Routes to the Roots: The Revival of Greek Catholic Sanctuaries in Eastern Poland

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ABSTRACT: Through extensive fieldwork in Eastern Poland (Subcarpathia) this study examines the relationships between memories of the post-World War II resettlements, religious practices, and the feeling of belonging to places and shrines. Two Greek Catholic sites considered in this study are being revived both mentally and physically through the memories and restored religious practices around them. In the perspective of those Greek Catholic and Orthodox believers expelled from the region after World War II and for their descendants, those places remain holy, despite being ruined and desecrated. The article argues that pilgrimages serve as means to claim continuity with a particular place and with the group that shares a history of belonging to that place. Using an anthropological lens, this research shows the important role that pilgrimages play in linking people with their ancestry and specific sacred places—churches, pilgrimage sites, springs—in which family memories become part of religious experience, and religion is perceived as it is lived.

KEYWORDS: pilgrimages, sacred sites, Greek Catholics, Subcarpathia, borderlands, memories

> What if instead of asking "*What* do you believe in?," we asked "*Where* do you
> believe?" And what if we supposed that religious places do not in fact derive from
> belief, but that belief derives from place?
>
> <div align="right">Katerina Kerestetzi (2018)[1]</div>

INTRODUCTION[2]

Drawing on qualitative data from Eastern Poland (Subcarpathia), this paper will examine the interactive nexus of religion, memories, sense of belonging to places

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and shrines, and pilgrimage as a form of religious practice. I will attempt to find out which memories of a shared past have become the most significant for constructing personal and collective narratives of postwar displacement, suffering, and returning among Greek Catholics and Orthodox Ukrainians engaging in pilgrimages in Polish Subcarpathia; how these memories are transmitted to future generations, influencing their sense of belonging; and what the role of sacred sites is in those processes. This research is based on my ethnographic fieldwork in the city of Przemyśl and its surrounding rural area in 2015–2018.[3]

While conducting my research, I observed how palpable the past seemed to be in the everyday life of my interlocutors, regardless of their ethnic or religious identity, shaping present day imageries and relationships.[4] According to Maurice Halbwachs, memory is maintained by the instrumentality of fundamental collective ideas and values, which constitute the "social framework of memory."[5] The main modes of preservation of collective memory are rituals and commemorations sanctifying the continuity of tradition,[6] monuments, museums and other "sites of memory,"[7] reflected in the landscape.[8] Danièle Hervieu-Léger gives an account of religion as a *chain of memory*," that is, a form of collective memory based on the sanctity of tradition. This continuity of memory "transcends history" and manifests itself in the religious act of recalling a past which "gives meaning to the present and contains the future."[9]

My fieldwork in Polish Subcarpathia comprised extensive participant observation, semi-structured and in-depth interviews, and informal talks. I worked with

4. Iuliia Buyskykh. "Forgive, Forget, or Feign: Everyday Diplomacy in Local Communities of Polish Subcarpathia," *Journal of Global Catholicism* 2, no. 2 (2018): 56–86.

5. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed., trans., and intro. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 47.

6. Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, trans. Simon Lee. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 84–89.

7. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (Spring 1989), 7–25.

8. Tim Ingold, Introduction, *Imagining Landscapes: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Monika Janowski and Tim Ingold (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 1–18.

9. Danièle Hervieu-Léger, "Religion as Memory: Reference to Tradition and the Constitution of a Heritage of Belief in Modern Societies," in *The Pragmatics of Defining Religion: Contexts, Concepts, and Contests*, ed. J. G. Platvoet and A. L. Molendijk (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 89.

people from age 25 to 80, of different gender, socioeconomic, and marital statuses, citizens of both Ukraine and Poland, who derived from Greek Catholic families who were resettled from Subcarpathia during post-WWII population shifts. The first wave of resettlements took place from 1944–1946, when most of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox inhabitants of postwar southeastern Poland, who were classified as Ukrainians, were resettled to the Soviet Ukraine. The rest who remained were resettled to the northwest of postwar Poland in 1947 during Operation Vistula.[10]

It would be rather difficult to count the exact number of my study participants because of numerous small talks I had, crossing the Polish-Ukrainian border, riding local buses connecting villages and Przemyśl, taking part in pilgrimages, and getting to know people in churches after services. Another form of communication I faced in the field was silence, when people declined to be recorded or even participate in the research.[11] However, their behavior, gestures, facial expressions, and the way they engaged their bodies in religious rituals were sometimes more "vocal" than the verbal expressions. Therefore, participant observation and detailed fieldnotes were my main means of data gathering and a primary source for further interpretations. I never concealed my research aims from my interlocutors; however, they interpreted my being in the field in their own way. Pilgrims, especially, perceived me as one of them, looking for grace and healing. Therefore, having this huge credit of trust, and sharing with the pilgrims their exhausting journeys on foot across the state border or in the forest, in rain or scorching sun, and participating in religious rituals with them meant that I did not conduct formalized interviews.[12]

It is important to note that Subcarpathia is similar to many borderland areas in that religion continues to provide the means for perpetuating ethnic identities, and ethnic and religious categorizations are often used interchangeably (e.g., "a Ukrainian liturgy," meaning Greek Catholic or Orthodox liturgy, "a Polish church," meaning a Roman-Catholic church). This interchangeability is crucial to understanding everyday prewar relations in "mixed neighborhoods," which Agnieszka Pasieka warns us against framing as "multicultural," stressing that "the process of formation of ethnic identifications has not been complete" in the former eastern borderlands of Poland.[13] Keeping this in mind, I use very carefully the notion "Ukrainian" in relation to the

10. Bohdan Kordan, "Making Borders Stick: Population Transfer and Resettlement in the Trans-Curzon Territories, 1944–1949," *International Migration Review* 31, No. 3 (1997): 706–714.; Timothy Snyder. "'To Resolve the Ukrainian Problem Once and for All': The Ethnic Cleansing of Ukrainians in Poland, 1943–1947," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 1, no. 2, (Spring 1999): 86–120.; Grzegorz Motyka. *Od rzezi wołyńskiej do akcji Wisła. Konflikt polsko-ukraiński 1943–1947* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2011).

11. Buyskykh, "Forgive, Forget, or Feign," 60–72.

12. We discussed emotional vulnerability in pilgrimages with Baraniecka-Olszewska, who also didn't make recordings of the pilgrims: see Kamila Baraniecka, "O wielkim odpuście w Kalwarii Pacławskiej ponownie: Refleksja nad antropologją pielgrzymek," *Etnografia Polska* 60, no. 1–2 (2016): 32.

13. Agnieszka Pasieka, "Neighbors: About the Multiculturalization of the Polish Past," *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 28, no. 1 (2014): 232.

ethnic or / and national identity of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic inhabitants of southeast prewar Poland. As Rosa Lehman states, "while most of these people were not Roman Catholic nor spoke Polish as their native tongue, their identity has been much contested [. . .] Nevertheless, in the immediate postwar years the official name given to the various ethnic groups—including the Lemkos, Boikos, and Hutsuls— was "Ukrainian."[14] Their expulsion was part of postwar communist Poland's policy aimed at creating a homogeneous nation-state.

When mentioning the identities of my interlocutors, I rely on their self-representations. For instance, some representatives of the first generation, those who experienced the resettlement as children, would describe themselves as "Orthodox" or "Greek Catholics" without stressing on their ethnic or national identity. The representatives of the second and third generations, both Orthodox and Greek Catholics, regardless of their citizenship, would usually present themselves as "Ukrainians." The experiences of the resettlement's trauma were transmitted to them by their displaced elder relatives through their religious home upbringing during the communist era. Living in Poland and Ukraine, they have inherited trauma from parents or grandparents, which emphasizes the importance in my research of the category of "*post-memory*," developed by Marianne Hirsch.[15] For many of my second-generation respondents, and for some of their children, this traumatic memory wasn't part of their life experience per se but formed an important part of their heritage. Further, I will show how Greek Catholic and Orthodox groups act within two sacred sites, connected with their family memories, but also with the collective history of Ukrainian ethnic minority in Subcarpathia, which currently forms the main social base for both denominations in the region. The memories Greek Catholics and Orthodox share make these sites holy and constitute the bedrock of religious experience that believers gain in pilgrimages.

My fieldwork is related to previous anthropological research on religion in southeast Poland, which emphasizes the following: Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic churches in this region have played a crucial role in constructing memories concerning Polish-Ukrainian history on the local level, influencing the relationships between the Polish majority and Ukrainian minority.[16] However, Orthodox belonging to both ethnic groups—Ukrainian and Polish (Ukrainians still predominate)— tend to be less visible within the current relationships between the two Catholic

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14. Rosa Lehman, "From Ethnic Cleansing to Affirmative Action: Exploring Poland's Struggle with Its Ukrainian Minority (1944–89)," *Nations and Nationalism* 16, no. 2 (2010): 286.; See more: Chris Hann, "Ethnic Cleansing in Eastern Europe: Poles and Ukrainians Beside the Curzon Line," *Nations and Nationalism* 2, no. 3 (1996): 389–406.

15. Marianne Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today* 29, no. 1 (2008): 106–7.

16. Juraj Buzalka, *Nation and Religion: The Politics of Commemorations in South-East Poland*, Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia, vol. 14. (Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2007).; Eliza Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość: Rzymskokatolickie, greckokatolickie i prawosławne wspólnoty w południowo wschodniej Polsce* (Kraków: NOMOS, 2014).; Agnieszka Pasieka. *Hierarchy and Pluralism. Living Religious Difference in Catholic Poland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Churches. Therefore, the "chain of memory" constituted in local religious communities through their Churches turns out to be the key point for understanding current neighborly relations in the area. Each confessional group has developed complicated relationships with their neighbors of the other faith group, which resembles the uneasy relations between these particular Christian Churches in Poland—two Catholic and one Orthodox.[17]

There are two important locations I will focus on in this article. The first is a pilgrimage sanctuary *Kalwaria Pacławska*, the Roman Catholic Sanctuary of the Lord's Calvary and the Calvary Holy Mother of God, and a Franciscan monastery. In August 2016 and August 2017 I took part in an interdenominational pilgrimage from Lviv, Ukraine, to this shrine, organized by the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine.[18] Kalwaria Pacławska and the neighboring village of Pacław lie nearly 30 km from Przemyśl and close to the Polish-Ukrainian border. Before World War II, there was also a well-known Greek Catholic pilgrimage site with a church and a number of chapels. It was destroyed in the mid-1950s by Polish communist authorities. Currently there are grassroots attempts by the Ukrainian minority in Przemyśl to commemorate the former Greek Catholic shrine and revive its veneration.

The second location is the mountain of *Zjavlinnia* ("Apparition" in English), near the village of Kormanice, situated 10 km south of Przemyśl and approximately 13 km from Kalwaria Pacławska. Before World War II, a Greek Catholic church and a chapel stood there, both of which were ruined and desecrated by Polish communist authorities in the mid-1950s. This site was one of the stops on the pilgrimage route to the Greek Catholic pilgrimage site at Kalwaria Pacławska. It has been revived since the late 1990s by the efforts of the Ukrainian minority in Poland. There are annual pilgrimages in August from Przemyśl to the mountain of Zjavlinnia, and I personally took part in one of them in 2018.

17. This complexity goes back to the Union of Brest, which was signed in 1596 to ensure the better coexistence of Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches and respective local elites on the territories of current Belarus, Lithuania, Western Ukraine and Eastern Poland. While the Church structures were to be subordinated to the Vatican, the Byzantine rite was to be preserved. Thus, the Greek Catholic liturgy was supposed to be similar to the Byzantine liturgy. In the following centuries, the liturgy used in the Greek Catholic Church remained close to the one used in Orthodox churches in the region. From the theological perspective and institutional level, the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Catholic Church is one Church, subordinated to the Vatican. The differences in liturgies and rites cause the mistaken idea that they are two different religions. Simultaneously, the Greek Catholic Church in Poland is an independent Church with a Metropolitan Bishop subordinate to the Greek Catholic Church's Ukrainian synod in the terms of liturgy and ordination of bishops.

18. Iuliia Buyskykh, "Pomiędzy pamięcią a granicą: Ukraińska pielgrzymka na Kalwarię Pacławską," *Etnografia Polska* 60 (2016): 43–62.; Iuliia Buyskykh, "In Pursuit of Healing and Memories: Cross-Border Ukrainian Pilgrimage to a Polish Shrine," *Journal of Global Catholicism* 3, no. 1 (2019): 64–98.; Юлія Буйських, "Пошуки коріння, пам'яті і зцілення на польському Підкарпатті: міркування про етнографію прощ," in *Антропологія релігії: порівняльні студії від Прикарпаття до Кавказу*, ed. К. Ваннер and Ю. Буйських (Київ: Дух і Літера, 2019): 219–70.

Reflecting upon these places, connected by history, communist-era violence, and the current revival of Greek Catholic sanctuaries, I follow Tim Ingold's definition of "landscape as a story," which encompasses memory. Ingold notes that to perceive the landscape means "to carry out an act of remembrance," which means "to engage perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past."[19] Relying on this interpretation, the terrain of the former Austro-Hungarian Galicia where those sacred sites are situated can be perceived as a landscape of contested memories of shared history between the neighborhoods of Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, and other nationalities in the WWII period and its aftermath. The changes of population and landscape defined the nature of these shrines, in which contradictory Polish-Ukrainian memories and mutual prejudices play an important role.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE FIELD[20]

Today Kalwaria Pacławska is a Roman Catholic site, and the surrounding rural area is inhabited mostly by Roman Catholic Poles. Still, before World War II, this terrain was more diverse, as shown in historical and anthropological research.[21] Without going into the deeper history of interethnic and interreligious relations, I will highlight some points crucial for understanding the current religioscape of the area.

The Orthodox historical presence at the territory of Kalwaria Pacławska and Pacław is acknowledged only inside the Orthodox community of Przemyśl. Thus, in conversation with me in April 2018, the prior of two Orthodox churches in Przemyśl, Father Jurii, stressed that Greek Catholic sacred sites in Subcarpathia that were ruined, desecrated, and silenced during the communist era are now at least becoming visible (and some of them revived) thanks to the clergy and members of the Greek Catholic Ukrainian community. Conversely, according to him, the history of Orthodoxy in Subcarpathia is often linked to the history of Greek Catholic Church because of Eastern (Byzantine) rite. As an example, Father Jurii outlined the history of the Orthodox church at Kalwaria Pacławska, which recounts that there was

19. Tim Ingold, "The Temporality of the Landscape," in "Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society," special issue, *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (Oct 1993): 152–53.

20. The history of this region is extremely complex, and it is difficult to present it adequately in the relatively short format of an article. Notwithstanding, it is impossible to explain current religious dynamics in Subcarpathia, which includes relationships between three main confessional groups—Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Orthodox, without giving at least a brief historical overview. Therefore, what is presented is a necessary simplification.

21. Buzalka, *Nation and Religion*; Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).; Ch. Hann, "Postsocialist Nationalism, Rediscovering the Past in Southeast Poland," *Slavic Review* 57, no. 4 (1998).: 840–63; Magdalena Zowczak, "Antropologia, historia a sprawa ukraińska. O taktyce pogranicza," *Lud* 95 (2011): 45–66.; Olga Linkiewicz, *Lokalność i nacjonalizm. Społeczności wiejskie w Galicji Wschodniej w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym* (Kraków: Universitas, 2018).

a hermit who dug a cave in the mountain and lived there. Much later, the Orthodox church of Simon Stylites (*Symeon Stovpnyk)*, documented in chronicles, was built on the territory of what is today the village of Pacław in 1311.[22]

The village Kalwaria Pacławska, together with the Roman Catholic monastery, was founded in 1668.[23] The history of the Roman Catholic site of worship was researched by the Franciscan priest Józef Barcik,[24] who paid attention to the coexistence of Greek Catholics and Roman Catholics. The history of the Greek Catholic shrine at Kalwaria Pacławska and Pacław was described by its last rector Josyp Marynowych.[25] Notably, none of these Catholic priests mentioned the first Orthodox church in Pacław.

Since the nineteenth century, both Roman and Greek Catholic pilgrims have seen the hill of Kalwaria Pacławska as their pilgrimage site.[26] The nearest villages were inhabited primarily by Greek Catholics usually called *Rusini (Rusyny)* at that time (later, Ukrainians), and the Franciscan monastery on the mountain was surrounded by Greek Catholic churches and chapels.[27] Greek Catholics took part in a number of services in the Franciscan cathedral together with Roman Catholics, and Greek Catholic clergy had permission to perform masses there. The situation began to change in the late nineteenth century, when competition for parishioners started between Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic clergy. By the end of the 1880s, the majority of the Greek Catholic inhabitants of Pacław had changed their affiliation to Roman Catholicism and become the parishioners of the Franciscans' cathedral in Kalwaria Pacławska.[28] In 1867 Greek Catholic priests were no longer allowed to hold services in the Roman Catholic cathedral. Therefore, after receiving permission from the Vatican in 1868, the Greek Catholic clergy developed their own pilgrimage site around the church in Pacław. Despite the difference in calendars, Greek Catholic feasts connected with the Marian cult were sometimes celebrated simultaneously with the Roman Catholic feasts.[29] In 1913 the new masonry church in Pacław was consecrated as the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, and a Greek Catholic pilgrimage site was developed significantly.[30]

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22. Василь Чернецкій, *Пацлавъ и чудотворна св. икона Матери Божои въ церкви Пацлавской* (Львовъ: Типографія Ставропигійского Института, 1893): 6.

23. S. Józef Barcik, OFMConv. "Kalwaria Pacławska—obrządek łaciński i greckokatolicki," *Peregrinus Cracoviensis*, Book 1 (1995): 88.

24. S. Józef Barcik, OFMConv, *Kalwaria Pacławska* (Warsaw: AK, 1985).

25. о. Йосип Маринович, *Кальварія Пацлавська* (Перемишль, 1929).

26. Juraj Buzalka, *Nation and Religion,* 45, 186.; Daniel Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* (Warsaw: PAX, 1996): 183.

27. Barcik, "Kalwaria Pacławska—obrządek łaciński i greckokatolicki," 89.

28. M. Gosztyła and B. Motyl, "Badania nad budownictwem domów drewnianych Pacławia i okolic (powiat przemyski)," *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie*, no. 31 (2012): 47.; Barcik, "Kalwaria Pacławska—obrządek łaciński i greckokatolicki," 90–91.

29. Barcik, "Kalwaria Pacławska—obrządek łaciński i greckokatolicki," 90–92.

30. Barcik, *Kalwaria Pacławska*, 127.

This rivalry between Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic clergy in Kalwaria Pacławska was occurring against the background of dramatic historical events, such as World War I, the fall of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Poland's regaining independence in 1918, the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918–1919 over eastern Galicia,[31] and the quite oppressive politics of the government of the Second Republic of Poland to its Ukrainian citizens.[32] However, the most crucial reference point for multiple memories and latent tensions between Poles and Ukrainians is World War II and its aftermath, when the border between the USSR and communist Poland was shaping, and both Polish and Ukrainian underground forces were active in the region of Subcarpathia.[33]

Because of postwar international agreements constructing the border between the USSR and Poland and forcible resettlements in 1944–46, an estimated 480,000 of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox inhabitants of the area labelled as ethnic Ukrainians because of their denominational affiliation were displaced to the Soviet Ukraine. The remainder, nearly 140,660 Greek Catholic and Orthodox civilians, were resettled to former German territories gained by Poland after the war; the northern and western part of the current country, under Operation Vistula in 1947.[34] Simultaneously, Poles living in the postwar Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Lithuanian Soviet Republics were "repatriated" to Poland. Those population shifts were arranged as part of Poland's postwar communist policy to set up an ethnically homogeneous nation-state, and occurred against the background of the wider establishment of new ethnographic frontiers in Europe, followed by the transfers of millions of people.[35] Further, Ukrainians of both denominations, Greek Catholic and Orthodox, became a national minority, marginalized and stigmatized by the authorities in communist Poland. Such an attitude derived from the application of the collective responsibility to all people of Ukrainian origin for the activities of Ukrainian underground forces against the Polish underground and civilians in Vohlynia and Eastern Galicia during World War II.[36]

In 1946 the so-called Lviv Council took place in already Soviet Lviv. According to its decisions, prepared by Soviet officials, "the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and its amalgamation into the Russian Orthodox Church" was

31. Tatiana Zhurzhenko, "The Border as Pain and Remedy: Commemorating the Polish–Ukrainian Conflict of 1918–1919 in Lviv and Przemyśl," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 42, no. 2 (2014): 242–68.

32. Портнов, Андрій. *Історії для домашнього вжитку. Есеї про польсько-російсько-український трикутник пам'яті* (Київ: Критика, 2013), 113–16.

33. Buzalka, *Nation and Religion*, 39–41.; Motyka, *Od rzezi wołyńskiej.*

34. Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 328.

35. Lehman, "From Ethnic Cleansing," 287–88.

36. Zowczak, "Antropologia," 50, 61–62.; Baraniecka-Olszewska. "Stereotypes in the Service of Anthropological Inquiry: Pilgrims from Ukraine in the Kalwaria Pacławska Sanctuary," *Ethnologia Polona* 38 (2018): 95.

mandated. In 1945–46 the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Soviet Ukraine was liquidated. Many priests who refused to collaborate with the government and sign an agreement of "re-union with Orthodoxy" were murdered or sent to the Soviet camps.[37] Those who managed to survive went underground until 1989.[38]

In the Polish People's Republic, the Greek Catholic Church was officially prohibited and a number of priests were persecuted. In both states, this Church was perceived as a threat because of the essential role it played in the establishment of Ukrainian national identity and the Ukrainian national movement on the terrain of former Austro-Hungarian Galicia.[39] Some of the priests (22 Greek Catholic and 5 Orthodox) were sent by Polish communist authorities to the Jaworzno concentration camp[40] in Silesia, southern Poland, after having been accused of cooperation with Ukrainian underground forces.[41]

These historical events turned Subcarpathia into an almost homogenously Polish and Roman Catholic area. The Greek Catholic structures in Subcarpathia were liquidated; the churches were reduced to ruins, or in a best-case scenario, given to Roman Catholic institutions or much later to the Polish autocephalous Orthodox Church. The latter was perceived by the communist authorities of postwar Poland as "less dangerous," mostly because of its lack of identification with Ukrainian communities and underground forces, and the relatively better cooperation of Orthodox clergy with state structures.[42] At the same time, in 1947–1956, the activity of the Orthodox Church in the region was restrained by the state authorities. State special services recorded cases where those few Greek Catholic Ukrainians who had avoided post-war resettlements contacted Orthodox followers with the aim of cooperation and possible organization of common liturgies in the Eastern rite, however these grassroots attempts were persecuted to prevent any potential creation of Ukrainian communities.[43]

37. Svitlana Hurkina, "The Response of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics to the Soviet State's Liquidation and Persecution of their Church: 1945–1989," *Occasional Papers on Religion in Western Europe* 34, no. 4 (2014), Article 1: 2–3, http://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/ree/vol34/iss4/1/.

38. Катерина Будзь, Підпільні українські греко-католики і радянська влада: реконструкція опору (на прикладі села Надорожна), *Наукові записки НАУКМА. Історичні науки.* Т. 169, (2015): 46–51.

39. Stanisław Stępień, Represje wobec kościoła greckokatolickiego w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej po II Wojnie Światowej, in *Polska-Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, T. 2, *Studia z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na pograniczu kulturowym i etnicznym*, ed. Stanisław Stępień (Przemyśl, 1994), 221; Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość*, 97.

40. It was established by the Nazis in 1943 during WWII and was renamed "Central Labour Camp in Jaworzno" in 1945–1956 and used by the Soviet NKVD and later by the special services of the Polish communist regime.

41. Igor Hałagida, *Duchowni greckokatoliccy i prawosławni w Centralnym Obozie Pracy w Jaworznie (1947–1949). Dokumenty i materiały* (Warszawa: IPN, 2012).

42. Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość*, 103.

43. Gerent P. Zarys dziejów Prawosławnej Diecezji Przemyskiej, *Almanach Diecezjalny* [pod red. ks. Dubec R.] (Gorlice, 2005): 45–46.

In 1956, an Orthodox priest, Jan Lewiarz, came from Wrocław voivodeship[44] to Subcarpathia to observe the situation with the former Greek Catholic churches and parishioners who escaped the postwar resettlements.[45] Jan Lewiarz wrote a report to Orthodox metropolitan of the Polish autocephalous Church, in which he indicated the number of churches ruined or transformed into archives, schools, or stores. He learned that the Greek Catholic church in Kalwaria Pacławska had been demolished. The priest noted his disappointment, stressing that he aimed to apply for permission to hold an Eastern rite liturgy in that church. This would enable him to ascertain how many Ukrainians there were in the neighborhood who would perhaps join the liturgy, since that shrine was an important pilgrimage site. However, the church was ruined, and those Ukrainians still living in the neighborhoods avoided talking about their confessional belonging out of fear.[46] With the help of Roman Catholic priests, some of them had already managed to create different identity documents (birth metrics), stating that they were baptized in the Roman Catholic Church and were therefore of Polish ethnicity, not Ukrainian.[47]

Since the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s the religious dynamics in the region have been changing on account of population mobility—this time voluntary. Those Greek Catholics and some Orthodox who were expelled from Subcarpathia as part of Operation Vistula in 1947 had started to "come back." This was the start of a long process of "returning," not only for those who experienced resettlement, but also for their children and grandchildren, who were determined to engage with their ancestral, spatial, and denominational legacies. This movement continues today.

I WANTED TO SEE WHETHER OUR CHURCH STILL STANDS . . . "[48]

Ten years after Operation Vistula, from 1957 onwards, Greek Catholics were granted permission to hold liturgies in the Eastern rite. In the late 1950s those Ukrainians who gained state permission began to return voluntarily to their homeland region from western and northern Poland. Both state and local authorities encouraged returning Greek Catholics to attend the newly created Orthodox parishes in Subcarpathia to prevent the grassroots creation of Greek Catholic ones.[49] In a number of

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44. Now it is part of the Lower Silesian province.

45. Bogdan Huk, (Oprac. i wstęp), *Źródła do dziejów Ukraińskiej Cerkwi Greckokatolickiej w Polsce w latach 1944–1989*. (Przemyśl: Archidiecezja Przemysko-Warszawska Ukraińskiej Cerkwi Greckokatolickiej, 2007), 199–202.

46. Huk, *Źródła*, 199.

47. Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość*, 96.

48. Conversation in August 2015; a Ukrainian male, born 1939, resettled with his family in 1947, returned from northwest Poland to Subcarpathia in 1997. All translations from Ukrainian and Polish from this point and further are mine.

49. Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość*, 103.

cases, coming back from northwest Poland, Greek Catholics discovered their home churches had been ruined, used as stores, or otherwise turned into Roman Catholic or Orthodox churches, as happened in the villages of Kłokowice and Młodowice near Kalwaria Pacławska. Nowadays half of those villages are Orthodox, although they were originally from Greek Catholic families identifying as Ukrainians. In such cases, as Magdalena Lubańska shows, the strong emotional ties of a person with a specific parish or church were crucial for changing their Eastern Catholic affiliation to Orthodox. What is important is that the Eastern rite meant more to Greek Catholics in Poland at that time than the denomination or their membership in the Catholic Church.[50] Agnieszka Pasieka draws on quite a similar situation, based on her research in southeastern Poland, the territory from which Orthodox (mainly Lemkos) and Greek Catholics (mainly Ukrainians) were expelled during the 1944–46 and 1947 resettlements. She indicates that today some Lemkos find their belonging to Orthodoxy important, but there are others who, on the contrary, "do not find this distinction important, for what matters for them is the Eastern rite [. . .] there are individuals who have changed their religious identification several times, to attend whichever church happens to be in their village or closer to their homes [. . .]."[51]

The Eastern rite and similarities in liturgy, including its length, bodily engagement, extensive singing, habitual rituals such as lighting candles, a recognizable Julian calendar, and the familiar aesthetics of church interiors attracted returnees to Subcarpathia to attend Orthodox parishes, especially if they were in former Greek Catholic churches. In the majority of cases, people were deeply concerned about belonging to a definite space, to "their church" in the place where they were born and grew up, "where the ancestors' graves are."[52] As one of my respondents from Kłokowice told me:

> My parents were Ukrainians and they were resettled from our village. I remember nothing of that [. . .] I can only remember the church, I used to sing in a choir. [. . .] Why have I come back here? I'm retired now, and these are different times. Nobody cares about my family's past. *I've came back to our village and helped to renovate our church. I was Greek Catholic, but now I'm Orthodox, and to me there's no difference between the two. I'm faithful to the shrine.*[53]

Such shifts were not formal conversions, which never occurred for my study participants (it didn't cross their minds and no formal ritual of reception into a

50. Magdalena Lubańska, Problemy etnograficznych badań nad religijnością, in *Religijność chrześcijan obrządku wschodniego na pograniczu polsko-ukraińskim*, ed. M. Lubańska (Warsaw: DIG, 2007), 28.

51. Pasieka, *Hierarchy and Pluralism*, 17.

52. Quotation from the interview with a male Ukrainian born in 1936, who resettled with his family in 1947, and came back to Subcarpathia in 1975. (Interview, August 2017).

53. The conversation took place in August 2015; Ukrainian, male, born 1939, resettled with his family in 1947, returned from northwest Poland to Subcarpathia in 1997.

different denomination took place), who easily shifted between Greek Catholicism and Orthodoxy when coming back to Subcarpathia, and under the pressure of fear of being resettled or persecuted again were trying to find their anchor—a place and shrine with services in the Eastern rite to which they could belong. However, those transitions became a stumbling block in the early 1990s. The Orthodox Church in Poland expanded during the late communist era, which differs from the complete ban on the Greek Catholic Church.[54] A number of former Greek Catholic churches in Eastern Poland, especially in Subcarpathia, were saved from devastation thanks to Orthodox clergy who sought to own and renovate them. The Greek Catholic Church in Poland emerged from the underground and was able to regain some churches that still existed after the fall of communism. At that time, the issue of reclaiming churches that had become the property of the Roman Catholic Church and the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church arose. At present, twenty-three Orthodox churches (Greek Catholic before 1945–47) in Subcarpathia are still a matter of dispute between the Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Poland.[55]

Those complexities are tangled because in fact both Churches build their communities to a great extent on the traumas of postwar resettlements, and especially Operation Vistula in 1947.[56] Besides, today, the social base for both Churches of Eastern rite in Polish Subcarpathia is constituted mainly of people who identify themselves as Ukrainians or Lemko-Ukrainians, and Ukrainian-Polish families with rather flexible identities. The similarity of the liturgy, rite, and the apparent sameness of the social base leads to the mistaken opinion amongst the Polish Roman Catholic majority that Greek Catholic and Orthodox are the same Church. Therefore, Orthodox and Greek Catholics, being minorities, are often not differentiated by the majority. They are all called "Ukrainians" because of their ethnicity. In this regard, Chris Hann's observations from thirty years ago on local identities remain relevant: "[. . .] 'ethnicity' in southeast Poland cannot be reduced to any simple theory of national identity [. . .] it is quite possible to be a 'Lemkian' at one level, a Ukrainian at another, an Orthodox Slav at another, and a loyal Polish citizen in yet other contexts."[57] As Eliza Litak stresses, before World War II, believers themselves were not always conscious of the differences between Orthodoxy and Greek Catholicism, attending those churches with Eastern rite liturgies that were close to them and praying in their own way and language.[58] Similarly, some believers who follow the Eastern rite and who

54. Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość*, 103.; Christopher Hann, "The development of Polish Civil Society and the Experience of the Greek Catholic Minority in Eastern Europe," in *Protecting the Human Rights of Religious Minorities in Eastern Europe*, ed. Peter G. Danchin and Elizabeth A. Cole (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 440.

55. o. Jan Antonowicz. Pod rozwagę, *Przegląd Prawosławny*, no. 2 (248), (luty 2006). URL: http://www.przegladprawoslawny.pl/articles.php?id_n=1117&id=8

56. Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość*, 107.

57. Chris Hann, "Christianity's Internal Frontier: The Case of Uniates in South-East Poland," *Anthropology Today* 4, no. 3 (1988): 12

58. Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość*, 102.

build their identity on the trauma of forcible resettlement for being Ukrainians and further persecutions from the communist special services, do not feel it necessary today to differentiate between the churches they attend—Greek Catholic or Orthodox. My respondents aged between 70 and 85, belonging to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Poland, being Polish citizens, and Greek Catholics coming from Ukraine as pilgrims, being Ukrainian citizens, could call themselves "Ukrainians", "Greek Catholics", "Orthodox Ukrainians", "Orthodox Greek Catholics", "Ukrainian Christians", and/or "Orthodox," sometimes using those self-definitions interchangeably during our conversation. My assumption is that occasionally this natural mixing comes from the texts of liturgical prayers: during the Greek Catholic and Orthodox liturgies, no matter the language used (Ukrainian or Church Slavic respectively), there is a phrase "Let us pray for all Orthodox Christians" (*pomolymosia za vsih pravoslavnyh hrystyjan* in Ukrainian).

The similarity of experience can be drawn from the life trajectories of those Greek Catholics who were resettled from Subcarpathia to the Soviet Ukraine from 1944 to 1946. Those who managed to escape exile to Siberia and stay in Ukraine started to attend Orthodox churches in their new lands. This was the only possible way in which those who were resettled in Soviet Ukraine could fulfill their religious needs and develop a sense of belonging to some sacred place in a new land. They behaved similarly to the Greek Catholic resettlers of 1947, who after their return were attending Orthodox churches that seemed to them "almost like at home" in the terms of visual shape, interior aesthetics, rites, and liturgy. As Patrycja Trzeszczyńska indicates, the first generation of resettlers of Lemko origin in particular underlined that whether the church was Greek Catholic or Orthodox made little difference to them: the main thing was to be able to attend it.[59] At the same time, many of those who were resettled to Soviet Ukraine preserved memories and strong emotional attachments to their "lost homeland" and "home churches" (*ridni tserkvy* in Ukrainian), passing this devotion on to their children and sometimes to their grandchildren. This case echoes Catherine Wanner's research on religious practices in places extremely meaningful for Orthodox believers (among others) in Ukraine, because they are believed to be animated by divine power which comes through constant prayer: "Places animated with prayer reveal the extent to which transformative practices associated with Orthodoxy are place-based. Place, not clergy or the religious institutions themselves, is the ultimate mediator and source of power."[60]

Those Greek Catholics and Orthodox who were resettled to Soviet Ukraine in 1944–1946 obviously had no possibility of visiting "their churches" in Polish Subcarpathia during the communist era. They and their descendants were able to cross

59. Patricia Trzeszczyńska, *Łemkowszczyzna zapamiętana: Opowieści o przeszłości i przestrzeni.* Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego Anthropos, 2013: 386

60. Catherine Wanner, "An Affective Atmosphere of Religiosity: Animated Places, Public Spaces, and the Politics of Attachment in Ukraine and Beyond," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 62, no. 1 (2020): 76

the border only after the end of the communist regime in Poland and the fall of the Soviet Union. In a number of cases their "homecoming" became a pilgrimage.

I see their movement in the broader context of traumatic experience and identity formation, of forgetting and remembering, shared by many groups who perform journeys to their homeland or to the land of their ancestors. It has been proven that the phenomena of "roots tourism" and pilgrimage share many features. As Mario Katić notes, "roots pilgrimage [. . .] addresses those travellers / pilgrims that annually travel to their homelands which they were forced to leave because of the economic situation, war, political pressure [. . .]. Their travel back home is observed as pilgrimage to their family and national roots even though some of them are not actually going to some official religious pilgrimage place."[61]

The actors of "roots pilgrimages," be they Bosnian Croats and Croats coming to Republika Srpska,[62] or the Mennonites' offspring striving to find their ancestry on the Polish Baltic coast;[63] or Greek Cypriot refugees engaging in pilgrimages across the border in Cyprus,[64] or Crimean Tatars displaced from Crimea in 1944 and returning to their homes and shrines since late 1980s,[65] and many other ethnic and/or religious groups in Europe and beyond it,[66] seem to be deeply concerned about developing the "chain of memory" that unites them into a community. These pilgrimages contain a process of recovery: family and community memories of displacement, old wounds and meaningful places. A demand to visit a place influenced by yearning to connect with one's family history and searching for roots has also been framed as "pilgrimages of nostalgia."[67] Katharina Schramm, describing "roots journeys" of Afro-Americans to the sites of traumatic memory in Ghana, proposes the term *homecoming* and notes that it "captures both the sacred and the secular dimensions."[68] Paul Basu, using

61. Mario Katić, "Pilgrimage and/or Tourism in Bosnian Croat Shrine of Kondžilo," in *Pilgrimage and Sacred Places in Southeast Europe: History, Religious Tourism, and Contemporary Trends*, ed. Mario Katić, Tomislav Klarin, and Mike McDonald (Berlin, London, and Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2014): 145

62. Mario Katić, "From the Chapel on the Hill to National Shrine: Creating a Pilgrimage 'Home' for Bosnian Croats," in *Pilgrimage, Politics, and Place-Making in Eastern Europe: Crossing the Borders,* ed. John Eade and Mario Katić (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2014): 15–35; Katić, "Pilgrimage and/or Tourism," 145–58.

63. The Mennonite Experience in Poland History Tour 2019, June 14–22, 2019. The Mennonite-Polish Studies Association. URL: https://mla.bethelks.edu/information/mpsa.php

64. Lisa Dikomitis, "From the City to the Village and Back: Greek Cypriot Refugees Engaging in 'Pilgrimages' Across the Border," in *When God Comes to Town: Religious Traditions in Urban Contexts*, ed. R. Pinxten and Lisa Dikomitis (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), 79–94.

65. Олена Соболєва, "Формування образу етнічної батьківщини кримських татар в умовах репатріації та облаштування в АР Крим," in *Матеріали до української етнології*, no. 10(13) (2011): 44–51.

66. Katharina Schramm, "Coming Home to the Motherland: Pilgrimage Tourism in Ghana," in *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion,* ed. Simon Coleman and John Eade (London and New York: Routledge, 2004): 135–51.

67. Dimitri Ioannides, Ioannides Cohen, and W. Mara, "Pilgrimages of Nostalgia: Patterns of Jewish Travel in the United States," *Tourism Recreation Research* 27, no. 2 (2002): 17–25.

68. Schramm, "Coming Home to the Motherland," 141.

terms *homecoming* and *roots/heritage tourism,* examines the role of place, ancestry, and belonging in the Scottish Highlands among people of Scottish descent.[69] Nataša Gregorič Bon uses a related definition of "returning", indicating: "Returning [. . .] doesn't only relate to the return to another place but also to another time, which is then related to the present and/or to the past".[70]

My Greek Catholic and Orthodox interlocutors, residents of Poland and Ukraine who define themselves as Ukrainians in addition to their fluid confessional identities, are mostly unrelated to each other and do not maintain relationships beyond the pilgrimage. Nevertheless, they share a common discursive space and participate in cultural practices (including religious ones) that are closely related. They share emotional ties with particular places and interest in their families' past, connected with the history of the region. I will now address various modes of "routes to roots" performed by Ukrainian Greek Catholics–those who were expelled from Subcarpathia during Operation Vistula in 1947, and then returned, and their descendants (all living in Poland), and Ukrainian Greek Catholics and Orthodox, the offspring of Greek Catholics who were resettled from the Eastern Poland to the Soviet Ukraine in 1944–46 (all living in Ukraine). Their "returning" and the religious experience it generates helps to heal the old wounds rooted in dislocation, expulsion, and the silence of the Soviet era.

A GREEK CATHOLIC SITE OF MEMORY AT THE KALWARIA PACŁAWSKA ROMAN CATHOLIC SHRINE

None of the former Ukrainian inhabitants of Kalwaria Pacławska, Pacław, and neighborhood came back to their home villages to live, but a number of returnees from northwest Poland settled in Przemyśl and its surroundings. During the communist period there were occasional visits to the site of the demolished church with the participation of Ukrainians still living in Subcarpathia, but those cases were never reborn as organized pilgrimages.[71] Those Ukrainians who were resettled to Soviet Ukraine and their descendants have been able to cross the border only since the early 1990s. Their involvement in organized pilgrimages or tourism groups, which made it easier to cross the Schengen area border, became one of the means to visit the land of their ancestors. In our conversations, my respondents, Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims coming from Ukraine (mainly second generation), lamented that they have felt "uprooted" their entire lives, and only in visiting these

69. Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007)

70. Nataša Gregorič Bon, "Rooting Roots: (Non)Movements in Southern Albania," in *Moving Places: Relations, Return, and Belonging,* ed. Nataša Gregorič Bon and Jaka Repič (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2016): 71

71. Buyskykh, *In Pursuit of Healing and Memories,* 75–77

spaces and sites (villages, churches, places of former houses or shrines) have they felt themselves "whole," "with roots."

Today the place at Kalwaria Pacławska where the Greek Catholic church stood before it was demolished in the 1950s is private farmland, where the remnants of its foundations can still be seen. During the Roman Catholic Marian feast of the Assumption, this land is used by pilgrims from Poland, who situate their tents and trailers near the very foundations, although without any knowledge of the history of this place.[72] There is also a memorial cross on the remnants of the church foundations, erected through the grassroots efforts of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic community in Przemyśl.

My constant interlocutor from Przemyśl, a Ukrainian man in his mid-sixties who was engaged in taking care of old abandoned Greek Catholic sites in the area, told me that the "story about the memorial cross" started nearly fifteen years ago. A group of Ukrainians from Przemyśl–the descendants of those who were resettled in Operation Vistula–took their initiative to the local government and the prior of the Franciscan monastery in Kalwaria Pacławska. They asked for permission to build a chapel on the place where the Greek Catholic church stood. Their appeal was supported by the request of another group of Ukrainians–descendants of those who were resettled from the area to the USSR in 1944–46, and now living in Lvivska oblast, Ukraine. According to this collective narrative, a result of long-term negotiations with Roman Catholic higher clergy in both Przemyśl and in Kalwaria Pacławska, and the local government and the owner of the farmland, the Greek Catholics were not allowed to build a chapel on the slope. Still, they were allowed to put a cross on the remnants of church foundations and perform their liturgies there. At the same time, this cross is not an officially registered monument, and the Ukrainian minority has no right to use the land where it stands or to build anything there. Thus, an active group of Greek Catholics from Przemyśl is still looking for an official way to put a plaque with information about their shrine that existed here. However, those attempts of the confessional and ethnic minority to make themselves more vocal face difficulties in interacting with the dominant Roman Catholicism of Poland.

Since 2000, the Franciscans from St. Anthony's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Lviv have organized an interdenominational pilgrimage to Kalwaria Pacławska, which is held during the Assumption, on 11–15 August.[73] The majority of the pilgrims are Roman Catholics, and there is a relatively small number of Greek Catholics and Orthodox (about forty people out of three hundred). Although the Franciscan priests and the nuns accompanying the pilgrimage stress its interconfessional character, being proud of such "bottom-up ecumenism" as they describe it,[74] this feature of the pilgrimage from Ukraine is never mentioned in the official greetings and

72. Buyskykh, *Pomiędzy pamięcią a granicą*, 58

73. Ibid., 51

74. Юлія Буйських, Пошуки коріння, пам'яті й зцілення у польському Підкарпатті . . . ,: 246–248

narratives of the Franciscan "owners" of Kalwaria Pacławska.[75] Therefore, the local Polish inhabitants of two villages and Polish pilgrims are completely unaware of the presence of Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims, and about their place of memory in Kalwaria Pacławska. The latter causes a conflict of meanings, which expresses itself in a certain exoticization of all the pilgrims coming from Ukraine to this sanctuary.[76]

To some extent this case is relevant to Agnieszka Pasieka's observations on the dominance of Roman Catholicism and hierarchical religious pluralism in Poland. According to her elaborations, "The normativity of being 'Polish-Catholic'—promoted in various ways by the discourses of the Polish state and the Catholic Church and grounded in local perceptions—suggests that the people who are most likely to reject this kind of claim are those who find themselves outside this normative frame."[77] Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims from Ukraine, and members of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic minority from Przemyśl, seem to be completely subaltern in this regional religioscape dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. Despite facing this dominance on this local level of border shrine, Greek Catholics and Orthodox gain enough meaningful experiences here, and therefore don't negotiate for any more.

From 2015–2017 I attended a Greek Catholic liturgy near the memorial Greek Catholic cross. This liturgy is not part of the official pilgrimage program organized by the Franciscans and is not advertised in shrine literature and sermons, being absent in Roman Catholic official narration. The first time I attended it in 2015, a Greek Catholic woman from pilgrimage had invited me, and in subsequent years I followed Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims going to their place of memory. The liturgy was held on August 14, the last day of the pilgrimage program at Kalwaria Pacławska. After the morning Mass in the main cathedral and the general Roman Catholic pilgrimage program,[78] Greek Catholics and Orthodox attended the Greek Catholic Mass celebrated by priest from Mostys'ka, Ukraine, who is originally from the family of Ukrainians who were resettled from Subcarpathia in 1946. Taking part in the Masses, I observed how deeply my respondents were engaged in the liturgy and how profoundly touched they were when the priest talked during the sermon about the forcible waves of resettlements from Subcarpathia, and about Greek Catholic priests murdered by the NKVD. After the liturgy the pilgrims were crying, kissing the memorial cross and the priest's vestments.[79]

Those Greek Catholics and Orthodox who took part in that liturgy engaged in the pilgrimage mainly because they wanted to see the place recognizable from family stories. They called the whole Roman Catholic site *"our Kalwaria"*, thus highlighting

75. Iuliia Buyskykh, "In Pursuit of Healing and Memories," 80, 85, 90; Baraniecka-Olszewska, "Stereotypes in the Service of Anthropological Inquiry," 99–100.

76. Baraniecka-Olszewska, "Stereotypes in the Service of Anthropological Inquiry," 99–104

77. Agnieszka Pasieka, *Hierarchy and Pluralism,* 10.

78. Kamila Baraniecka, "Communitas a intencje pątników. Typy uczestnictwa w pielgrzymce. Wielki Odpust Kalwaryjski Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Kalwarii Pacławskiej," *Etnografia Polska* 52, no. 1–2 (2008): 137–54.

79. Iuliia Buyskykh, "Pomiędzy pamięcią a granicą," 54–59

that their grandparents or parents took part in Greek Catholic pilgrimages to Kalwaria Pacławska before World War II. The Orthodox pilgrims also turned out to be the descendants of Greek Catholic families resettled from Subcarpathia in 1944–46 to various regions of Soviet Ukraine. My respondents became acquainted during the pilgrimages to Kalwaria Pacławska. Their strong need to attend a place where the church stood that was connected with their family stories and their desire to take part in their own Greek Catholic liturgy, can be interpreted as an act of commemorating the memory of their ancestors resettled from that area, but also as a way to find their own identities.

Despite the current homogeneity, Kalwaria Pacławska serves as an example of multilayered representation of pilgrimages and histories. Here I find helpful Kim Knott's claim that "The particularity of a place arises from the complexity of its social relations and the sum of the stories told about it".[80] The different activities within the territory of the Roman Catholic shrine where Greek Catholics and Orthodox were acting in subtly different ways according to their tradition seems to be an example of people physically sharing space but interpreting it in their own ways. Seeking for their religious and ethnic heritage, they find their own religious aspirations here and enrich the space of a shrine with meanings and senses that differ from official Polish Roman Catholic discourse.

A NEW SHRINE AT THE OLD PLACE: THE MOUNTAIN OF ZJAVLINNIA

Since the revival of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church after the fall of the communism, and the efforts of the Ukrainian minority in Poland to become more visible and regain some buildings and churches, there have been some attempts to revive the famous pre-war pilgrimage route and site at Kalwaria Pacławska. However, as mentioned above, those attempts, facing the hierarchical position of the national Roman Catholic Church in Poland, were unsuccessful. Therefore, the Greek Catholic clergy together with active members of the Ukrainian minority in Poland started to develop a new pilgrimage route in Subcarpathia, one connected with a Marian apparition cult, around mountain of Zjavlinnia. In the official narratives of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Poland it is presented as a "reborn Ukrainian Kalwaria Pacławska". However, this sacred place is completely unseen in the regional religioscape, being visible only to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic community in eastern Poland.

I got to know about the mountain of Zjavlinnia only at the end of the collective research project, when I was finishing my fieldwork in Subcarpathia in April 2018, while staying in Przemyśl in a small monastery of one of the Greek Catholic female monastic orders—the Sisters of the Order of Saint Basil the Great. While staying there, I could observe and talk to various people residing in the monastery—mostly

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80. Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis.* (London and Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2005): 33

Greek Catholic priests and nuns travelling from Ukraine to Poland and vice versa. The majority of them were rooted in Subcarpathia with their family stories referring to the sufferings of the local Ukrainian population during the postwar forcible resettlements. I had stayed in the monastery three times before April 2018, but the several nuns hosting me were not especially willing to share their stories. All of them were from families of Greek Catholic Ukrainians forcibly resettled from Subcarpathia to the northwest of Poland during Operation Vistula. The oldest one experienced the resettlement as a teenager and did not want to talk about the past at all. The hospitable nuns started to trust me enough to share their stories and information about the abandoned Greek Catholic sacred sites in Subcarpathia only on my fourth stay in the monastery. The parents of the two eldest nuns made pilgrimages to Kalwaria Pacławska before World War II. On their way, they stopped on the mountain of Zjavlinnia to pay their respects to the Marian apparition site and take the water from the "healing spring". After hearing this information, I started to search for more information about Zjavlinnia among Greek Catholic community of Przemyśl.

The mountain of Zjavlinnia is located in the forest not far from Fredropol, the district administrative center. According to a local legend told among Greek Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians, the mountain was so called because one girl saw the Mother of God (*Bogorodytsia*) while gathering herbs for her sick mother some time before the war. After her disappearance, the girl noticed that *Bogorodytsia* had left her footprints on a stone, and a spring was flowing from them. It was believed that this spring had healing power, therefore pilgrims going to Kalwaria Pacławska would stop on Zjavlinnia to take the water along with them.[81] As Father Jurii, the abovementioned Orthodox priest, told me, the mountain of Zjavlinnia had "an Orthodox past" and an Orthodox chapel–later owned by the Greek Catholic Church–which existed there from the early sixteenth century. On some great holidays or important dates in the history of Ukrainian community in Subcarpathia (e.g., commemorations of forcible postwar resettlements) Greek Catholic and Orthodox priests from Przemyśl organize common celebrations here. However, these are rather the exceptions and collaborative initiatives of some priests, and generally members of the Orthodox community do not participate in reborn pilgrimages to Zjavlinnia.[82]

During World War II, there was a wooden Greek Catholic church and a chapel near the spring. In 1952 the church was dismantled by the Polish communist authorities, and the wood used for household buildings in the nearest village.[83] My interlocutor, a Ukrainian Greek Catholic man in his sixties, told me that in the late 1980s he and his brother, inspired by their fathers' stories about the "healing spring" in the forest and a Marian chapel there, went there looking for it.[84] Their parents were resettled from Subcarpathia in 1947 and came back in the 1970s, settling in Przemyśl. They

81. Богдан Підгірний, *Історія З'явління,* in Упор. О. Підгірна, В. Підгірний, Б. Підгірний, К. Козак, М. Козак, *З'явління та інші місця культу Пресвятої Богородиці.* (Перемишль, 2005): 45
82. Conversation took place in April 2018 in Przemyśl.
83. Богдан Підгірний, Історія З'явління . . . : 48
84. The conversation took place in April 2018 in Przemyśl.

told their sons that the church on Zjavlinnia must be ruined, however, a *"namolene mistse"* (place where generations of people prayed and performed religious rituals) remained, and therefore the site hadn't stopped being sacred. As Wanner emphasizes, "In some Orthodox Christian countries, a "place animated with prayer" (namolene mistse / namolennoe mesto) is said to be filled with energy that links individuals to others and to otherworldly powers. [. . .] Orienting religious practices to such sites circumvents anticipated coercion from clergy and institutions alike, but retains the shared understandings, emotional involvement, and attachments to places these vernacular religious practices breed".[85] So, the two brothers found the place where church stood in the forest, and "felt blessed" to discover that a chapel near the "healing spring" still existed. They cleaned up the area around the spring, and with the help of friends, started to renovate the chapel. Later it became of interest to the whole Greek Catholic Ukrainian community in Poland and its reborn Church.

Reviving Christian pilgrimages to local sacred sites including such objects of worship as springs, "footprint stones", abandoned chapels, and devastated places of worship are widely known throughout the post-communist terrain. As Alexander Panchenko indicates, based on his research of vernacular shrines in post-Soviet Russia, "such practices to some extent eluded the control of both parish priests and local authorities, and provided opportunities for 'informal' religious activities and social networks within village communities or groups of villages".[86] In a number of cases, those vernacular religious practices, uniting scattered individuals and groups into a community, became part of, or a means of, anti-governmental resistance. Similarly, in Lithuania, the clandestine pilgrimages to the Hill of Crosses, and its constant revival despite continuing demolition by Soviet authorities, became one of the most powerful symbols of anti-Soviet national uprising in the 1980s.[87]

Similarly, for Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Poland the revival of old abandoned, ruined places of worship became a means of not only of religious but also of community ethnic and national revival. Understanding the impossibility of building a new church and restoring a Greek Catholic pilgrimage to Kalwaria Pacławska, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic community of Przemyśl has, since the mid-1990s, been reviving the Zjavlinnia sanctuary from the grassroots level. Funds for this purpose were collected through the whole Ukrainian population in Poland and in the Canadian Ukrainian diaspora (mainly those Ukrainians and their descendants who were resettled in Operation Vistula to northwest Poland and subsequently emigrated to Canada in the early 1990s). Furthermore, in the early 2000s, the Greek Catholic Church in Poland received official permission to renovate the stone chapel near the spring, to build a church, and a Way of the Cross in the forest.

85. Wanner, "Affective Atmosphere," 70–71

86. Alexander Panchenko, "'Popular Orthodoxy' and Identity in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia: Ideology, Consumption and Competition," in *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*, ed. Mark Bassin, Catriona Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 322

87. Darius Liutikas and Alfonsas Motuzas, "The Pilgrimage to the Hill of Crosses: Devotional Practices and Identities," in Antón M. Pazos, ed., *Redefining Pilgrimage: New Perspectives on Historical and Contemporary Pilgrimages* (Ashgate, 2014), 103–126

A one-day pilgrimage from Przemyśl to the mountain of Zjavlinnia has been held since 1995. It is organized annually on 15 August by the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, which has since 1992 functioned as the main church of Greek Catholics in Subcarpathia. The new church on Zjavlinnia was built and sanctified in 2008. This pilgrimage is held at the start of Dormition fast, preceding the Dormition of the Mother of God (*Uspinnia Bogorodytsi*), which the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (including Greek Catholics in Poland) celebrates on 28 August according to the Julian calendar.[88] From time to time the pilgrimage is dedicated to a specific date from the history of Ukrainian community in Poland. In 2017 it was devoted to the commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of Operation Vistula.

On 15 August 2018 I was among nearly a hundred pilgrims who came to *Zjavlinnia*. During our journey on foot from Przemyśl I became acquainted with a number of pilgrims, all of them Greek Catholics with a distinct Ukrainian identity, from the families expelled from Subcarpathia in Operation Vistula in 1947. The people I talked to were representatives of the second and (fewer) third generation, who had been coming back to "the land of ancestors" since the 1960s and trying to settle somewhere in Subcarpathia to "regain their cultural heritage". Two female pilgrims (aged between 65 and 70) I managed to talk with had been living in Canada for years, although preserving a strong emotional attachment to Subcarpathia and a sense of belonging to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic community in Poland. Taking part in "reborn" pilgrimage to an old sacred place connected with the history of Greek Catholic community in the region seemed to matter a lot to them. Those two women were the children of parents resettled from Subcarpathia to northwest Poland. Born close to Gdańsk, they "came back" with their parents to Przemyśl in the late 1960s and migrated to Canada in the early 1990s. Despite living so far from Poland and their community, these women preserve their Ukrainian Greek Catholic identity, and try to come every year to Przemyśl to take part in the pilgrimage to Zjavlinnia.

According to my observations this pilgrimage was all about commemoration of the past. During the liturgy the priest giving the sermon mentioned the suffering of the Ukrainian community in Poland, including Operation Vistula as a reference point, after which the Greek Catholic Church was banned and existed underground for several decades. I observed how empathically pilgrims reacted to those words; some of them crying, especially when the archbishop said: "Let us pray for our Ukrainian people, who suffered a lot". Notably, the narrative of "suffering" is the main trope in memory politics in all churches of Byzantine rite in western Ukraine.[89] In Poland this narrative of suffering is strengthened by the minority status which Orthodox and Greek Catholic communities share. To conclude, I would assume that the narration of suffering of the Church, the priests, and the adherents together

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88. All Orthodox Churches in Ukraine as well as the Polish autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church celebrate the Dormition of Mary (*Uspinnia*) on 28 August, according to the Julian calendar.

89. Agnieszka Halemba, "Suffering for and Against the Church. The Politics of Memory and Repression in the Mukachevo Greek Catholic Eparchy," *Religion, State, & Society* 46, no. 2 (2018): 125

with the experience of traumatic historical events and engagement in reviving the important old places of veneration has cemented the Ukrainian minority in Poland, significantly contributing to their sense of identity, which is different both from the Polish Roman Catholic majority and from Ukrainians living in Ukraine.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION: REFLECTIONS ON THE CONTINUITY OF SACREDNESS

Sacrilege has often occurred in history when one political actor sought to establish its power over a certain territory by claiming the symbolic right to possess it; destroying one sacred site and replacing it with another. When Christianity was gaining its position as an official religion in medieval Europe, the old "pagan" sanctuaries were destroyed or reshaped for the needs of new cult. The Ottoman Empire did the same while conquering Constantinople, and Hagia Sophia is one of the most illustrative examples of such desecration; the next religious reuse of the shrine, and finally its secular usage as a museum. The English site of Glastonbury is a further example–a Roman Catholic abbey, significant as a pilgrimage destination throughout the Middle Ages, it was disrupted during the English Reformation. Now the site has become sacred again, attracting pilgrimages and activities of various religious groups.[90]

Analyzing the nature of sacred places, John Eade and Michael Sallnow emphasize that a shrine is "a religious void, a spiritual space capable of accommodating diverse meanings and practices". These meanings ascribed to sacred places are transmitted by various actors: locals, pilgrims, "owners" of the place. They all reproduce diverse meanings, attaching them to the shrine and thus contributing to its "religious capital".[91] The two shrines considered in this case study reveal the continuity (or the "chain") of their sacredness and tradition through the memories and revived religious practices around them. In the perspective of those believers expelled from the region after World War II, for their children and to some extent their grandchildren, those places remain holy, despite being ruined and desecrated. In the eyes of Greek Catholic believers and their Greek Catholic and Orthodox descendants, the existence and sanctity of those sites never ended. This invites us to look more closely at the processes of making of sacred space: its establishment, desecration, existence in memories, and re-sacralization together with its revival through pilgrimage.

Pilgrimages in this regard serve as means to claim continuity with a particular place and with the group that shares a history of attachment/belonging to that place. Sacred sites and restored shrines not only contain history, referring to Ingold's definition of landscapes "pregnant with the past", but they also produce history with people

90. Marion Bowman, "Procession and Possession in Glastonbury: Continuity, Change, and the Manipulation of Tradition," *Folklore* 115, no. 3 (Dec. 2004): 275–76; 279–80

91. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, introduction, in J. Eade, M. J. Sallnow, eds., *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1991): 15

and through people, those who are engaged in those shrines' revival, or restoration, in keeping those sites alive. In anthropological research on religion, pilgrimage is perceived as a way for individuals and groups to orient themselves in space, time, and history.[92] Greek Catholics and Orthodox from Greek Catholic families, both representatives of the Ukrainian minority in Przemyśl and pilgrims coming from Ukraine, seek to reconnect their bonds with denominational, ancestral, and territorial legacies that have become distanced from them due to Soviet-era population shifts and the postwar relocation of national boundaries. Being uprooted, they tend to re-root through pilgrimages.

What deserves particular attention in this continuity of belonging, which was preserved throughout the postwar population and boundary changes, is that shifts of Greek Catholic believers to Orthodoxy are not formal conversions, but rather a way of keeping something familiar and fulfilling their religious needs through the Eastern rite, or a way to reunite with home shrines, and feel "at home". In both cases these shifts served as an anchor to belong somewhere common in times of silence, fear, and forgetting. The moving in space and time which the Greek Catholic resettlers and their Greek Catholic and Orthodox descendants perform can be also seen as a source of physical, embodied contact with the sacred, used as a way of commemorating and connecting with the past. Pilgrimages to Kalwaria Pacławska and Zjavlinnia are not just about restoring, but "re-storying." The pilgrimage experiences, liminal in their nature, become for many people an opportunity to remember, to re-enact, to feel "at home" in a specific place for no matter how short a time. Pilgrimages for these groups of Greek Catholics and Orthodox is a ritual of returning, which makes this movement kindred with the spatial practices of other groups forcibly relocated from their homelands throughout history.

The reflections in this paper point to the important role that religious practices, and especially pilgrimages, play in linking people with their ancestry and specific sacred places—churches, chapels, springs—in which family memories become part of religious experience, and religion is perceived "as it is lived," echoing Leonard Primiano's notion.[93] The understanding of pilgrimage as a multifunctional phenomenon allows us to trace the connections between the places of worship, historical events influencing the landscape, and the nature of sacred sites, memories, belonging, and personal experiences of the pilgrims in pursuit of healing, their roots, and therefore—themselves and their place in history.

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92. Simon Coleman, "Do You Believe in Pilgrimage? *Communitas*, Contestation, and Beyond," *Anthropological Theory* 2, no. 3 (2002): 355–68

93. Leonard Norman Primiano, "Vernacular Religion and the Search for Method in Religious Folklife," *Western Folklore (Reflexivity and the Study of Belief)* 54, no. 1 (1995): 44