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Textiles and National  
Identity among  
Ukrainians in Poland

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"... idu u svit neznanymy shlahamy,  
sorochnu maty vyshyla meni  
chervonymy i chornymy nytkami."

"... I am leaving home and walking  
along the unfamiliar routs,  
My mother has embroidered a shirt for me  
with red and black threads."

Popular song by Pavlychko

## Introduction

The changes in functions of traditional folk textiles among the Ukrainians who in 1947 were resettled to northeastern Poland can be regarded as an indicator of the preservation of their Ukrainian national identity. While conducting field research amongst the Ukrainians living in Poland, the author frequently heard it said that their folk textiles (especially costumes and cross-stitched embroidery) were important symbols of their national and cultural identity. There are many functions of any national or regional textiles (Bogatyrev 1979; Bazielich 1987), but I will focus on Ukrainian folk textiles as a symbol of the national identity of the users. Folk textiles as a national symbol does not, of course, exclude the coexistence of other functions such as ritual aesthetics, practicality, and qualifiers of gender, age, and wealth. However, all of these are less important than the national function of the Ukrainian textiles.

I will use the term *textiles* to refer mainly to costumes, but also other objects such as pillows, window frames, towels and church cloths. *Costume* includes all parts of everyday and festive attire, together with all their traditional accessories. Ritual clothes are also included in the use of this term.

I use *Ukrainian costume* as a general term that embodies all regional and village variants of the costumes I studied during my field work. This simplification

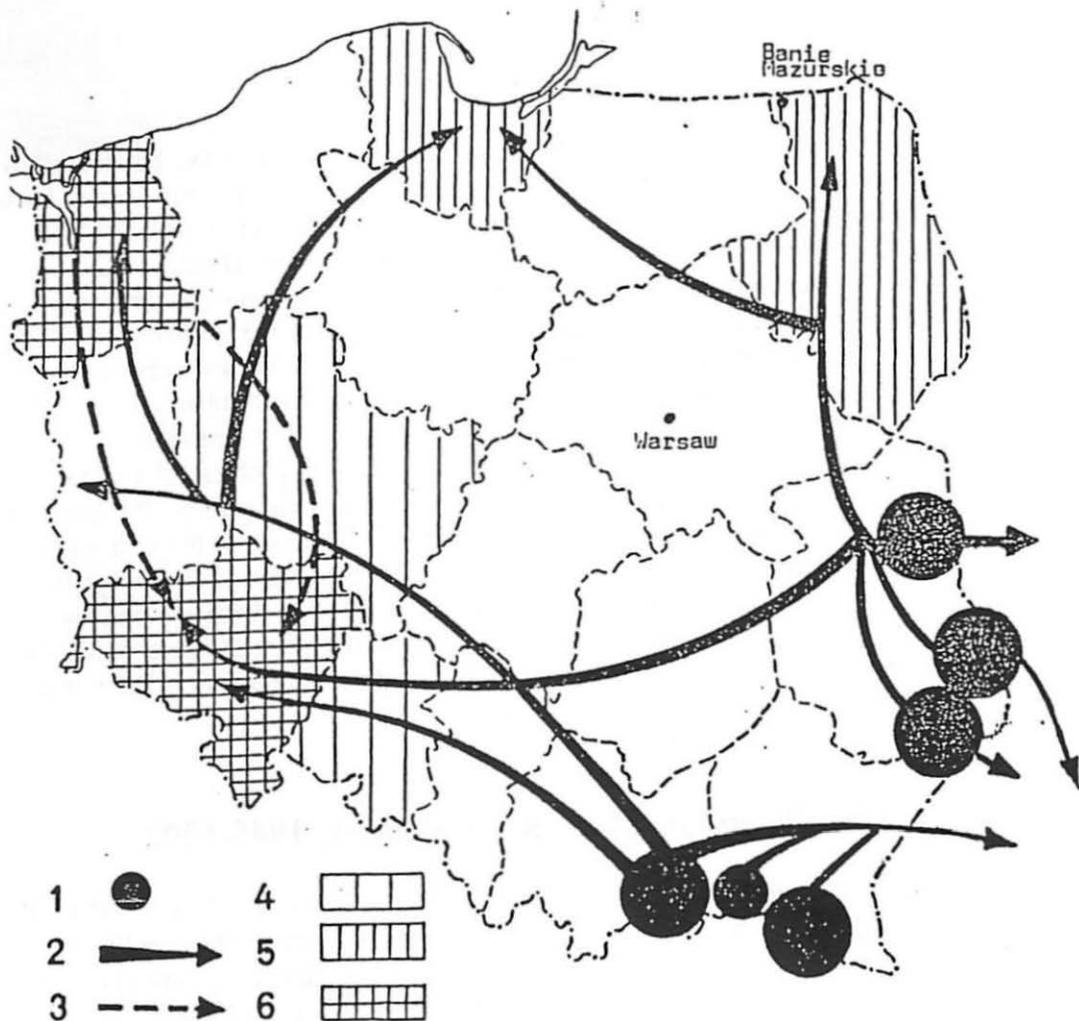
is justified since all the folk costumes studied in this research are similar and differ in details only; furthermore, all of them have changed in the same way.

Similarly, I use the term *Ukrainians* as a comprehensive notion including all the Ukrainian people who were resettled throughout Poland in 1947, that is, Ukrainians, Ruthenians/Rusyns, Lemky, and Boiky (Kwilecki 1964:379). Certainly this is not a homogenous group, but there are sufficient reasons for including them in this study. First, their historical and cultural ties with the territory of Ukraine have been substantiated (Fischer 1939:211-213; Pudło 1987:178; Reinfuss 1948 and 1990; Serczyk 1990:424). Second, all of my respondents considered themselves to be Ukrainians. Third, most of them came from the same region, so their cultural heritage was similar. And fourth, all of them found themselves in the same social environment and had to adapt to the same situation after their resettlement within Poland.

I gathered the materials for this article during field studies from 1987 to 1989 in the village of Banie Mazurskie and its environs (Suwałki voievodship, in northeastern contemporary Poland; see Map). This is not the original Ukrainian area in Poland, instead the Ukrainians were forcibly resettled there after the region was abandoned by Germans in 1945.

Comparing my findings with the results of similar studies conducted by Wojciechowska (1990) in 1989 in the small town of Miastko, Koszalin voievodship in northwestern Poland, I believe the results are representative of Ukrainians throughout Poland.

For many years after World War II no ethnological research was devoted to Ukrainians in the People's Republic of Poland because the cultural policy of the communist regime which essentially denied that any minorities existed in Poland. This study is the first published attempt to trace (from an ethnological perspective) the process of change in Ukrainian textiles after World War II in northeastern Poland. A few historical articles and some sociological works (Biernacka 1974; Kwilecki 1961, 1964, 1974; Olszański 1994; Pudło 1970, 1987, 1992a, 1992b, 1993) were published, but they were devoted mainly to the resettlement process and its consequences. Pudło (1970, 1987) restricted his description to Lemkos' life in the Lower Silesia (*Dolny Śląsk*) region and the difficult adaptation to their new physical and social environment. However, in his later articles he discussed all the Ukrainian groups in Poland. Kwilecki's works focused on the problems of migration and assimilation and Biernacka's book (1974) described the regime's efforts to resettle areas that formerly had been inhabited by the Lemky. A recently published



Resettlement of Ukrainians during "Wisła" Action and their dispersal at "Regaind Lands" of Poland. (Pudło 1970:89)

1. Centers of UPA activity.
2. Directions in which Ukrainians were resettled.
3. Repeated resettlement of some Ukrainians.

Number of Ukrainians settled in each county (voievodship)

4. up to 1,500 people
5. up to 9,000 people
6. up to 16,000 people

ethnological work by Reinfuss (1990) is also devoted to the Lemky, but especially their culture before World War II. Among all Ukrainian groups, the Lemky have been discussed most extensively, although it should be noted that Boiky and Ruthenians/Rusyns were sometimes subsumed under this name (Pudło 1992).

Some interesting Polish and Ukrainian publications about Ukrainian textiles were published before 1947 (Bugera 1936; Guzowska 1933; Makovskii 1925; Maslova 1984; Reinfuss 1936; Tarnovych 1941; Udziela 1934) and serve as useful sources of description for prewar dress. I cite them for comparison with the contemporary functions and forms of the textiles studied in the research.

Ethnologists in the former Soviet Union ignored the problem of a Ukrainian minority in Poland, as was required by official Polish and Soviet policy. Publications in Ukraine focus on the area within the former Soviet Union, not the customs and traditions of Ukrainians living outside of the present Ukraine (Butnyk-Siverskyi 1966; Mateiko 1977; *Ukrainske narodnye dekorativnye rushnyky* 1955). Some works considering Ukrainian textiles have been published in the West (Antonovych 1976; Koenig 1935; Krasovskiy 1988), but they do not investigate the function, the role and form of the textiles of the Ukrainian minority in Poland.

## **The Ukrainian Minority in Poland, 1945-1992**

On 7 December 1988, Poland had a population of 37,879,000 (*Rocznik Statystyczny* 1991), of which the non-Polish national minorities were only a very small percentage. However, the Ukrainians were the most numerous minority. This minority has evolved through phases of development and regression caused by a series of repressive actions undertaken since 1945 (Olszański 1994:227-250; Pudło 1993). The postwar period of hostility and discrimination "nourished by mutual recriminations, historical animosities, savage reprisals in Volhynia and other areas and struggles against the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army - J.D.) during World War II" (Basarab 1980:249) yielded to a more liberal trend after the 1956 "Polish October." A new policy of rehabilitation and cultural support initially gave hope for positive change in Polish-Ukrainian relationships, but hopes for constructive change were blunted in the 1960s and 1970s. Some new prospects emerged when communism was ousted in 1989, but unfortunately minority problems are too complex to be solved in a short period of time, and the difficult economic and

political situation in contemporary Poland has further delayed the search for satisfactory solutions for both sides (Olszański 1994:249-250).

The Ukrainians in present-day Poland are the progeny of different Ukrainian ethnic groups that existed before World War II in the ethnically Ukrainian and culturally mixed areas along the eastern borders of Poland at that time. In 1945, Poland's borders were redrawn, and approximately one million Ukrainians<sup>1</sup> (together with Ruthenians/Rusyns, Lemky and Boiky) remained on the territory of the newly established People's Republic of Poland. This is compared with nearly 4.5 million members of Ukrainian-related groups living in Poland in 1939 (*Mały Rocznik Statystyczny* 1939).<sup>2</sup> This sharp decrease was caused by the changes of borders and the annexation by the Soviet Union of a large expanse of prewar eastern Poland, inhabited by a large number of Ukrainian peasants. The number of Ukrainians living in Poland decreased from one million in 1945, to fewer than 300,000 by the end of 1947. This drastic diminution was the result of population exchanges in 1945, and the military supervised resettlement operation entitled "Wisła Action" (*Akcja Wisła* or *Akcja "W"*). Population exchanges were theoretically voluntary (Kwilecki 1974), but the resettlement of approximately 450,000 to 480,000 Ukrainians from Poland to the Soviet Union (Olszański 1994:229) was in essence obligatory and in accordance with the communist policy that Poland is to be a single nationality country. In addition, the Soviet authorities preferred to eliminate the active Polish minority living in the western regions of Ukraine and to exchange them for Ukrainians living in Poland who were seen as more culturally and politically compatible. "Wisła Action" involved the obligatory displacement of tens of thousands of Ukrainians from their native areas in eastern Poland to the newly acquired territories in northern and western Poland (see Map, pg. 3).

This latter operation, conducted under conditions of psychological and cultural shock and even fear of death, exerted strong assimilatory pressures and resulted in the decrease of persons who dared to state that they were Ukrainians. To avoid repression, some Ukrainians formally changed their names, nationality, and religion. Shortly after the resettlement, many of the Ukrainians were "administratively transformed" into Poles with some local clerks simply registering them as Poles.

Polish sources during the communist era attributed the dispersal of the Ukrainians throughout Poland to disruptive war and post-war conditions. The official propaganda claimed that the resettlement was inevitable because the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was especially active in the areas densely settled by

Ukrainians where much of the population rendered active support to the insurgents. However, the actual goal of the Polish communist authorities was to create an ethnically homogenous society and to transform the uprooted Ukrainian minority into Poles (Olszański 1994:237).<sup>3</sup>

I will not describe the "Wisła Action" in detail but some basic and general information will be useful in providing an understanding of the conditions faced by Ukrainians living in Poland. The plan to resettle Ukrainians was formulated at the end of World War II. On 28 March, 1947, a well-known Polish general and vice-minister of national defence, Karol Świerczewski, was shot to death during a brush with a UPA detachment in the village of Jablonka. Although the circumstances of his death remain unclear, this incident was taken as the pretext to begin the forced resettlement. The appropriate resolution of the presidium of the Polish cabinet and the order of the commander-in-chief of the Polish army was issued on 17 April 1947. The resettlement action began on 25 April with approximately 20,000 soldiers and policemen engaged. The military involvement officially concluded on 31 July. Most of the UPA detachments (which did not number more than 1,800) were destroyed and nearly all their commanders were sentenced to death. The resettlement continued until December 1947.

The territory marked for resettlement had been divided into four districts: Sanok; Rzeszów; Lublin; and Gorlice (Winnicki 1965:7). The resettlements were most brutal in the Sanok and Rzeszów districts where the UPA formations had been the strongest. The resettlement and dispersal was absolute and thorough - no exceptions were permitted, not even for communists and police functionaries. The selection for resettlement was based purely on ethnicity, and not actual UPA membership (Kwilecki 1974:97,101). Therefore, the Ukrainians considered the resettlement of all their people as morally unjust.

The Ukrainians usually were allowed twenty-four to forty-eight hours to prepare for resettlement (Pudło 1970:89; Olszański 1994:238); in the areas where the UPA was most active, the time was often reduced to two hours and luggage was limited to 25 kg. Packing was done under the strict control of the army and conducted in an atmosphere of fear and terror. The resettled Ukrainians did not know where and by which road they would travel. Sometimes the route was changed at the last moment to avoid potential military conflicts. Special transports consisting of thirty-five to fifty cattle cars, were assembled at neighboring railway stations. Each car carried at least two families as well as livestock (Pudło 1970:90). The trains were headed to one of four distributive points (Olsztyn, Szczecinek, Poznań, or Wrocław)

and from there to their final destination. Sometimes the Ukrainians had to wait for weeks at railway stations for their trains to arrive (Olszański 1994:238). The journey lasted from seven to thirty days and basic needs, such as warm food or water, were often not met. During the journey, the Ukrainians were always under military supervision, and banishment to the penal colony in Jaworzno could be the punishment for disobedience.<sup>4</sup>

According to the official plans, 90,000 people, or about 22,700 families, would be resettled. But the plans were overfulfilled, and as many as 13,621 families were settled in the Olsztyn district alone, and they comprised only about 40 percent of all the people resettled (Winnicki 1965:3,11). Historians now claim that about 150,000 Ukrainians were resettled (Olszański 1994:240).

The Ukrainians were to be settled at least 20 km away from the Polish border and in larger towns, and no more than 10 percent of Ukrainians were to live in any one local community. These regulations were sometimes impossible to implement because there were simply too many resettled Ukrainians to accommodate (Olszański 1994:240-241). There were also different rules for settling those listed as politically "dangerous," who were to be settled in isolation from relatives and to receive poorer housing.

Ukrainians were not permitted to return to their former ethnic homeland for many years. Moreover, on 27 July 1949 a special decree was issued stating that all the land in southeastern Poland that was not ploughed would become state property. Consequently, the ancestral lands of all resettled Ukrainians were officially expropriated by the Polish state.

This period of open discrimination lasted until the mid-1950s. A new, more liberal policy was initiated in 1955 and in June 1956 a nationwide Ukrainian organization, the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society (*Ukrainske Suspilno-Kulturne Tovarystvo*)<sup>5</sup>, was established. Although it was criticized for its passive and servile policy, the Society unquestionably contributed to the preservation of Ukrainian culture (cf. Podlaski 1990:84-87). A Ukrainian language weekly, *Our Word (Nashe Slovo)*, was founded in the same year and two years later a monthly literary supplement, *Our Culture (Nasha Kultura)*, appeared. Other magazines, calendars, and irregular publications were also published, including *The Dawn (Svitanok)* for children and a literary anthology, *The Echo (Homin)*.

A return to Stalinist social policy in the 1960s increased pressures for the assimilationist policies and weakened the newly-established progress toward recognizing Ukrainian culture in Poland. This policy of ignoring the cultural and

religious needs of the Ukrainian minority in Poland was continued until the late 1980s (cf. Pudło 1993). Changes and general liberalization in Poland after 1989 have addressed some of the minority problems, although no important edicts have been issued regulating Polish-Ukrainian relationships (cf. Olszański 1994:249-250).

It is very difficult to obtain objective information about the number of Ukrainians in Poland. A blank space for "nationality" has never existed in any of the general censuses in Poland because of the communist government minorities' policy. However the tendentious preparation of minority data by the communist authorities was not the only reason for the absence of data on Ukrainians. This absence also partially reflects a sometimes reduced level of national consciousness and lingering, although weakened, feelings of anxiety about being classified as Ukrainian. The official number of 200,000 Ukrainians in 1988 appears to be too low. But the figure of 360,000 or more that the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society identified in that same year, or the 500,000 claimed by some immigrant centers in the West (Czekanowska 1990:148) has been justifiably questioned as being too high by many scholars (Kubijovyc 1971:II,669-1004; Marcus 1980:132; Mond 1989:171). A reliable statistical account is also difficult because of internal differentiations made among the Ukrainians who have specific historical, ethnic, and religious distinctions. In summary, a figure of 250,000 Ukrainians seems to be the most accurate number.

Presently Ukrainians are widely dispersed throughout the country, and do not constitute more than 5 percent of the population of any one voievodship in Poland. They live in diaspora in thirty-nine of forty-nine Polish voievodships and form significant communities in the regions of Olsztyn, Białystok, Koszalin, Gdańsk, Szczecin, Zielona Góra, Wrocław, Lublin, and Rzeszów. Others live in cities such as Katowice, Kraków, Łódź, or Poznań.

Nearly 70 percent of Polish Ukrainians are members of the Uniate Catholic Church and approximately 20 percent belong to the Orthodox Church.<sup>6</sup> Only about 25 percent of all Ukrainians (mainly Lemky and Boiky) now live in their former ethnic homeland along the eastern border of Poland.

Although few primary schools use Ukrainian as their language of instruction, an increasing number are now teaching Ukrainian in addition to Polish. Also more Ukrainian parents are teaching their children literary Ukrainian, hence extending its usage beyond a language spoken only at home. Three Ukrainian high schools exist in Poland: in Górowo Iławieckie in the Mazury district; in Legnica in Lower Silesia (*Dolny Śląsk*); and in Biały Bór in West Pomerania (*Pomorze Zachodnie*). There is also a Ukrainian language and literature faculty at Warsaw University.

## **Banie Mazurskie and the Research Project**

The village of Banie Mazurskie was established by Poles in the middle of the sixteenth century. The region was later devastated during the Tatar invasion and by plague in 1709. The area belonged to Prussia after the partition of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century and was subsequently colonized by Germans. The Banie Mazurskie civil parish was home to 1,970 persons in 1939, most of whom were German (Wakar 1971:60-107). They left the area at the end of World War II when they learned that Poland had received this territory in compensation for territories in eastern Poland taken by the Soviet Union. The Polish government tried to populate this region with Poles, but voluntary colonization was unsuccessful because the soil was poor, the climate severe, and the war damage extensive. Only six families lived in the village by the end of 1946. The major immigration started in May and June 1947 when fifty-four Ukrainian families displaced from Chełm, Zamość, and Przemysł voievodships in southeastern Poland arrived in Banie Mazurskie (Kwilecki 1964:381; Wakar 1971).

These Ukrainian immigrants found life in Banie Mazurskie very different from their past experiences. They were not Catholic but belonged to either the Orthodox or Uniate Catholic Church and they were resettled from large, wealthy villages, some of which had more than five hundred houses, situated in a region of mixed Polish and Ukrainian culture (Polska Południowo-Wschodnia 1939:11). These villages, often 100 percent Ukrainian, were in very rural areas relatively isolated from the influences of major cities or towns. The absent or weak influence of urban life in the region inhabited by Ukrainians before their resettlement was conducive to the preservation of traditional costumes and textiles. Ukrainian villages close to cities or large towns often witnessed the disappearance of traditional costumes before World War II. However in remote isolated villages near the Austrian border in the area referred to as Galicia (*Galicja*), elaborately decorated traditional textiles employing ancient sewing techniques were commonplace after the war. Also, the fact that these Ukrainian villages were relatively prosperous was another important factor in the preservation of traditional costumes whose ornamentation requires a certain amount of surplus income. This is also the case for other traditional folk textiles such as towels (cf. Bogatyrev 1979: 185).

Peasants in these remote areas were proud of their attire. It was precious to them, something that distinguished them from their neighbors and was proof of their good taste, affluence, and love of beauty.<sup>7</sup> Parts of their costumes, especially those for women, required very expensive materials which only a few women in a village could afford. For example, a really "good" bodice needed velvet of the first order, many sequins, beads, and silk ribbons; all of which was very expensive. Furthermore, the preparation of such a bodice required many hours of precise, technically complicated artisanship.<sup>8</sup>

The fact that many Ukrainians took their costumes and textiles with them during resettlement illustrates their great importance. This is even more telling when we realize that often they did this in disobedience of the orders of the Polish soldiers, who sometimes destroyed the Ukrainian costumes they uncovered (Olszański 1994:238). Those Ukrainians who decided to leave their textiles behind often carried embroidered shirts, towels, and handmade wool kilims to the nearest Ukrainian church before their departure.

Before World War II, the national function of the textiles was not especially important. In these villages the Ukrainians were the vast majority of the population, and the national consciousness of many of them was not fully developed. In the Hrubieszów region, where there were compact Ukrainian settlements nestled close to the Bug River, the percentage of Ukrainians was between 60 and 75.5 percent of all inhabitants before World War II. If we consider only the rural areas, the percentage of Ukrainians would be even higher as Poles, Russians, Jews, and Germans lived mainly in the larger towns and cities (Fischer 1928:3,13; *Monografia statystyczno-gospodarcza województwa lubelskiego* 1932:XVII).

However, during World War II costume took on the function of national identity as some Ukrainians from the Hrubieszów region expressed their political and national sympathies through their costume. Young men, especially unmarried ones, tied blue ribbons (traditionally the ribbons were red [Udziela 1934:22,24]) around their shirt collars as a sign of their patriotism and support for aspirations of Ukrainian independence.<sup>9</sup>

After the resettlement, the situation of Ukrainians in Banie Mazurskie and surroundings was atypical. These particular Ukrainians found themselves in the majority, which was unique in the area of "Regained Lands" (*Ziemie Odzyskane*) and contradictory to official orders and regulations. In addition to Banie Mazurskie, neighboring hamlets such as Lisy, Kutry, Wróble, and Budry also had a majority of new Ukrainian colonists either because of the very small number of non-Ukrainians

living there, or the fact that the number of resettled Ukrainians vastly exceeded the numbers anticipated in the official planners (Kwilecki 1964:380, 382).

Few of the resettled Ukrainians ever returned to their original native lands in southeast Poland, even after 1956 when changes in Polish political life and legislation allowed them to do so (Olszaski 1994:242). The exceptions were the Lemky who never fully adapted to the new resettled territories. After resettlement more and more Poles migrated to Banie Mazurskie from region's smaller villages which had an excess farm population. Ukrainians in Banie Mazurskie were also subject to "polonization" and their children sometimes consider themselves to be Poles.

To establish precisely how many Poles and Ukrainians live in the Banie Mazurskie region is difficult. Data in registration books are often incomplete and not trustworthy because of the many alterations and additions. Among mixed Polish-Ukrainian families, some are faithful to Polish and others to Ukrainian traditions, while some families try to combine elements of both. However, because of the presence of many people who acknowledge their Ukrainian heritage (about 55 percent), Banie Mazurskie is sometimes called "the capital of Polish Ukraine."

The structure of employment in the area favors the preservation of traditional lifestyles since as many as 74 percent of local inhabitants earn their living working exclusively as farmers (Waluś 1983). Their lives are focused on the village and the immediate environs. They rarely travel to larger cities and their exposure to new ideas and lifestyles is somewhat limited.

As a result, Banie Mazurskie remains a strong center of the Ukrainian traditions. The Association of Ukrainians in Poland has its seat here and there is an elementary school that offers Ukrainian language classes. After many years of struggle, a Uniate Catholic church dedicated to St. Nicholas was opened recently. Its interior decorations, especially the embroidery, manifest the cultural loyalty of the Ukrainian parishioners. The village also has two singing and dancing folk groups. The Falcons (*Sokoli*),<sup>10</sup> a children's group, and The Falling Star (*Zorepad*), an adult group, have received prizes at the "Festival of Ukrainian Song, Music and Dance" which is held every two years in Sopot, Poland.<sup>11</sup> Villagers also dance and sing with other amateur Ukrainian folk groups, such as *Cheremosh*, a group from the nearby town of Węgorzewo.<sup>12</sup>

The cultural climate in Banie Mazurskie is clearly divided between Ukrainian and Polish. Hence the costumes of the Ukrainian population take on greater national significance in this area co-habitated by two nationalities, as opposed to the pre-war

setting where the Ukrainians were the dominant nationality in their villages (cf. Reinfuss 1948:138, 164-165).

## **Changes in the Ukrainian Folk Costume, 1947 to 1988**

After World War II the making and wearing of all traditional costumes declined rapidly throughout Poland. Also the appearance of the costumes which did exist were altered as worn parts were often replaced with new, usually purchased, clothes, resulting in hybrid rural-urban costumes. Very quickly these gave way to clothes that were completely urban. Traditional folk costumes gradually assumed the role of symbolic attire, used only for special occasions.

These same changes also impacted Ukrainian costumes. Moreover, one of the inevitable results of any migration is the rapid and unexpected contact of two or more different cultures, stimulating rapid transformations in the whole sphere of peoples' everyday life (cf. Kwasniewski 1982). Therefore the pace of the social, economic, political, and cultural change for the Ukrainians in the immediate post-war years was greatly accelerated.

The transformation of the costumes of the Ukrainians was but one reflection of the deep and profound changes taking place with the Ukrainians in post-war Poland. After the resettlement, Ukrainians found themselves in a completely new and unfamiliar social and cultural environment. Their status and situation was radically changed. In their original home towns, they formed homogenous and strong local/village groups, linked by kinship ties and sure of their cultural superiority. They treated their cultural heritage as natural and the only possible way to live, and they were proud of it. Their original local communities were now completely destroyed according to the plans of the Polish communist government, the formation of new, largely Ukrainian communities was not possible since only three or four Ukrainian families could settle in the same village in the reclaimed western and northern lands (*Ziemia Odzyskana*). They experienced a different natural environment and a new social status in that they were now a suspected, dangerous, and felonious minority, constantly under strict surveillance by security forces (*Urząd Bezpieczeństwa*, the Polish equivalent of the Soviet KGB) and deprived of many civil rights. These conditions were conducive to rapid and deep transformations in the entire cultural

sphere (Sakson 1991:7). Two powerful and contradictory forces influenced the transformations.

On the one hand, Ukrainians closed themselves within their own national group. This attitude was caused mainly by their specific situation as "strangers," isolated from other colonists because of the strong, negative stereotype of the "Ukrainian-Bandits," one that was eagerly promoted by official propaganda.<sup>13</sup> This isolation favored petrification of Ukrainian cultural patterns, especially in the social sphere (cf. Burszta 1967:161).

From a psychological perspective, the isolation and deprivation strengthened the natural human tendency to glorify one's past. This glorification was strongly supported by the fact that the quality of the "new" soil was incomparably lower and climatic conditions were much more severe. The problem is still (after forty-five years!) alive in the consciousness of the resettled Ukrainians, and many times I heard such complaints as "... we had had so much better soil at our former place." We can only imagine the depth of the Ukrainians' grief and anger after their first harvest.

The number of Ukrainians in Banie Mazurskie and the surrounding area was large enough to stimulate a translocal and transvillage sense of "community" based on ethnic identity, constituting a response to the pervasive, alien Polish culture (Czapran 1987). This heightened awareness of "Ukrainianness" replaced loyalties formerly based upon village and parish ties which were disrupted by resettlement. This Ukrainian ethnic identity and unity was also fostered by the actions of the Poles. First, Polish colonists usually did not distinguish between different Ukrainian local groups. Second, they labeled all members of the Ukrainian community "bandits," as the official authorities had done during the resettlement.

In the first years after their arrival, the dissimilarity of a Ukrainian and a non-Ukrainian (usually, but not always Polish) costume was a means to identify unknown persons in the traditional "we-they" cultural opposition. It allowed Poles as well as Ukrainians an easy classification into categories of "Ukrainian" and "non-Ukrainian." At this time the traditional costume began to play a role as one of the basic markers (besides religion and language) of the Ukrainian national group in Poland.

In the early resettlement years, the regional differences in their costumes allowed Ukrainians to recognize immediately a compatriot in the marketplace or pub and personally interact based on this recognition. However, as Ukrainians of all types were mixed and previous regional groups disappeared, the regional function of costumes quickly became subordinated to a national symbol (cf. Bogatyrev

1979:183). Coincidental meetings of old friends and compatriots formerly from the same region made it clear that although at one time they lived together and shared the same joys and sorrows, their daily lives were now distinct and separated. They had little in common except the fact that they wore the same costume so they could easily find each other in a crowd, and that they spoke the same language. Yet such meetings were relatively rare because the geographic mobility of the Ukrainians was limited considerably by special regulations. (Kwilecki 1974; Holda, and Litwiniuk 1957).

Ukrainians had no other choice but to create new relationships with those identified as Ukrainians who lived in the villages that they now lived. These new relationships had to substitute for their former regional kinship relationships and neighborhood ties. The region from where a Ukrainian had come was no longer critical, nor were small details of their costumes that revealed their origins. The only important thing was that they were all Ukrainians, and seen as such by the Poles.

The post-war living conditions of the resettled Ukrainians in Poland was very difficult. Their new homesteads were often ruined and devastated by the war and had been neglected for three years or more. Their houses were unfurnished and devoid of tools and livestock. Many Ukrainians had been forced to leave their homes with only a few hours notice and were allowed to carry only the luggage they could fit into the carts that carried them. Hence they took only their most precious belongings and their best holiday attire. Livestock and large agricultural implements, such as ploughs or harrows, often had to be left behind. Other animals died in the resettlement process and many household goods were broken and destroyed during the long, difficult journey. Furthermore, most people were resettled before they could harvest their crops, thus they had neither provisions nor cash. Given their inability to purchase new clothes, Ukrainians frequently wore their traditional costumes during the first years after resettlement, especially on Sundays and holidays (cf. Bazielič 1987:122-123; Burszta 1967:161).

In addition to the Ukrainians' inability to buy new clothes, their traditional costumes were an important symbol of their dislike and rejection of the dominant Polish culture. Polish-Ukrainian antagonisms, fanned by government policies, propaganda and compulsory resettlement, fostered negative attitudes toward Polish culture by the Ukrainian settlers. The Polish culture was perceived as "strange" and aggressive. The feeling of being wronged by Poles was strong among Ukrainians (Pudło 1987:177); and by rejecting everything that was Polish, they automatically praised their own national culture.

On the other hand, this antagonism also produced some contradictory results. Some Ukrainians rejected external signs of Ukrainian cultural and national identity fearing official repression or mockery, as well as hostility from other colonists. Costume (as a part of the so-called "material sphere of culture") and language are two of the most easily recognized cultural signs. Some Ukrainians abandoned their characteristic traditional clothing in order to simulate the non-Ukrainian colonists. They bought new conventional, factory-made attire. This tendency illustrates the important semiotic value of traditional costumes as a distinguishing characteristic of a national group. Moreover, this semiotic value of dress and costume was clear to the wearer. Since schools and jobs in factories promoted the unification of everyday, workday clothing, cross-cultural weddings often provided opportunities for the mingling of various traditional ceremonial costumes.

General unification tendencies, so characteristic of mass culture, blurred the lines of distinction among the various resettled Ukrainians and Poles, and profoundly affected traditional costumes. Older clothing was used for rural labor, and better garments were remodeled according to the new fashion; women's shirts were transformed into summer blouses, embroidered sleeves became cushions, skirts were cut down and narrowed, and aprons were modified into girls' skirts (Bazielich 1987).

## **Costume as a National Symbol**

According to the semiotic theory of Iurii Lotman (1984) and the ethnological approach to cultural traits as means of communication (Barthes 1970; Bogatyrev 1979; Stomma 1981), attire, including folk costume, can be viewed as a meaningful symbol in a developed cultural system. Attire is also recognized as a sign if it is conventional and considered in a specific cultural context. Without that context, its meaning is unknown and the attire cannot be defined as a sign. The context consists of many elements that together create a structural system. Any change in the structure alters the text, and consequently replaces the previous message with a new one. The more complex the information being delivered by the sign, the more complex the semiotic system necessary for its transmission (Lotman 1984:19). Simplification of the information is almost immediately followed by simplification of the text and its structure.

We can assume that Ukrainian folk costume is a text that transmits certain pieces of information which are easily read by persons who recognize the appropriate cultural context, that is, a local variant of Ukrainian culture. As a folk costume, it once revealed many pieces of information connected with the user, such as his or her marital and social status, sex, age, affluence, etc. In its given cultural context, costume is an effective but complicated facilitator of intercourse, and even the smallest details of one's attire conveys important messages to the rest of the community (Radzimirska-Pakowska 1988:44).

Bogatyrev (1979:32-53,171) stressed the importance of context for an adequate understanding of the role of a single element and noted that the role of that same element in various contexts can be completely different. A folk costume has many functions, but one or a few functions often dominate, and thereby reduce or even replace other nonessential functions.

One main function of dress (particularly holiday attire) is to provide information about its owner. The information about his or her, real or perceived, group affiliation is paramount. The costume as a piece of information is very important and should be clear to members of the group as well as strangers. In this way dress becomes a distinctive feature of local, regional, and national groups. One can observe the phenomenon everywhere.

When the national function of attire is dominant, other information carried by the clothing often becomes insignificant. National costume needs only a few key, well known ingredients to create a stereotypical image for the group and for strangers (Radzimirska-Pakowska 1988:44-45). On the most basic level, Ukrainian folk dress as a national costume transmits basic information about their national affiliation. This type of information can be understood even if the text consists only of a few components, which must, however, be easily noticed, characteristic, and meaningful. The complex structure of the costume is not important anymore because any of its elements can be chosen to signal the whole structure and thereby communicate the national affiliation of the wearer.

The focus of this study is primarily on the function of the Ukrainian folk costume as it defines the national attachment of its users. Clothing can be a national costume specifically when it becomes the emblem of a nation or a national group; in that form it symbolizes the nation or nationality. This happens when the members of a community (but not necessarily all of them) believe that certain regional folk costumes, or some of their elements, are representative of the whole nation.

Sometimes, but only rarely, elements of several regional folk costumes are combined into a new costume, which is then regarded as representative of the entire nation.

The form of the costume and nonwritten community rules, which define the situations when some of the costume's elements are "obligatory" for community members, change according to circumstances and the general situation (Bogatyrev 1979:174). Some aspects of the costume are vital to perform some functions properly, but are of little or no importance for other functions. In fulfilling the function of a national identity, the folk attire of a certain region could be limited to transmitting only a few elements or symbols. These elements or symbols must represent the idea of "our" costume and be a synthesis of all the costume's features. They also must be clearly different from the most characteristic features of the costumes of nationalities that are not classified as "ours," particularly from the costumes of the nearest neighboring group. With Ukrainian folk costume, those elements or symbols representing the idea of "our" costume are all objects ornamented with cross-stitched embroidery (especially red and black), wide male trousers with sashes, cross-stitched shirts for men and women, embroidered bodices and aprons, and women's wreaths made of artificial flowers and long, colorful ribbons. The notion of "our costume" has an emotional component that is important for the longevity of the costume. That is why jokes made about local/regional/national costume are considered jokes pointed at the group itself and, as they deeply offend the group's self-image, can lead to conflict (Reinfuss 1948:164-165).

## **Contemporary Functions of Traditional Ukrainian Costumes**

The traditional Ukrainian costume is not often worn today. Its practical workday function disappeared and it became more and more a sign or symbol of Ukrainian national identity. Worn by performing folk groups, it represents the Ukrainian minority during local feasts such as Whitsuntide or the harvest festival. It is held that this "representative" role can be played only by "the most beautiful" attire, and the most beautiful attire is perceived to be the richest holiday costume from the pre-war era. Therefore, the folk groups perform wearing costumes consisting of elements of pre-war holiday attire once worn by wealthy peasants. For example, bodices are decorated with sequins and not with colorful, thin silk thread,

which was used by poorer peasants. The sequins are now an obligatory part of the folk groups' costumes, regardless of the individual economic status of their owners. Their functions have changed from a display of affluence, to the proper manifestation of Ukrainian nationality.

The costumes consist of authentic parts of clothing that were made and worn forty-five to seventy years ago in their original homeland. This would include hand-woven and richly embroidered (with archaic patterns) shirts for men and women, aprons, and bodices. Certain parts of the costumes are no longer worn in the same way they were in the pre-war days when one of their functions was to distinguish the wearer from other Ukrainians not from his/her region. Many of the youth in the post-war generation no longer know the distinguishing regional characteristics of the pre-war costumes, and instead stress the need for the attire to conform to contemporary criteria for "good taste." Nonetheless these modern costumes must be "as beautiful as possible" in order to properly represent the wearer as "Ukrainian."

Although most people who sing, play, and particularly dance in folk groups are young, new costumes are not made if the old ones created from various original parts can still be used. Some parts of the costumes are slightly altered according to the needs of the new owner. Although the costumes show their age and are a bit damaged, they are treated with respect and regarded as "more beautiful" and "more appropriate" for performance than new ones because they are "original" and therefore "more Ukrainian." Consequently, even the performing groups' aesthetic functions are dominated by national sentiment. Members of a folk group who do not have their own "authentic" shirt, bodice, or apron try to borrow them for their performances (Wojciechowska 1990:20,21).

Missing parts of the costume, such as trousers, are supplemented by pieces that are regarded as "typically Ukrainian." The "typically Ukrainian costume" is presently identified as the style which originated in the so-called "Great Ukraine," or Central Ukraine. Male members of the folk groups *Cheremosh* and *Sokoli* wear very wide red or blue trousers, with colorful, fringed sashes at least 20 cm. wide tied around their waists. Women wear knee-length skirts sewn from material in a floral pattern. Trousers, sashes, and skirts of this type were unknown in the villages from where the Ukrainian families in Banie Mazurskie and surroundings hailed, but they *now* complement shirts typical for that region. In this way, the Ukrainians created artificial "sets" of clothes, which, according to their convictions and intentions, reflect the authentic Ukrainian costume.

The function of a bride's head decoration - a wreath of flowers made of artificial paper and colorful ribbons - has also changed (cf. Bugera 1936:21). It is now worn by all younger women during a performance and considered characteristic of Ukrainian young girls as well as married women. Nowadays, footwear worn by Ukrainians in Poland while performing folk dances is much different from the footwear worn in the past in their native regions, where the shoes and boots were almost always black (rarely brown or red), somewhat shapeless, and made of thick, stiff leather. Today the costume includes footwear that is well shaped, red and made of fine leather with raised heels for the women. These stylistic changes in traditional Ukrainian costumes are also noticeable with the folk groups from Ukraine.

In the 1980s, the women who sewed and embroidered new shirts for the performances chose colors and patterns from pattern books printed in the Ukrainian Republic of the former Soviet Union. The new shirts, therefore, are exactly the same as those worn by Ukrainians living in Ukraine and very different from original shirts worn by the Ukrainians in their native regions. The traditional shirt (*sorochka*) has been changed to a blouse, and dark colors, once characteristic of pre-war Ukrainian embroidery in Chelm and Zamość voievodships, have been substituted for by black and red stitches. Also, contemporary patterns tend to be more geometric rather than floral.

The process of mixing the village or local identity ("our") with the national identity ("Ukrainian") and creating new, joint category ("our-Ukrainian") is evident. This new category allows one to include all elements of culture, actual or perceived, associated with any part of "Ukraine."<sup>14</sup> Now, after the birth of independent Ukraine, these processes have been strengthened (Wojciechowska 1990:20,33-34).

## **Contemporary Functions of Components of Ukrainian Folk Costume and Textiles**

Individual components of the Ukrainian folk costume are still worn, particularly by older women, but they are separated from their original context. These women usually wear aprons, but the material, cut, and decorations have been altered. On cold days, they may wear traditional cloth hip-length jacket even though they are regarded as old-fashioned and of little value. The traditional jacket is worn mainly to save wear and tear on other newer, more fashionable clothing. The jacket's

specific features show clearly that the owner is Ukrainian, but this nation function is not intentional and only a secondary function.

There are also some individual elements of traditional costume and textiles that have not only survived resettlement and the passage of time, but have also assumed new nontraditional forms. These transformations are adapt at fitting old techniques and patterns to contemporary tastes, thus preserving them. This is particularly true of cross-stitch embroidery. The technique remains unchanged from one hundred years ago, although many of the colors are different. Color schemes such as red and orange set in contrast against light green and black are now popular. This illustrates the process of diverging from traditional dark colors such as black, dark green, violet, or cherry, which are typical for the region from which the Ukrainians in the study originated (Butnyk-Siverskyi 1966:66; Guzowska 1933:5). This change has been influenced, or perhaps even caused, by printed pattern books that present red and black as colors typical for Ukraine (*Ukrainske...* 1955). Similar opinions about the "national" character and function of red and black cross-stitch embroidery are expressed in popular contemporary songs, such as the one cited in the beginning of this work. The national function is strongly evident with cross-stitch embroidery. One must remember that any object decorated with cross-stitch embroidery (or even its imitation) automatically represents Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian nation in the minds of people living in Banie Mazurskie. Similar processes are observed also in the Ukrainian communities in other countries such as Canada (Klymasz 1987).

Other creations of traditional crafts survive in contemporary home furnishings, unequivocally drawing a distinction between Polish and Ukrainian houses (Wojciechowska 1990:19). This is particularly evident in those houses where the homeowners embroider and decorate their homes with their own handiwork. The so-called "door curtains" (*portieri*) are an example of this kind of traditional homemade textile. They consist of two skeins of linen, each 30 to 40 cm. wide, that hang by the sides of the window, and a third curtain stretched over the window's upper embrasure. The door curtains are decorated with cross-stitched black and red geometric patterns which express the homeowners' Ukrainian national identity.

In some older peoples' houses, hand-woven woolen "carpets" (*divany*) are used to cover wooden benches and beds. Handmade tablecloths ornamented with an archaic form of woven or interwoven embroidery can also be found in these homes. This technique, in Ukrainian called "rolls" (*kachalki*), is almost completely lost now and only a few older people are capable of this type of embroidery.

Interesting changes have also been introduced to hand-embroidered wall kilims made of wigan. In the 1930s they were decorated with colorful silk thread and raised embroidery. The primary motifs were flowers and animals, especially birds. Now similar wall kilims are found, but embroidered with wool or embroidery floss and double cross-stitched. This double cross-stitching technique is called the "Bulgarian cross."<sup>15</sup> The patterns are those found in contemporary pattern books, or geometrical elements once used to decorate traditional shirts or aprons. The kilims' main color is red, with the addition of black and green. This reversal of the usual trends in the development of embroidery, from the simplest cross-stitched, one-color, and geometric pattern to more technically complicated raised embroidery, usually multicolored and decorated with animal and flower motifs (Guzowska 1933:4,9, tables 90-94), represents a return to an original technique, ornamentation, and coloring in order to more forcefully project the symbol of Ukrainian nationality.

The most characteristic feature of Ukrainian home furnishings are cross-stitched cushion covers (cf. Klymasz 1987). One home may have more than twenty of them. They are also seen in the back windows of cars. Some are made from sleeves of traditional shirts, but others are made of new material. They maintain the same traditional decorative and representative functions as the cushion covers made before World War II, but they are now much smaller, and the embroidery has been moved from the sides to the front, reflecting modern fashions. The covers are displayed in great quantities to prove the homeowner's diligence, but they have now taken on a new national function that they did not have in the Ukrainian villages before resettlement; they distinguish their homes from that of their Polish neighbors.

Unique pieces of folk art have also survived in the homes of Ukrainians living in Poland. These include images of "God's Mother" (Mary), Jesus Christ, and saints, although more rarely, cross-stitched on linen. They are framed behind glass, sometimes with an embroidered Ukrainian inscription found under the saint's figure pleading for God's blessing and care. This art form is still practiced today with the religious pictures being more geometric and self-consciously stylized, whereas the original paintings were more realistic. There are also contemporary pictures consisting exclusively of floral motifs, something not found with the originals. The traditional form and technique are adapted to the requirements of contemporary fashion and a modern philosophy of life.

These home textiles create a specific, Ukrainian atmosphere in the homes. "Sumptuous" ritual linen towels are another distinguishing characteristic of Ukrainian homes, since they are not found in Polish homes (*Ukrainske...* 1955). The design

of the linen towels have changed very little since World War II, probably reflecting the fact that their aesthetic function has remained the same. The only difference that can be perceived is in the colors and patterns of the adornments. These handmade white linen towels are 25-35 cm. wide and about 200 cm. long and they are richly cross-stitched at the two narrow ends. This arrangement of embroidery is related to the continuing aesthetic function of these towels, which are hung loosely over icons so that their ends droop symmetrically or go around an upper and the right-hand corner of the icon. The changes of colors and patterns follow the general trends in contemporary Ukrainian embroidery.

New linen towels are still made primarily for religious purposes. They have lost many of their once extremely important ritual functions, but they are still hung on a cross and carried at the head of a funeral procession, unmistakably denoting the Ukrainian nationality of the deceased.

The cross-stitched "sumptuous" towel also assumes the role of a national symbol for Ukrainian culture. It appears in the role of a national symbol during the performances of folk groups when displayed as part of their songs and dances. It is also used as a prop symbolizing tradition and national identity during wedding ceremonies. Young couples leaving the church pass under towels carried over their heads by two rows of bridal attendants. When used this way at weddings it has taken on a new role adapted from a ritual formerly associated with the military (Wojciechowska 1990:38).

It happens, although seldomly, that a bride and groom want to emphasize their national identity and wear the full Ukrainian folk costume for a church ceremony. They may also add some Ukrainian elements to the usual wedding attire such as cross-stitched parts of a wedding gown, handkerchiefs for wedding witnesses, or an embroidered tie or bow-tie (Czekanowska 1990:152; Wojciechowska 1990:21). These are elements that never appear in Polish wedding ceremonies. The cross-stitched ties worn by men during weddings and other important ceremonies are another example of using this kind of embroidery to distinguish a national group and to express a national identity. It is a completely new form which had no counterpart in traditional culture.

Young boys also wear such ties on holidays, and it is a common custom to wear cross-stitched shirts (Ukrainian *sorochki*) on the day they receive their First Holy Communion. They also wear these shirts to attend wedding ceremonies (Wojciechowska 1990:20). Children's shirts were seldom embroidered before World War I, but after the war and until 1947, children's costumes were decorated in the

same fashion as the adults' clothing. Contemporary children's shirts are made of factory linen which is too thin for cross-stitches. Hence the new shirts are decorated with skeins of embroidery removed from old shirts and sewn on to the wristbands, breasts, and stand-up collars.

In these cases a new national function for the costumes worn at weddings and First Holy Communion have been added to their former ritual functions. Archaization has been consciously employed here, as in the case of new shirts with "typically Ukrainian" mandarin collars (sic!), even though this fashion was not used in Ukrainian villages before resettlement (Bogatyrev 1979:167; Udziela 1934:22).

Orthodox or Uniate Church affiliation also serves as characteristic associated with Ukrainianness since the Polish neighbors are Catholic. Emphasizing the national elements in a church's interior decorations is one way of underscoring their Ukrainian national identification (Jeđruch 1990:169). This function is fulfilled by cross-stitched canonicals, church flags, pictures of saints, and complete sets of church napery, "sumptuous" towels, and other embroidered adornments. Such objects are made following ancient, traditional techniques, although the patterns and colors are influenced by the contemporary trends in Ukrainian embroidery.

The great variety and inventiveness in the way the old forms are adapted to the requirements of contemporary fashion show that Ukrainians in Poland have tried to preserve and even further develop some elements of traditional costume and textiles, especially cross-stitched embroidery. It is clearly linked to their need to display their national identity. The change of the original practical, aesthetic, or ritual functions of many objects to symbolic manifestation of Ukrainian national identity is very important. Changes in techniques, ornaments, and coloring of traditional embroidery to make them more similar to central Ukraine embroidery reveal strong emotional ties with their "ideological motherland" (Ossowski 1967) and reveal a decline in identity of a specific village or locale which is replaced by a renewed emphasis on a homogenous Ukrainian national identity.

## **Conclusion**

I have described changes in functions of traditional Ukrainian textiles that have occurred since the Ukrainians' obligatory resettlement in 1947. The decline of traditional clothing was followed by functional changes of some elements of the

costumes. The changes occurred in order to update and in this way maintain those elements of the costumes which were the most important for the "Ukrainianess" of the costumes as perceived by the wearers. Among those elements the most important are objects decorated with cross-stitched embroidery and costumes used by amateur folklore groups (often consisting of authentic parts of original pre-war costumes). They took on a new, vital function, that of representing the culture of the Ukrainian minority in Poland and they now serve primarily as symbols of this minority's national self-awareness.

Completely new forms were also created such as cross-stitched men's ties and small tablecloths. In the religious sphere, cross-stitch embroidered shirts as a Holy Communion Day costume, and the passage of newly-wed couples under ritual "sumptuous" towels are other examples of new forms of traditional Ukrainian textile art which were unknown in the traditional culture. They were "invented" to stress the national affiliation of their owners.

The national function of Ukrainian costume and textiles has gained importance since their post-World War II resettlement. The role of traditional clothes and textiles proudly reflecting their "Ukrainianess" supplanted the previous practical, aesthetic, socio-economic, religious or region-identifying functions of the original clothing and textiles. The need to display their Ukrainian national identity while being dispersed throughout Poland in the post-war years helped to preserve some of these ancient folk arts, and the need of the Ukrainians to maintain an identity which distinguished them from the Poles.

## Notes

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1. Some authors claim that there were only 650,000 to 700,000 Ukrainians in Poland just after World War II (A. Olszański 1994:227).
2. I obtained these numbers by totaling the number of people who declared themselves to be "Ukrainians" (about 3.2 million according to the *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny*) and those who stated that they are "Ruthenians" (about 1.2 million), plus about 100,000 peasants who defined themselves as "local inhabitants" whose expressions of national identity were obviously vague, but whose culture was very close to Ukrainian.
3. The situation of Ukrainians was not exceptional. A similar "assimilatory policy" was applied towards all non-Polish ethnic or national groups.
4. Jaworzno was a harsh camp for Ukrainians suspected of UPA sympathies. It existed from 1945 until 1947 and more than four thousand Ukrainians were held as prisoners, of whom around three hundred died (Misiło 1990, Olszański 1994:238).
5. The Society changed its name to Association of Ukrainians in Poland (*Obiednanie Ukrainciv v Polshchi - OUP*) in 1990.
6. Olszański (1994:245) and Podlaski (1990:79-82) describe the very difficult situation of the Uniate Church in Poland. The fact that an Atlas of Creeds in Poland, published in 1989, does not mention the Uniate Church is revealing.
7. My respondents often noted that: "In our village women were dressed so beautifully! In others it was not like that."
8. Some women I talked to remembered that a girl who had wanted to have an especially beautiful costume had to do so much embroidering that "her fingers tips were bleeding."

9. Blue and yellow are the Ukrainian national colors and are the two colors of the Ukrainian national flag.
10. The falcon is known as a symbol of Ukraine, especially an independent and free Ukraine.
11. The Festival is one of the most important Ukrainian cultural events in Poland.
12. This group took its name from the Cheremosh River, which flows in Ukraine (cf. R. Reinfuss 1936:1).
13. Local authorities at Ziemie Odzyskane organized special meetings before the arrival of the Ukrainians and warned other colonists that "bandits from UPA" are coming (Hołda and Litwiniuk 1957).
14. Quotation marks are used to note that the idea of "Ukraine" does not signify the same territorial space for all respondents in the study.
15. In addition to kilims, old embroidered aprons are sometimes hung on the walls as objects of decorative art.

## Abbreviations For Polish Language Publishers:

PIW - Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy  
OSSOLINEUM - Zakład Narodowy Im. Ossolińskich  
KAW - Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza  
PWN - Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe  
UW - Uniwersytet Warszawski  
PTL - Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze

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