The Greek-Catholic metropolitanate of Lwów (L'viv in Ukrainian) and Galicia included the Lwów archdiocese, the dioceses of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') and Stanisławów (Stanyslaviv), and (from 1934) the Apostolic Administrature of the Lemko Region. The Administrature was carved out of the Przemyśl diocese in order to counteract the Orthodox movement among the Lemkos, who inhabited the area west of Przemyśl.

Historical Background

Under Metropolitan Dionysius from 1923 onwards, the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church was recognised as autocephalous by the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople in 1924-1925 and subsequently by all the other Orthodox Churches except the Moscow Patriarchate. It had five dioceses with about 2,000 parishes. A bastion of the Russophile movement since the 19th century, the Orthodox Church attracted many Ukrainian Greek-Catholics who objected to the latinising and polonising influences of the Roman Catholic clergy in Poland. The Orthodox were subjected to an intense Catholicisation campaign in the inter-war period. Finally, a presidential decree of 18 November 1938, confirmed by the Council of Ministers on 10 December 1938, regulated the relations between the church and the government, upon which it became dependent. A polonisation process consequently became possible in the church, with Polish introduced as the language of administration, education and sermons in some areas, though the Ukrainians in Volhynia resisted this development.

Between 1914 and 1939 the number of Orthodox churches decreased dramatically.⁵ This was evidently a result of the violent attacks on the Orthodox Church, of which the government was not altogether innocent, particularly in 1938. After protests by Greek-Catholic metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'ky, as well as by

Orthodox metropolitan Dionysius and others, the Polish government ordered an end to the anti-Orthodox violence early in 1939.

Post-war Developments

Border shifts and population transfers in the wake of World War II brought changes to both churches. A number of Ukrainians had been deported during the Soviet occupation of Eastern Galicia in 1939-41. At the end of the war, the majority of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics found themselves within the new borders of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. In addition, a number of Ukrainians, both Orthodox and Greek-Catholic, from what had become the eastern borderland of Poland, were repatriated to the Ukrainian SSR between October 1944 and 1946 under an inter-governmental agreement of 9 September 1944. Some 482,880 Ukrainians, Belorussians, Russians and Ruthenians were transferred to the Soviet Union from Lublin, Rzeszów, and Cracow provinces.⁶ Altogether about 530,000 Ukrainians were settled in the Ukrainian SSR.⁷ About 850,000 persons, including perhaps about 150,000 Ukrainians, were transferred from the USSR to Poland. Of the 200,000 Ukrainians who had remained in Poland⁸, 150,000 were resettled in the formerly German north and west of Poland in "Action Vistula" between March and the late autumn of 1947.⁹ To avoid resettlement, some Ukrainian Greek-Catholics transferred to the Latin-rite Church and claimed Polish nationality.¹⁰ The vacated lands were then settled mostly by some 50,000 Roman Catholic Poles.¹¹ However, the Ministry of the Interior reported that by 1956 there were 500,000 Ukrainians remaining in Poland.¹² Some 350,000 were represented at the All-Ukrainian Congress in Warsaw that year.¹³ Discrepancies in the statistics may be explained in part by the reluctance of many Ukrainians to report their nationality in the circumstances of intense Polish-Ukrainian animosity in the post-war years.

The Greek-Catholic Church, 1945-56

Both the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops of the Przemyśl diocese, (which had remained partly in Poland after the war), were arrested on 19 September 1945, released in January 1946 and arrested again on 25 June 1946. Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'ky and his co-adjutor, Bishop Hryhori Lakota, were extradited to the USSR and died in confinement. Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests of the Przemyśl diocese were given sentences of between four and ten years as

“Vatican agents.”¹⁴ All the canons of the diocese were exiled. The Basilian Order, however, remained legal. At the end of the war there were over a hundred Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests left in Poland, most of them serving in the Latin-rite Church.¹⁵ Many kept a low profile by serving as chaplains in convents.¹⁶ In 1949 Cardinal Wyszyński was named special delegate for Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. He agreed to the establishment of pastoral centres, but not of regular Greek-Catholic parishes.¹⁷

In the area west of the river San, some 200 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches of artistic and historical value were destroyed.¹⁸ By a decree of 27 July 1949, real property belonging to the Ukrainians and the Greek-Catholic Church in the south-east regions passed to the state.¹⁹ Between 1939 and 1956, 164 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches under state supervision were destroyed in Poland, mostly in the years 1949-56.²⁰ Art specialists brought this up in the Polish press, but the government took no action.²¹

The Ukrainians resettled in the north and west of Poland were distributed among 45 districts (*powiaty*) of eight counties (*województwa*). The Ministry of the Interior instructed that the number of Ukrainians in any given locality should not exceed ten per cent.²² Along with other factors, this obviously limited the possibilities for the organisation of religious life. It also made unnecessary an official liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church, as occurred in Galicia in 1946, Romania in 1948, Transcarpathia in 1949, and Czechoslovakia in 1950.²³

The situation of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland in the early 1950s must be seen in the context of government policy towards the Catholic Church as a whole in the years after the communists had consolidated their power. Purportedly dissatisfied with the church's observance of the church-state agreement of 14 April 1950, which required episcopal support for government policies, the regime issued a decree dated 9 February 1953 requiring governmental approval for all organisational and personnel changes in the church structure. Cardinal Wyszyński was imprisoned. Only in 1956 could he and his bishops return to their dioceses. In that year the Holy See named five new bishops.

The Orthodox Church, 1945-56

In the first post-war decade, Orthodox Ukrainians in Poland found themselves in a radically changed church. Partly because of his vital role in the revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in German-occupied Ukraine during the war and also because of his

opposition to communism, Metropolitan Dionysius Waledyński was imprisoned by the authorities in Warsaw. In 1948 he was put on trial for alleged wartime collaboration. (Meanwhile, in 1946 Bishop Timothy Shreter was appointed to administer the church together with the Synod.) The main reason for Dionysius's confinement and trial, however, may well have been the Moscow Patriarch's designs upon the Orthodox Church in Poland. Thus, the Synod of the Orthodox Church in Poland was persuaded to repudiate the autocephaly which the church had received in 1924-25 from the Ecumenical Patriarch, and on 22 June 1948 a new "autocephaly" was granted by the Moscow Patriarchate.

The border changes and resettlements of the war had resulted in a vastly reduced Orthodox Church in Poland — from four million believers before the war to around 450,000, from five to two dioceses, from ten to three bishops. (A third diocese, however, was created in 1949 and a fourth in 1950.) Neither the institute of Orthodox Theology at the University of Warsaw nor the theological seminary were revived. However, in 1950 a theological seminary was founded in Warsaw, and in 1957 a department of Orthodox Theology was established at the Christian Theological Academy in that city.²⁴ In 1947 Maria Niechludowa founded Poland's only Orthodox convent, at Grabarce near Siemiatycze, and the monastery of St Onufrius was founded at Jableczna.

On 19 April 1951 the Synod of Bishops requested the Russian Orthodox Church to send an archbishop, and on 14 June a church delegation asked that Macarius Oksiyuk, the Russian Orthodox Archbishop of L'vov and Ternopil', be sent to head their church. Macarius, who had helped carry out the forcible conversion of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in the Ukrainian SSR, was enthroned on 8 July 1951 as Metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland.

¶ The post-war Orthodox Church in Poland became a culturally Polish rather than a Ukrainian or Belorussian institution.²⁵ Although Metropolitan Macarius did not succeed in bringing the Greek-Catholics of Poland to Orthodoxy, he did consolidate the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.²⁶ In the 1950s, the PAOC took over a number of Greek-Catholic churches which had become state property. This led to conflicts with the Roman Catholic Church, which weakened the already tenuous positions of both *vis à vis* the government.²⁷

The "Thaw" of 1956

The limited general thaw of 1956 affected the situation of Ukrainians of both faiths in Poland. However, the state continued to control much of the activity of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, the decree of 31 December 1956 allowed the state to oppose candidates for clerical positions and required them to take an oath of loyalty. Changes in the civil registry law in 1958 required civil registration of a marriage before a church wedding. The law of 15 July 1961 on the educational system reaffirmed the primacy of official secularism and permitted catechetical instruction outside school in centres subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Education.

The Ukrainians' social and cultural life was revived through the formation, on 16-18 June 1956, of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Association. This party-controlled organisation sought to normalise the status of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.²⁸ The Polish episcopate refused. On 29 November 1956 the Ukrainian priests Vasyl' Hrynyk and Myroslav Ripets'ky sent a memorandum to the Primate, Cardinal Wyszyński, appealing for juridical status for their church. The following year the Rev. Canon Hrynyk headed a delegation from the still-vacant Przemyśl diocese to Cardinal Wyszyński. The delegation requested the return of the Greek-Catholic cathedral in Przemyśl, which had been turned over to the Polish Carmelites from Lwów. The Primate promised to consider the request. He did permit 16 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests to maintain religious care over Catholic Ukrainians in Poland.

Beginning in 1956, many Ukrainian priests who had been sent to Soviet labour camps began to return to Poland. Some served the deportees in the north and west of the country. In September 1957 one of the first fully legal Ukrainian Greek-Catholic services since the war was held, in Szczecin.²⁹

Since Ukrainian churches which had not been turned over to the Latin-rite Catholics continued to be neglected or destroyed, the Greek-Catholics in many localities had to seek permission from the local bishop and parish priest to hold masses in Latin-rite churches. They were not permitted to have their own seminary, nor an official department of their own in any existing seminary. Until 1970, Ukrainians could not study theology unless they agreed to study and serve in the Latin rite for a few years.³⁰ The ageing Greek-Catholic clergy had diminished in numbers by the late 1970s to between 35 and 40 priests, two-thirds of whom were in their sixties and over.³¹ From 1947 to 1977 there were only ten Greek-Catholic ordinations (five secular priests and five religious).³² In 1977 there were some 15 Ukrainians studying theology in Polish seminaries, eight of them at

the Catholic University of Lublin.³³

The issue of the fate of Ukrainian churches remained controversial: a Polish historian writing in 1983 noted that there had been a significant increase in the number of Greek-Catholic churches destroyed in the years up to 1972. For example, in Rzeszów county some 220 churches had been destroyed.³⁴

The Rev. Canon Vasył' Hrynyk, who had been appointed the Primate's vicar-general for Ukrainian Catholics in Poland, died on 31 May 1977. He was succeeded by Rev. S. Dziubyna on 14 June 1977. The Vatican's choice was opposed by Cardinal Iosyf Slipyj, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, who had been living in Rome since his release from labour camp and expulsion from the USSR in 1963. By a decree of 20 July 1977, Fr Dziubyna became head of the Przemyśl capitula for the Eastern rite. Przemyśl remained the seat of the vicar-general until 1981. This corresponded to the traditional structure of the Greek-Catholic Church — since Przemyśl was the seat of an ancient Ukrainian eparchy — but not to the demographic situation after "Action Vistula". Cardinal Slipyj, who had adopted the title of Patriarch in 1975, designated Fr Dziubyna as patriarchal administrator.³⁵ At the end of 1977, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics had 74 pastoral centres in Poland, including former fully-fledged parishes with resident clergy.³⁶

Orthodox Metropolitan Timothy Shreter (Macarius's successor) died in 1962. In 1965, Stephen Rudyk, bishop of Białystok-Gdańsk, succeeded him. At the beginning of the 1970s the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church had four dioceses, with 206 parishes, 150 priests, ten deacons, and nearly 250,000 faithful, many of whom were Ukrainians.³⁷

The 1980s

The rise of the "Solidarity" independent trade-union movement in 1980, and the consequent political and economic turmoil, do not seem to have directly affected the religious life of the Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Poland. However, these events did affect the life of the Ukrainian community in general in ways which involved church life as well. Some Ukrainians did take part in "Solidarity" activity, particularly in the industrial regions of the north and west, where many resettled families and their offspring continue to live. "Solidarity" has been less active in the south and east — areas with an autochthonous Ukrainian minority — because of the scarcity of industry there. Ukrainians did, however, become active in the Przemyśl branch of the independent trade union movement, which

took up some of their concerns. In the summer of 1981 a Solidarity inter-factory committee requested the state authorities to return a church which was being used as a warehouse to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. The matter was brought up in an open session of the Solidarity regional administration in Przemyśl. After long and often heated discussion, the majority voted for return of the church to the Ukrainians.³⁸

In a letter of 6 March 1984 addressed to the Primate, Cardinal Józef Glemp, a number of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics listed a series of requests, including the appointment of their own bishops and the return of the Przemyśl Cathedral.³⁹ On 21 June of that year, Archbishop Myroslav S. Marusyn, Secretary of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, visited Poland by invitation of the Primate and as a representative of Pope John Paul II. It was the first official visit of a Vatican representative to Eastern-rite Catholics in Poland since World War II.

The Present Situation

Since 1981, the Ukrainian Catholics in Poland have been represented by two vicars-general, one in Warsaw and one in Legnica. While this corresponds to the Ukrainians' geographical distribution, it deprives Przemyśl of its traditional status as a centre of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church authority. The vicars-general in Warsaw and Legnica are, respectively, Rev. Josafat Romanyk and Rev. Jan Martyniak.⁴⁰ Today there are approximately fifty Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests in Poland.⁴¹

While the advanced age of the majority of these priests has been a concern in the past, recent ordinations by the visiting Archbishop Marusyn from Rome⁴² have contributed to assuring sufficient future pastoral care. Nevertheless, there is still a shortage of priests. Younger priests generally serve three or four communities, while older ones tend to serve only one each.⁴³

Also important are the matters of church edifices and administration. On the eve of World War II there were 514 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches in that part of the Przemyśl diocese which after the war was to remain in Poland's Rzeszów county, including 311 "monuments of architecture."⁴⁴ By 1956, 164 churches, including 101 of those designated as architectural monuments, had been destroyed.⁴⁵

In that year, an agreement was reached by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and Art, and Communist Party representatives, concerning protection of cultural treasures, such as

churches. The Polish Sejm ratified the International Convention on the Protection of Cultural Monuments. In 1962, a special law was passed imposing penalties for the theft of, or damage to, cultural monuments.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, by 1969, another thirty churches designated architectural monuments had been destroyed.⁴⁷ It is not clear how much of the damage was due to neglect, how much to state action, and how much to destruction by the local populace.⁴⁸ Of the 180 churches designated monuments of architecture remaining in 1969, a hundred were being used by Latin-rite Catholics, and the rest were turned to agricultural or other uses, or simply left unprotected.⁴⁹

According to one author writing in the 1970s, out of 454 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches in the Lubaczów, Przemyśl and Lemko regions, 229 belonged to the state as architectural monuments, 195 had been turned over to Latin-rite use, 27 had been given to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and three were shared by Latin-rite Catholics and Orthodox.⁵⁰ According to a 1982 article in the Polish press, there were only about twenty Greek-Catholic churches actually in use in Poland in that year. As a result, Greek-Catholic masses were held mostly in Latin-rite churches.⁵¹

In recent years, a number of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches have reportedly been built in the north, the west, and in Pomerania.⁵² For example, a new church with an iconostasis was built in Bartoszyce about four years ago. During his visit to Poland in June-July 1985, Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn laid the cornerstone of a church being built in Komańcza near Przemyśl. A church in Jaroslaw is being restored. Nevertheless, neglect and even destruction of churches have continued.⁵³ For example, a wooden church in Chotyńiec was reported in 1984 to have been in the process of decay. Attempts to set up a Greek-Catholic parish there, which would help protect the building, have been fruitless.⁵⁴

Recently, attempts have been renewed to promote the preservation of architecturally significant Greek-Catholic churches and other religious structures. On 6 June 1983, a Public Commission for the Protection of Monuments of Ecclesiastical Art was formed in association with the Society for the Protection of Monuments. On 15 December 1984 a Student Section for the Protection of Monuments of Ecclesiastical Art was formed under the Polish Student Organisation's Council for the Culture of Students of National Minorities. Members of the Student Section participate in the taking of inventories of chapels, wayside crosses, cemeteries and other monuments of church art. The inventories will form the basis of requests for state protection of these sites and structures.⁵⁵

Administratively, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church comes

directly under the Primate of Poland rather than the local bishops, with vicars-general as intermediaries. There is, however, one Eastern-rite parish in Poland which stands apart from this structure. This is the "neo-Uniate" parish of Kostomloty on the Bug.⁵⁶ Greek-Catholic masses are celebrated in (a) Greek-Catholic parish churches, which in 1982 numbered about twenty;⁵⁷ (b) pastoral centres (*placówki duszpasterskie*), (usually with a resident priest), of which 79 were reported in existence in 1976;⁵⁸ and (c) centres of worship (*ośrodki kultu*), where services are conducted only occasionally, by visiting priests.⁵⁹ A recently published Vatican source gives the number of pastoral centres in the northern vicariate as forty, comprising 22 in the Olsztyn deanery and 18 in the Koszalin deanery. It names 36 pastoral centres in the southern vicariate: twenty in the Legnica-Wrocław deanery and 16 in the Przemyśl deanery. Thus, there has been a decrease of three since 1976.⁶⁰

Of the Greek-Catholic monastic orders in Poland, the Order of St Basil the Great is historically the most important. There are presently 23 Basilian monks in Poland, of whom 13 are priests. They have a church and monastery in Warsaw, and houses in Kolobrzeg, Przemyśl, Stargard and Wegorzewo.⁶¹ There are three Ukrainian Greek-Catholic women's orders in Poland: the Josephites in Przemyśl, Surochów and Komańcza, numbering 34 in all; the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in Przemyśl, numbering 87; and the Basilian Sisters in Przemyśl, numbering 19.⁶²

Presently, 23 Ukrainian candidates for the priesthood are studying at the theological seminary which is part of the faculty of theology of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL),⁶³ although another source mentions 15 at KUL and nine at the Basilian seminary in Warsaw.⁶⁴ In 1982, there were 18 Ukrainian students at KUL. In that year, the Primate nominated Fr Teodor Majkowycz rector for Ukrainian theology students at KUL. During the same year, there were nine monks studying at the Basilian seminary in Warsaw. These students take courses in theology at the Warsaw Theological Seminary, with supplementary courses at the Basilian seminary.

Nevertheless, vocations remain a problem. According to a former KUL theology student, the authorities make little effort to ordain Ukrainian candidates in their own rite. The controversy about priestly celibacy complicates this issue. Canon law permits married men to be ordained in the Eastern Rite. But in a letter of 2 February 1981 to the Polish Primate, the Vatican Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches replied negatively to the Przemyśl capitula's question about the ordination of married men. It is reported that theology students of the Eastern Rite are currently required to sign a declaration that they will be ordained unmarried. As a result of their refusal to submit to

this requirement, at least seven students have been reportedly expelled from KUL in recent years.⁶⁵

Pilgrimages of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics to the shrine in Czestochowa began with the 600th anniversary of Jasna Góra in 1982.⁶⁶ Over 5,000 young pilgrims, led by vicar-general Martiniak, took part in the fourth pilgrimage, in September 1985; over 2,000 made the fifth pilgrimage, in May 1986.)

The future of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland will depend largely on the attitudes and actions of the Polish population in general, the Roman Catholic episcopate and clergy, the Holy See, the communist government of Poland and, indirectly, the government of the USSR. The historic hostility between Poles and Ukrainians seems to be gradually diminishing, now that its political and socio-economic bases have largely been removed. Nevertheless, a majority of the Polish episcopate is still thought to oppose Ukrainian Greek-Catholic aspirations: only three out of 83 Polish bishops are reported to have supported a proposal for the appointment of a separate Greek-Catholic bishop.⁶⁷ Typical of the attitude of many Ukrainians is the bitter complaint of one former theology student at KUL that in Ukrainian matters, the Polish episcopate takes the same line as the Polish communist government. This may, however, be simply out of fear that any split may weaken the church rather than out of hostility towards Ukrainians. The attitude of the lower clergy is also reportedly hostile in many cases, even in violation of the wishes of the Primate; the above-mentioned Ukrainian source speaks of "persecution".⁶⁸ Some Polish publicists have urged the Latin-rite Church to cooperate with the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics.⁶⁹ The idea has even arisen that a nationally inspired Ukrainian church could serve as a kind of buffer on Poland's eastern flank.⁷⁰ A part of the Polish intelligentsia has taken the initiative in solving the problems of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Ironically, they have at times encountered apathy among the Ukrainian clergy itself.⁷¹

The Warsaw government has propagated the concept of an ethnically homogeneous Polish society. It has apparently sought to diminish the role of the Ukrainian Catholics by favouring the Orthodox. It must also take into consideration the concern of the Soviet government that a Ukrainian revival in Poland should not spill over into the USSR.⁷² On the other hand, some party-published sources suggest a new toleration for ethnic diversity.⁷³ This may, however, merely reflect an attempt to divide the Catholic Church. However that may be, the USSR, which officially considers the Greek-Catholic Church to have been dissolved in 1946, at least on the territory of the Galician Metropolitanate, would find it inadmissible that this church be revived in the portions of that Metropolitanate

presently in Poland.⁷⁴

Since the election of Pope John Paul II in October 1978, the attitude of the Holy See has been far more favourable towards the aspirations of Ukrainian Catholics in general. The Pope's pastoral letter of March 1979, concerning the approaching millennium of Rus'-Ukraine's conversion to Christianity in 988, testifies to this.⁷⁵ The recent visits of Archbishop Marusyn as papal representative to Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland are further evidence of Vatican support.

The concrete issue before Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland is the appointment of a bishop or exarch for the Przemyśl diocese. An exarch would presumably be an apostolic exarch, although the notion of a patriarchal exarchate has also been raised. Alternatively, an apostolic administration could be set up as an interim measure. In this matter, the recent growing concern of the laity — both Ukrainian and Polish — may prove an important factor.⁷⁶ Of course, the final decision rests with the Holy See, and its actions cannot be predicted.

In the 1980s the Ukrainian Orthodox appear to have been assimilated into the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Since 1 March 1970, this church has been headed by Archbishop Basil Doroszkiewicz, Metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland, and head of the Synod of Bishops of the PAOC. He is said to be of Belorussian origin. The Synod of Bishops is the church's supreme authority. It administers the Metropolitan Council (the church's chief organ) and the Metropolitan Control Commission.

In addition to the Archdiocese of Warsaw and Bielsk, the church presently has four dioceses: Wrocław and Szczecin, Białystok and Gdańsk, Przemyśl and Nowy Sącz, and Łódź and Poznań. There are twenty deaneries with 224 parishes. The number of parishes has risen over the last 15 years.⁷⁷

Monastic life continues on a small scale. The monastery of St Onufrius is located at Jableczna in Podlasie. Twenty sisters live at the convent of Sts Martha and Maria at Grabarce near Siemiatycze (near Białystok), founded in 1947 and based on the rule of St Theodore Studite and St Basil the Great.⁷⁸

Church Slavonic is the normal liturgical language in the PAOC. Sermons are usually in Polish, but at the cathedral in Gdańsk they are in Russian, while in Sanok they are in Ukrainian.⁷⁹ The monthly organ, *Tserkovny vestnik* ("Church Herald"), is published in Russian. There is also a Polish-language quarterly, *Wiadomości PAKP*, and a calendar published in separate Polish, Russian and, since the late 1960s, Ukrainian editions.

Candidates for the Orthodox priesthood in Poland study at the

Orthodox Theological Seminary and the Orthodox section of the Christian Theological Academy, both in Warsaw.

According to its 1970 Statute, the PAOC is "an integral part of the Universal Orthodox Church", but is "independent of any ecclesiastical or secular authority outside the country and equal, in its rights, to every other autocephalous Orthodox Church".⁸⁰ It does, however, maintain fraternal ties with the Russian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia.⁸¹ The PAOC belongs to the Polish Ecumenical Council, which supports the "peaceful initiatives of the Polish government in international affairs", and which in turn represents Poland in the World Council of Churches. The Polish Ecumenical Council is also active in the Christian Peace Conference.⁸²

An indicator of the Orthodox Church's loyalty to the regime is the fact that after the imposition of martial law in December 1981, it added special prayers for the Polish army to its services. The Polish government has in turn treated the PAOC favourably, allowing re-establishment of the ancient eparchy of Przemyśl as the eparchy of Przemyśl-Nowy Sącz on 6 September 1983, under Bishop Adam Dubec. It did this despite opposition from the Roman Catholic Church and particularly, it is said, from Bishop Ignace Tokarczuk of Przemyśl.⁸³ Since then, the eparchy has published a Ukrainian-language church calendar emphasising Ukrainian history and culture.⁸⁴

The PAOC has some three hundred churches and chapels. New churches are being built and old ones repaired. For example, a church was recently built in Hajnówka.

The position of Ukrainians in the PAOC is less favourable than it was either before or during the war. About half the clergy is Ukrainian, as have been several bishops and metropolitans. Yet the Ukrainian aspect of the church is de-emphasised, perhaps for fear of its possible effects on Orthodoxy in the Ukrainian SSR. What concessions have been made to the Ukrainians could stem from the desire to win over Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. In some cases in the Lemko area and Przemyśl county, the government has offered to return confiscated churches to Ukrainians on condition that they convert to Orthodoxy. Although this tactic has not been widely successful,⁸⁵ the government continues to favour the PAOC in other ways, since Ukrainian Greek-Catholics disaffected with the Latinisation of their rite are naturally tempted to turn to a church which preserves what is essentially the same Eastern rite. Thus in Przemyśl, where the Cathedral Church of St John the Baptist remains in the hands of the Latin-rite Carmelites, the Church of the Dormition on Wowcza was turned over to the PAOC in 1983. This church was

formerly the seat of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops of Przemyśl, but was closed in the 1950s.^{8 6}

Naturally, the Latin-rite clergy are not favourably disposed to the creation of Orthodox parishes in south-east Poland. The Poliane affair, where Orthodox and Latin-rite Catholics fought over a church for more than twenty years, is a case in point. However, Latin-rite Catholics' neglect of, or hostility towards, Greek-Catholics has only advanced the Orthodox cause, prompting disaffected Greek-Catholics in Gładyszów and Krynica to join the Orthodox Church.^{8 7}

The south-eastern lands of present-day Poland have long been a forum of Catholic-Orthodox rivalry. Compounding and complicating this confessional conflict has been the national strife between Poles and Ukrainians. Since World War II, external political factors and events, such as Soviet influence, the Polish communist regime, the dispersal of Ukrainians to the north and west of the country, and the "Solidarity" movement, have further complicated the situation. The eastern bulwark of Catholicism as well as a bastion of Ukrainian national identity, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics have often encountered hostility from both the Polish regime and the Polish clergy, though lately there have been encouraging signals from both. Meanwhile, Ukrainian Orthodox, subsumed into a government-supported and Russian-oriented church, have recently begun to assert their ethnic identity. This may endear them even less to Polish Catholics, but more to their Greek-Catholic brethren. Thus the national factor, while continuing to reinforce religious rivalries, may in some cases work to reduce them.

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¹A party source estimated the Ukrainian population in 1982 at 250,000 to 300,000 (*Polityka*, 4 December 1982, in Ivan Hvat, "Ukrainskie katoliki-uniaty v Pol'she trebuyut svoikh prav" (manuscript) (Munich: Radio Liberty); a highly-placed Roman Catholic Church source estimated it in 1984 at 500,000, and a Rome-based Ukrainian source at a million. Such variation is not unusual; estimates from the 1970s varied from 180,000 (official source) to one million (émigré Ukrainian source): Vasyl Markus, "The Religious Situation of the Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine" in *Poland and Ukraine Past and Present*, edited by Peter Potichnyj (Edmonton and Toronto, 1980), p. 133 (citing official source); V. Gots'ky, "Na bichnomu vidtyunku" (manuscript), p. 1.

²Two published estimates for Ukrainian Greek-Catholics for 1982 were 300,000 (Turian, "Matka Wszystkich Narodów", *Wież*, No. 10 (October 1982), p. 47) and 80,000 to 100,000 practising Greek-Catholics (Bogda Stachurska, "Kościół greckokatolicki", *Wieczór Wrocławia*, No. 231 (31 December 1982 — 1-2 January 1983)). A reliable estimate for the number of Greek-Catholics in the preceding year was 200,000: Vasył Markus, "Impact of Polish Religious Development on Other East European Countries", in *Poland's Church-State Relations*, edited by Lawrence Biondi (Chicago, 1981), p. 51. In 1984, one reliable and highly-placed Polish source gave an estimate of 350,000; another mentioned that 300,000 Ukrainians are openly Greek-Catholic but that the total number, including "secret" Greek-Catholics, is closer to 400,000. In an October 1985 interview with Vatican Radio, the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Myroslav I. Lubachiv's'ky, gave the number of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland as 500,000. Another Ukrainian source in Rome would estimate the number at roughly 800,000. A recent Vatican-published source quotes a figure of 400,000: *Pamyatka arkhyyereis'kykh vidvidyn: blahosloven khto ide v imya Hospodnye* (n.l., n.d.).

³These are difficult to identify because they belong to the same rite as the Belorussians and Poles in the PAOC. If one accepts the proposition that over forty per cent of the PAOC membership is Ukrainian, then out of the roughly 400,000 to 500,000 members it claimed in the 1970s as many as 200,000 could have been Ukrainian: Markus, "The Religious Situation of the Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine", p. 133. In 1978, the official overall number of Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church faithful was 460,000, with 223 priests: Adam Piekarski, *The Church in Poland* (Warsaw, 1978), p. 217. However, in 1984 it was reported by one source to be 850,000, with 226 clergy (Edmund Lewandowski, "Czy Jesteśmy narodem religijnym?" *Odgłosy*, 29 September 1984), by another source as about 700,000 faithful with 290 clergy before the creation of the new Przemyśl diocese (Piotr Borzych, "Święta Góra", *Wybrzeże*, 28 October 1984), and by a third source as about 600,000 ("Prawosławie w Polsce i na Świecie—Sesja we Wrocławiu", *Zycie Warszawy*, 19 November 1984). The number of Ukrainian Orthodox would vary accordingly.

⁴V. Gots'ky, "Zatyrayut' slidy zlochynu" (manuscript), p. 3.

⁵Volodymyr Kubijovyc, editor, *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* (Toronto, 1963-1971), Vol. I, p. 847.

⁶Andrzej Potocki, "Organizacja Zycia Religijnego w Dzisiejszej Polsce Poludniowo-Wschodniej", *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (1984), p. 226; G. Lukaszewicz, "Wokół Genezy i Przebiegu Akcji 'Wisła' (1947 rok)", *Dzieje Najnowsze*, No. 4 (1974), p. 39, cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁷V. Gots'ky, *op. cit.*

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Gots'ky, *op. cit.*

¹²"Contre la discrimination à l'égard des Ukrainiens en Pologne", *L'est européen*, No. 156 (November-December 1977), p. 20.

¹³Gots'ky, *op. cit.*

¹⁴"Stan ukrajyn's'koyi tserkvy v Pol'shchi" (manuscript). The Polish Latin-rite hierarchy apparently raised no protest. See the account by Fr Vasył' Hrynyk in *Martyrolohiya ukrajyn's'kykh Tserkov*, edited by Osyip Zinkewych and Fr Taras Lonchyna, Vol. II (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 325-26.

¹⁵Stepan Shakh, *Mizh Syanom i Dunaitsem: spomyn*, Part I (Munich, 1960), p. 325. The majority of the Ukrainian Catholic priests of the Przemyśl chapter were arrested, and there was not time to elect vicars capitular to administer the eparchy: Bohdan Sotnyk, "Tserkovne zhyttia ukrajyn's'koyi hromady v Pol'shchi", *Vitrazh*, No. 19 (June 1982), p. 22.

¹⁶Sotnyk, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁷Markus, "The Religious Situation of the Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine", p. 137. As Apostolic Delegate for Greek-Catholics in Poland, Cardinal Wyszyński's predecessor, Cardinal Hlond, had named the Rev. Canon Vasył Hrynyk

vicar-general for the Przemyśl Eparchy on 1 April 1947: *Martyrolohiya ukrayins'kykh Tserkov*, Vol. II, p. 324. For a general history of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Poland in 1944-1948, see Fr Hrynyk's account in *Martyrolohiya ukrayins'kykh Tserkov*, Vol. II, pp. 321-46.

¹⁸Shakh, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

¹⁹*Dziennik U.R.P.* 1949, No. 46 (10 August 1949), cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁰R. Brykowski, "Zabytkowe Cerkwie", *Architektura* (Warsaw), No. 5 (1983), p. 52, cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5. See *Obrona Zabytków* (Warsaw), Vol. 10, No. 2(3) (1957), quoted in Shakh, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-34.

²¹Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5. He cites *Tygodnik Polski* (Warsaw) of 17 April 1983 and 20 November 1983, as well as *Przegląd Katolicki* of 10 February 1985.

²²K. Pudło, "Osadnictwa Lemkowskie na Dolnym Śląsku w Latach 1949-1969", in *Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne*, Vol. XX (Wrocław, 1970), p. 91, cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²³Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁴Leszek Watróbski, "Polski Autokefaliczny Kościół Prawosławny (PAKP)", *Novum* (Lublin), No. 1 (January 1978), p. 160.

²⁵Friedrich Heyer, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche in der Ukraine von 1917 bis 1945* (Köln-Braunsfeld, 1953), p. 241.

²⁶Markus, "The Religious Situation of the Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine", p. 134.

²⁷Potocki, "Organizacja Życia Religijnego w Dzisiejszej Polsce Południowo-Wschodniej", p. 230.

²⁸Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 8, citing the newspaper *Nashe Slovo* (Warsaw), 30 December 1956.

²⁹Piekarski, *The Church in Poland*, pp. 102-03.

³⁰Shakh, *op. cit.*, p. 335. See also *Holos Khrysta Cholovikolyubtsya*, No. 2 (87), 1957, pp. 34-35.

³¹Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 6, citing *Khrystyians'ky Holos*, (Munich), 30 July 1958.

³²Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 6, citing *Nashe Slovo*, 6 October 1957.

³³"Stan ukrayins'koyi Tserkvy v Pol'shchi" (manuscript).

³⁴Markus, "The Religious Situation", p. 138.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 138.

³⁶Brykowski, *op. cit.*, p. 52, cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³⁷Kubijovyc, editor, *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, pp. 181-82.

³⁸Cheslav Kiyanka, "Prychynok do dyskusiyi pro pol's'ko-ukrayins'ki stosunky," *Sucasnist'*, No. 4 (288), April 1985, pp. 115-116.

³⁹For text, see *Shlyakh Peremohy* (Munich), 16 December 1984, pp. 1-2, and *Ameryka* (Philadelphia), 4 and 5 October 1984; also in Zinkewych and Lonchyna, editors, *Martyrolohiya ukrayins'kykh Tserkov*, Vol. 2, pp. 673-80.

⁴⁰Bohdan Pushkar, "Ukrayins'ka Katolyts'ka Tserkva v Pol'shchi ta yiyi perspektyvy", *Sucasnist'*, No. 3 (287), March 1985, pp. 90-91. According to Pushkar, Cardinal Iosyf Slipyj nominated Fr Martiniak as Fr Dziubyna's successor in the position of patriarchal administrator of the Przemyśl see, but Fr Martiniak returned the charter. The Rev. Stanyslav Tarapats'ky disputes this: "Z pryvodu statti 'Ukrayins'ka Katolyts'ka Tserkva v Pol'shchi'", *Sucasnist'*, No. 4 (288), April 1986, p. 126.

⁴¹*Pamyatka arkhyyereis'kykh vidvidyn*, cited in "Ū Rymi vyishla knyzhka pro vidvidyny Arkhyepyskopa M. Marusyna u Pol'shchi," *Svoboda* (Jersey City and New York), 13 December 1985, p. 1 (39, and four bi-ritual); "Obrzadek Greckokatolicki w Polsce" (interview with Fr Iosafat Romanyk, OSBM), *Wieź*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1-3 (January-March 1985), p. 104 (fifty priests); "Stan Ukrayins'koyi Tserkvy v Pol'shchi" (unpublished manuscript) (seventy priests); Shakh, *op. cit.*, p. 325 (over a hundred); Markus, "The Religious Situation", pp. 137-38 (seventy to eighty and 35 to forty). See *Glaube in der zweiten Welt*, November 1976, p. 33, giving the number of priests as 36, of whom thirty were bi-ritual, and only six were under the age of sixty, and Potocki, *op. cit.*, p. 228 (81 priests).

⁴² *Khrystyians'ky Holos* (Munich), No. 43 (1921), 27 October 1985, p. 2. The article reports that Archbishop Marusyn ordained five priests on 7 July 1985. On his first trip to Poland, in 1984, he ordained six priests.

⁴³ Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁴⁴ S. Hordyns'ky, "Ukrayins'ki tserkvy v Pol'shchi", *Bohosloviya* (Rome), Vol. XXXIII, 1969, p. 18. Another source cites a figure of 520 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches in pre-war Poland: V. Gots'ky, "V novykh mikhakh — stare vyno" (manuscript).

⁴⁵ Ryszard Brykowski, "W Sprawie Architektury Cerkiewnej Wojewódstwa Rzeszowskiego", *Ochrona Zabytków* (Warsaw) No. 2 (37), 1957, pp. 99-112, cited in Hordyns'ky, *op. cit.*, p. 12, Hordyns'ky, *op. cit.*, p. 18. See also Shakh, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-34. Brykowski lists 101 churches destroyed in 1939-1956.

⁴⁶ Hordyns'ky, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 18.

⁴⁷ Based on figures in *ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴⁸ Hordyns'ky blames the latter, pointing out that of the 101 architecturally significant churches destroyed in 1939-1956, only six were victims of the government's war against Ukrainian nationalist insurgents in the 1940s.

⁴⁹ Hordyns'ky, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵⁰ V. Gots'ky, "V novykh mikhakh — stare vyno" (manuscript), p. 4.

⁵¹ Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 7, Turian, "Matka Wszystkich Narodów", *Wież*, No. 10, October 1982, p. 45. This must be done with the permission of the local bishop and the parish priest.

⁵² "Propovid' Arkhyepyskopa Myroslava Marusyna vyholoshena na vatykans'komu radio 15 lypnya 1984 r.", in *Lemkivshchyna*, No. 4 (23), Winter 1984, p. 14.

⁵³ Ivan Hvat, "Azh do ostannyoyi?" *Vitrazh* (London), No. 19, June 1982, p. 27, Bohdan Martynyuk, "Proshu . . . blahayu . . .", *Nashe Slovo* (Warsaw), 21 August 1983.

⁵⁴ Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁵⁵ Myroslav Botsyans'ky, "Shchob zberehty slidy mynuvshyny", *Nashe Slovo* (Warsaw), 3 November 1985, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Piótr Rogóyski, "Uroczystości Odpustowe Św. Nikity Meczennika w Kostomlotach", *Słowo Powszechnie*, 20 November 1984. The largely unsuccessful "neo-Uniate" movement took place in the 1920s and 1930s in areas of eastern Poland beyond the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

⁵⁷ Turian, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁵⁸ Dr B.P., S.J., "Verletzung der Menschenrechte der Ukrainischen Katoliken in Polen", *Glaube in der zweiten Welt*, November 1976, p. 33.

⁵⁹ Markus, "The Religious Situation", p. 137, fn. 4.

⁶⁰ "Pamyatka arkhyereis'kykh vidvidyn. Blahosloven khto ide v imya Hospodne (n.l., n.d.).

⁶¹ "Obrzadek Greckokatolicki w Polsce" (interview with Fr Iosafat Romanyk, OSBM), *Wież*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1-3 (January-March 1985), p. 107, Potocki, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁶² "Pamyatka arkhyereis'kykh vidvidyn."

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ "Obrzadek Greckokatolicki w Polsce", p. 105.

⁶⁵ Pushkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95. For a criticism of Pushkar's version of the situation, see Fr Stanyslav Tarapats'ky, "Z pryvodu staty 'Ukrayins'ka Katolyts'ka Tserkva v Pol'shchi'", *Sucasnist'*, April 1986, p. 126.

⁶⁶ "Obrzadek Greckokatolicki w Polsce", p. 108.

⁶⁷ "Stan ukryains'koyi Tserkvy v Pol'shchi".

⁶⁸ Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁶⁹ Ivan Hvat, "Ukrainskie katoliki-uniaty v Pol'she trebuyut svoikh prav" (manuscript) (Munich: Radio Liberty, p. 9).

⁷⁰ Vasylyl Markus, "Impact of Polish Religious Development on other East European Countries", in Lawrence Biondi, editor, *Poland's Church-State Relations* (Chicago, 1981), p. 51.

⁷¹Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁷²Hvat, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

⁷³E.g., Agata Bleja, "Nie Dojedzone Owieczki", *Polityka*, Vol. 11, No. 33 (1476) (17 August 1985), Małgorzata Mokrzycka, "Cerkwie Umierają Stojąc", *Tygodnik Polski*, No. 16 (23), 1983, p. 10.

⁷⁴Markus, "The Religious Situation", p. 138, Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁷⁵Reprinted in Ivan Hvat, *The Catacomb Ukrainian Catholic Church and Pope John Paul II* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984), pp. 295-98.

⁷⁶Pushkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

⁷⁷Compare Kubijovyc, editor, *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, p. 182 (206 parishes) and Adam Dubec, editor, *Tserkovny kalendar na 1986 rik* (224 parishes). See also Edmund Lewandowski, "Czy Jesteśmy Narodem Religijnym?" *Odgłosy*, 29 September 1984, claiming 223 parishes, with 226 clergy.

⁷⁸*Prawosławny Kalendarz na 1984 rok*, Adam Dubec, editor, *Tserkovny kalendar na 1986 rik* (Sanok, 1985?), Leszek Watróbski, "Polski Autokefaliczny Kościół Prawosławny (PAKP)", *Novum* (Lublin), No. 1, January 1978, p. 160, Piotr Borzych, "Świeta Góra", *Wybrzeże*, 28 October 1984.

⁷⁹Borzych, *op. cit.*

⁸⁰Piekarski, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁸¹Markus, "The Religious Situation", p. 135.

⁸²Piekarski, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-11, 224.

⁸³Stanisław Kulikowski, "Walka Była by Radością dla Wrogów" (interview with Adam Lopatka, Minister-Director of Administration for Religious Affairs), *Gazeta Współczesna*, 1 March 1985.

⁸⁴"Ein neuer Bischof für die Orthodoxen in Polen", *Glaube in der zweiten Welt*, No. 11, 1983, p. 3. Bishop Dubec was installed on 30 October 1983.

⁸⁵Adam Dubec, editor, *Tserkovny kalendar na 1986 rik* (Sanok, 1985?).

⁸⁶Markus, "The Religious Situation", pp. 135-36.

⁸⁷"Ukrayins'ku Katolyts'ku Tserkvu v Peremyshli uryad dav avtokefal'nomu pol's'komu kostelovi", *Svoboda* (Jersey City and New York), 12 October 1983, p. 1.

⁸⁸"Appeal of Ukrainian Scholars to Polish Clergymen and Scholars" (November 1983) (manuscript).