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PILGRIMAGE PALIMPSESTS

Storytelling and Intersubjectivity
Across Multiple Shrines, Sites, and Routes

ARTICLES

- Simon Coleman / On the Productivity of Pilgrimage Palimpsests: Traces and Translocations in an Expanding Field
- Marc Roscoe Loustau and Kate DeConinck / Editors' Introduction
- Michael Agnew / "This is a glimpse of Paradise": Encountering Lourdes Through Serial and Multisited Pilgrimage
- Iuliia Buyskykh / In Pursuit of Healing and Memories: Cross-Border Ukrainian Pilgrimage to a Polish Shrine
- Marc Roscoe Loustau / Substituting Stories: Narrative Arcs and Pilgrimage Material Culture Between Lourdes and Csíksomlyó
- Kate DeConinck / Traversing Mass Tragedies: Material Religion Between the 9/11 and Newtown Memorials

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In Pursuit of Healing and Memories: Cross-Border Ukrainian Pilgrimage to a Polish Shrine

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INTRODUCTION

This article is based on my ethnographic fieldwork in Eastern Poland, a region of Subcarpathia, in 2015–18.¹ While conducting my research on a set of religious practices and pilgrimages in confessionally and ethnically mixed localities (including both rural areas and the city of Przemyśl), I faced many challenges that changed the main course of my initial research, pushing me to focus on the collective memory of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the area and the impact religion makes on it.² The past seemed to be highly palpable in the everyday life of my interlocutors, regardless of their ethnic identity or religious denomination. Moreover, their cultural practices, both commemorative and religious, were all about sanctifying the past. As Juraj Buzalka persuasively showed in his research, both the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Catholic Church have played a huge role both in creating shared memory concerning Polish-Ukrainian history in the area of Przemyśl, as well as in constructing relations between the Polish majority and the Ukrainian minority.³ The latter turned out to be the key point for understanding current neighborly relations in the area.

The location I will focus on in this paper is a Roman Catholic pilgrimage site known as Kalwaria Pałacowska, which consists of the Sanctuary of the Lord's Calvary and the Calvary Holy Mother of God, and a Franciscan monastery. It is located in the Carpathian Uplands, nearly 25 km from Przemyśl and very close to the

- 1 This research was conducted with a grant from the Polish National Research Centre under the framework of program OPUS 6 "Wielozmyslowe imaginaria religijne w wybranych sanktuariach katolickich południowo-wschodniej Polski" number UMO-2013/11/B/HS3/01443 (principal investigator, Dr. Magdalena Lubańska), while the work on this article became possible under the scholarship "Prisma-Ukraina – Research Network Eastern Europe," given me by Forum Transregionale Studien, Berlin (10.10.2017–10.01.2018). I feel the warmest gratitude toward Bogdan Podgórný, Bogdan Bilyii, and Jerzy and Jolanta Solski for their constant help and support during my fieldwork. I also express gratitude to Dr. Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska. Our mutual fieldwork in 2015–17 on Kalwaria Pałacowska resulted in friendship, and our conversations about shared ideas accompanied me while writing this article.
- 2 Iuliia Buyskykh, "Pomiędzy pamięcią a granicą: Ukraińska pielgrzymka na Kalwarię Pałacowską [Between memory and border: Ukrainian pilgrimage on Kalwaria Pałacowska]," *Etnografia Polska* 60 (2016): 43–62. Iuliia Buyskykh, "Forgive, Forget or Feign: 'Everyday Diplomacy' in Local Communities of Polish Subcarpathia," *Journal of Global Catholicism* 2, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 56–86.
- 3 Juraj Buzalka, *Nation and Religion. The Politics of Commemorations in South-East Poland* (Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia Bd., Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2007).

An evening Mass celebrated during the Assumption of Mary feast outside the main Roman Catholic cathedral at Kalwaria Pałacowska. August 11, 2017. Photo: Iuliia Buyskykh

Polish-Ukrainian state border. Two small villages within five minutes' walk neighbor the shrine: Kalwaria Pałacowska and Pałaców. I conducted fieldwork there and in a number of surrounding dwellings in August 2015, April 2017, and April 2018. Twice, in August 2016 and August 2017, I personally took part in a cross-border foot pilgrimage from Lviv, Ukraine, to this shrine. Without that experience, I doubt I could have reached the emic perspective of the pilgrims and interpreted their particular practice of religious mobility. The pilgrimage from Ukraine is organized by the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine and consists of Ukrainian citizens of Ukrainian and Polish origin. The majority of the pilgrims are Roman Catholics, but there is a certain number of Greek Catholics, and a few are Orthodox followers. The target group of my research is the Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims, whose motivations and intentions to engage in the cross-border pilgrimage from Ukraine to the Roman Catholic shrine in Poland are of a particular interest when considering an interactive nexus of religion, memory, and the pilgrims' sense of belonging. Taking as a main core the idea of pilgrimage as a palimpsest, this article aims to describe and consider the multilayered nature of Greek Catholics and

Orthodox believers' itinerancy, performed in the context of a broader Roman Catholic pilgrimage, and its emic meaning to the pilgrims. The analysis of the concrete local case enable me to show how and to what extent theoretical modes apply on the empirical level, and offers a specific perspective on the general issue of the encounters between pilgrimages, modes of religiosity, memories, and identities.

A substantial and vibrant discussion exists in the anthropology of religion about competing discourses, intersecting religioscapes, and shared sacred spaces.⁴ This discussion has revealed how various meanings, practices, expressions, and discourses are negotiated, rejected, or acknowledged within their relations with religious institutions and various social actors. The approach to pilgrimage as a palimpsest can broaden the research perspective of mobile religiosities and reconsider the interactions between religious motivations, sacred sites, memories, experiences, and storytelling through space and time. In my research case, the territories of two neighboring villages inhabited now by Roman Catholic Poles—Kalwaria Paławska and Paław—have not been shared ethnic and religious spaces since 1947. Therefore, the Franciscan monastery with the pilgrimage site cannot be considered a “classic” shared sacred space where differences are negotiated, as framed by Robert W. Hayden.⁵ At the same time, the site itself serves as an example of multiple

4 John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, "Introduction," in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, ed. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (London: Routledge, 1991), 1–29. Glenn Bowman, "Comment on Robert Hayden's 'Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans,'" *Current Anthropology* 43, no. 2 (2002): 219–20. Glenn Bowman, "Orthodox-Muslim Interactions at 'Mixed Shrines' in Macedonia," in *Eastern Christians in Anthropological Perspective*, ed. Chris Hann and Hermann Goltz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 163–83. Robert M. Hayden, "Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans," *Current Anthropology* 43, no. 2 (2002): 205–31. Robert M. Hayden and Timothy Walker, "Intersecting Religioscapes: A Comparative Approach to Trajectories of Change, Scale, and Competitive Sharing of Religious Spaces," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 81, no. 2 (2013): 399–426. David Henig, "This is Our Little Hajj': Muslim Holy Sites and Reappropriation of the Sacred Landscape in Contemporary Bosnia," *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 4 (2012): 751–65. David Henig, "Contested Choreographies of Sacred Spaces in Muslim Bosnia," in *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites: Religion and Conflict Resolution*, ed. Elazar Barkan and Karen Barkey (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 130–60. Magdalena Lubanska, *Muslims and Christians in the Bulgarian Rhodopes. Studies on Religious (Anti)Syncretism* (Warsaw/Berlin: De Gruyter Open Ltd, 2015).

5 Hayden, "Antagonistic Tolerance."

representations of the pilgrimages featured in this location.⁶ Despite the Roman Catholic homogeneity of Kalwaria Pałacowska, a small group of Greek Catholics and Orthodox pilgrims, who perceive themselves as “guests,” find their own religious aspirations there, enriching the site with their own meanings. Consequently, the idea of “guesthood” seems to be quite a promising contribution in the general discussion about the way multiple pilgrimages share one site.

The very location of the pilgrimage site with its proximity to the border is of essential importance in the interpretation of the religious phenomena currently observed there. Speaking about the place, 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, and remembering is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past.”⁷ Relying on this interpretation, the terrain where Kalwaria Pałacowska is situated can be perceived as a landscape of contested memories about interwar neighborhoods of Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews; the World War II (WWII) period; and its aftermath. The changes in population and landscape have decisively shaped contemporary life at Kalwaria Pałacowska, especially the ways contradictory Polish-Ukrainian memories and stereotypical views of each other emerge at the shrine. Hence, a brief historical survey related to the area will follow.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

I will set the historical background to contextualize the phenomenon of multiple pilgrimages to the site of Kalwaria Pałacowska, highlighting a set of key issues that are crucial for understanding the religious dynamics in the region. The phenomenon of multiple pilgrimages featured in this borderland area can be captured only through understanding the historical background of interdenominational

6 Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, “Communitas vs. Pilgrim’s Intentions: Types of Participation in Pilgrimage; Great Feast of Assumption of Virgin Mary in Kalwaria Pałacowska,” *Etnografia Polska*, 52, no. 1-2 (2008): 137–54. Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, “Natura Sanat: On Ecological Aspects of Healing Miracles in Kalwaria Pałacowska, Poland,” *Journal of Global Catholicism* 2, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 26–54. Buyskykh, “Pomiędzy pamięcią,” 2016.

7 Tim Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape,” *World Archaeology, Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society* 25, no. 2 (1993): 152–73.

relationships on this terrain. Today Kalwaria Pałacowska is entirely a Roman Catholic site, and the surrounding rural area is inhabited mostly by Roman Catholic Poles. However, before WWII, this area was far more diverse, characterized by Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, and Germans.⁸ Since the late nineteenth century, both Roman and Greek Catholic pilgrims saw the hill of Kalwaria Pałacowska as an important pilgrimage site.⁹ Before WWII, Kalwaria was a shared sacred space, as local Poles describe it now, “the mountain of two rites,” the Eastern and the Western. The nearest villages were inhabited in majority by Greek Catholics—mainly Ukrainians—and the Franciscan monastery was surrounded by Greek Catholic churches and chapels. As Rev. Barcik indicated, three Greek Catholic parishes existed on the territory of the Roman Catholic parish of Kalwaria Pałacowska at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁰

The Greek Catholic believers took part in a number of solemn services and especially in the Great Fair Day celebration (*odpust* in Polish, *eidnycm* in Ukrainian) in the Franciscan Roman Catholic Cathedral together with Roman Catholic believers. My respondents—Polish locals, between the ages of 67 and 80—told me that up until the end of the nineteenth century, Greek-Catholic clergy had permission to perform Masses for their parishioners in this cathedral. For a long time, the vast place of pilgrimage (with stations, chapels, and pilgrimage routes) was shared by

- 8 Buzalka, *Nation and Religion*. Olga Linkiewicz, *Lokalność i nacjonalizm. Społeczności wiejskie w Galicji Wschodniej w dwudziestolecie międzywojennym* [Localness and nationalism: Rural communities in interwar Eastern Galicia] (Kraków: Universitas, 2018). Magdalena Zowczak, “Anthropologia, historia a sprawa ukraińska. O taktyce pogranicza [Anthropology, History and the Ukrainian Question. About the Tactics of the Borderland],” *Lud* 95 (2011): 45–66. It is important to note that the strictly defined ethnic categories of “Poles” and “Ukrainians” in terms of everyday life in local rural communities of Austrian-Hungarian Galicia were quite blurred and flexible, and, generally speaking, the process of formation of ethnic identities has not been completed. See Tomasz Kosiek, “Polacy i Żydzi Bieszczadów i Pogórza Przemyskiego w narracjach biograficznych osób wysiedlonych w Akcji ‘Wisła.’ Raport z badań [Poles and Jews from the Bieszczady and Pogórze Przemyskie in the biographical narratives of people displaced in the Operation Vistula: Research report]” *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Etnograficzne* 44, no. 1 (2016): 40. Agnieszka Pasieka, “Neighbors: About the Multiculturalization of the Polish Past,” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 28, no. 1 (2014): 225–51.
- 9 Buzalka, *Nation and Religion*, 186; Daniel Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* [Polish religious culture at the turn of the XIX and XX centuries] (Warszawa: PAX, 1996), 183
- 10 Józef S. Barcik, OFM, “Kalwaria Pałacowska – obrządek łaciński i greckokatolicki [Kalwaria Pałacowska – Latin and Greek Catholic rite],” *Peregrinus Cracoviensis* 1 (1995): 89.

Greek Catholics and Roman Catholics. Rev. Barcik, referring to the Franciscan monastery's archive on Kalwaria Pałacowska, noted that the Greek Catholic Blessed Sacrament had been preserved in the Roman Catholic Cathedral for years.¹¹

The situation started changing in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic high clergy began to struggle over attracting and retaining parishioners. There was a complicated process that occurred between the middle of the 1860s through the beginning of the 1880s, when the majority of the Greek Catholic inhabitants of the nearest village, Pałaców, changed their denomination to Roman Catholicism and became the parishioners of the Franciscans' cathedral in Kalwaria Pałacowska.¹²

In response, in the late 1860s the Greek Catholic clergy began to develop their own pilgrimage place near the church in Pałaców and in Nowosiółki Dydyńskie, a village under the Kalwaria Pałacowska hill. They got official permission from the Vatican in 1868 for their own pilgrimage place and celebration of five Great Fair Days. Despite the differences between the Julian and Gregorian calendars, these Greek Catholic feasts together with the pilgrimages were celebrated quite close to the time of the Roman Catholic feasts, especially those connected with the Marian cult.¹³ Hence, a serious rivalry between Roman Catholic clergy and Greek Catholic clergy began as they competed for the parishioners, pilgrims, and pilgrimage routes at Kalwaria Pałacowska started. The competing discourses were reflected in the landscape, which became enriched by Greek Catholic churches and chapels, different in their architectural shapes from the Roman Catholic. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a new masonry church began to be built in Pałaców, and in 1913, it was consecrated as the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God. The last Greek Catholic priest in Kalwaria Pałacowska and Pałaców, Josyp Marynowicz, contributed significantly to the development of the separate Greek Catholic Holy Calvary and the Way of the Cross with their chapels.¹⁴ As part of

11 Barcik, "Kalwaria Pałacowska," 89.

12 M. Gosztyła and B. Motyl, "Badania nad budownictwem domów drewnianych Pałacowa i okolic (powiat przemyski) [Research on timber house construction in Pałaców and its area (Przemyśl county)]," *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie* 31: 47. Barcik, "Kalwaria Pałacowska," 90–91.

13 Barcik, "Kalwaria Pałacowska," 90–91.

14 Józef S. Barcik, OFM Conv. *Kalwaria Pałacowska* (Warszawa: AK, 1985), 127.

those renovations, the old wooden Greek Catholic church in Paclaw was rebuilt 1921–23, and new masonry chapels were erected in 1936.¹⁵ Thus, from the middle of the nineteenth century through the beginning of the twentieth century, the site of Kalwaria Paclawska became a multilayered sacred space, characterized by the co-existence of two denominations, and therefore, two Marian cults and pilgrimages.¹⁶

The rivalry between Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic clergy in Kalwaria Paclawska occurred during dramatic historical events such as World War I (WWI), the fall of Austro-Hungarian empire, the return of Poland's independence in 1918, and the government of the Second Republic of Poland's oppression of its Ukrainian citizens, which resulted in ethnic conflicts that made victims of both ethnicities. Despite the fact that the memory of WWI and the Polish-Ukrainian War of 1918–19 remains palpable in Przemyśl and continues to influence the cultural landscape through memorials related to both sides of the conflict, the most crucial reference point for multiple memories and mutual stereotypes between Ukrainians and Poles is WWII and its aftermath. It was a time when both Polish and Ukrainian underground forces were active in the region.¹⁷

Because of postwar international agreements that constructed the border between the USSR and communist Poland, and forcible resettlements that took place 1944–46, most of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox inhabitants of the area, all of whom identified as Ukrainian, were displaced to the Soviet Ukraine. The rest were resettled to the lands gained by Poland after WWII—that is, the northern and western part of the current country—according to the framework of Operation “Vistula” in 1947. The Greek Catholic priest Josyp Marynowicz was arrested by NKVD in 1946, and all local Greek Catholic sacred sites in Kalwaria Paclawska,

15 Barcik, *Kalwaria Paclawska*, 125–6.

16 From the theological perspective and institutional level, the Roman Catholic Church and Greek Catholic Church is one Church with two branches (western and eastern) under the jurisdiction of the Vatican.

17 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 (March 2014): 242–68. Buzalka, *Nation and Religion*, 39–41. Grzegorz Motyka, *Od rzezi wołyńskiej do akcji Wisła. Konflikt polsko-ukraiński 1943–1947* [From the Volhynia Massacre to the Operation “Vistula”: Polish-Ukrainian conflict 1943–1947] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2011).

including the masonry church, were destroyed in the early 1950s.¹⁸ Greek Catholic structures in communist Poland were liquidated; the churches were ruined or, at best, given to Roman Catholic institutions or later to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Those resettlements turned Subcarpathia into an almost homogeneously Polish and Roman Catholic area. However, under the surface of this homogeneity, there is a bricolage of contradictory memories and religious expressions, meanings, and movements animated by past. Those aspects are revealing themselves layer by layer through anthropological research on current relationships between the Roman Catholic majority and the minorities—Greek Catholic and Orthodox—in Subcarpathia.

In the late 1950s, Ukrainians began to return to their homeland from the western and northern regions of Poland. Both state and local authorities encouraged the Greek Catholic believers who were coming back to attend the newly created Orthodox parishes in Subcarpathia to prevent a grassroots creation of Greek Catholic ones.¹⁹ None of the former Ukrainian inhabitants of Kalwaria Pałacowska, Pałaców, and neighboring dwellings came back to their home villages, but a small number of people from the area settled in and around Przemyśl. The Ukrainians who were resettled to the Soviet Ukraine had no opportunity to come back. Their descendants were able to cross the state border only after the collapse of the USSR and communist regime in Poland. Thus, their involvement in pilgrimages became one of the few means to visit the land of their ancestors. This movement, in turn, contributed to the humble but still palpable revival of the multilayered palimpsestic nature of the pilgrimage site in Kalwaria Pałacowska.

THE REALM OF MEMORY: THE ABSENT GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH ON KALWARIA PAŁACOWSKA

Every year on August 15th, people went on a pilgrimage to Kalwaria Pałacowska to pray for the forgiveness of their sins and ask for entry into the Kingdom of Heaven. Kalwaria was located 7–8 km northeast from our village of Jamna.

18 Buyskykh, "Pomiędzy pamięcią," 48. NKVD was the Soviet secret police and precursor to the KGB.

19 Eliza Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość. Rzymskokatolickie, greckokatolickie i prawosławne wspólnoty w południowo-wschodniej Polsce* [Memory and identity: Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Orthodox communities in South-East Poland] (Kraków: NOMOS, 2014), 103.

There was a masonry church and twelve chapels nearby. People were praying in them, going to confession, giving their offerings during the Masses. In addition, there was always something to see and to buy at Kalwaria, because during the Great Fair large markets were organized.... A day before the Great Fair, many people from the mountains wandered through the village of Jamna. They took a long way from Sanok, Lesko, and from the Lemko region. Everyone walked on foot. The groups often included hundreds of people.²⁰

This is the way Josyp Svyenko, a former inhabitant of Subcarpathia, describes his memoirs of the pilgrimages to the Greek Catholic Church on Kalwaria Paclawska, performed in the interwar period by Greek Catholic believers from two neighboring villages of Jamna that haven't existed since 1947.²¹ The image of Kalwaria Paclawska as the "lost Calvary of Greek Catholics" could be found in a number of memoirs published by Ukrainian authors, the descendants of those Greek Catholics who inhabited Subcarpathia before WWII and were forcibly evicted from it during 1944–46.²²

In turn, my fieldwork revealed that the Greek Catholic church, being absent physically, existed in the memories of several groups: the Polish Roman Catholic local inhabitants of Paclaw and Kalwaria Paclawska, the Greek Catholic Ukrainian minority in Przemyśl, and the Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims from Ukraine. The majority of local Poles, being children at the time, remembered the pilgrimages to the Greek Catholic site near the Franciscan monastery as coming from the whole of Subcarpathia, including the present-day territory of Ukraine:

There on the slope, pilgrimages were held, people were gathering with a guide. And Ukrainians were singing their "*Hospody pomylu!*"; they went then through

20 Йосип Свинко, Ямна: знищене село Перемишльського краю (історія, спогади), Серія: Моє село, Вип. 4, *Тернопіль*, 2005. [Josyp Svyenko, Yamna: The Destroyed Village of Peremyshl Area (History, Memories), Series: Moje Selo, Issue 4, *Ternopil*, 2005], 62-3. From this point onward, all translations from Polish and Ukrainian (both quotations from published sources and from the interviews) into English are mine.

21 Josyp Svyenko wrote that his family from both villages was forcibly displaced to the Soviet Ukraine in 1945.

22 Білий, Богдан 1992. Кальварія Пацлавська, in *Перемишльські дзвони*, № 7-8, 1992: 16 [Bohdan Bilyi, "Kalwaria Paclavs'ka," in *Peremys'ki Dzvony*, 7-8 (1992): 16].

the pilgrimage's paths.... There were fourteen crosses on the slope and wooden chapels with the stations of Jesus Christ near them. Near every chapel, the liturgies were held, and Ukrainians were singing "Hospody pomyluj." The latter I remember the best. It was the last time in German times [during the Nazi occupation] when the pilgrimages consisting of Ukrainians came to that church (Female, Pole, born in 1937, Kalwaria Paławska, August 2015).²³

The majority of my Polish interlocutors had memories about the place where the church stood, its interior, and the solemn services held during the pilgrimages in the period of the Great Fair:

Initially [the church] was down there. It was wooden. And later, the wooden one was still standing down the hill, but they [Greek Catholics] built a magnificent masonry church. Even I, being a little boy, saw and still remember how their chaplain celebrated the Mass on the Ambo. And then there came the fifties, the communists started to govern, and this church was simply demolished. It was so beautiful.... My mother remembered it better. The Great Fair was held here most likely at the same time—theirs, Greek Catholic, and ours, Roman Catholic (Male, Pole, born in 1940, Paław, August 2015).

According to the narratives of the inhabitants of Kalwaria Paławska, the brick-and-mortar Greek Catholic church between Kalwaria Paławska and Paław was destroyed between 1955 and 1957 while the wooden chapels were ruined previously, at the end of the war. The local inhabitants of the abovementioned villages told me that the church was robbed and demolished by the soldiers of the communist Polish People's Army. Some of the Polish locals even built several houses from the church bricks, but the majority of my Polish interlocutors condemned the demolishing of the church.²⁴ It seems that the Greek Catholic church and its chapels were a natural part of the local landscape, in the space of which two communities coexisted: Poles (Roman Catholics) and Ukrainians (Greek Catholics). Moreover, for the oldest local Polish inhabitants, the church belonged to the memories of

23 "Hospody pomyluj" (*Господу помилуй* in Ukrainian; *Kyrie eleyson* in Greek) means "Lord have mercy."

24 Buyskykh, "Pomiędzy pamięcią," 46.

their childhood, to the imagined landscape of the mythologized community of good neighbors that had gone forever.

I consider it important to trace the fate of the Greek Catholics' sacred place on Kalwaria Paławska during the communist period to reveal whether the site somehow preserved its shared palimpsestic structure. I was searching for whether there were any witnesses in the Ukrainians who came back to their homeland after the Operation "Vistula" and were presumably worshipping in the place where the church existed. Some Polish authors would only briefly mention that the "masonry church was dismantled around 1955 for restoration of the houses that suffered from fire on Kalwaria" that "the brick-and-mortar church and the elements of the Calvary were dismantled in the 1950s," or that "after the war, the church was destroyed" and "church buildings don't exist anymore."²⁵ Despite the fact that the sacral status of Kalwaria Paławska was preserved in the communist times, and the pilgrimages to the Roman Catholic Franciscan monastery were held every year, I found nothing about the presence of Greek Catholics at the site. The only source that provides us with a description of the place where the church remnants remained after the structure was demolished is the diary of a former partisan of the Ukrainian underground, Omelian Płeczeń. His memories are quite important because he described the ruins of the Greek Catholic church near the Franciscan monastery, as well as the Ukrainian pilgrims who came to the ruins in 1956:

On August 15, I went to Kalwaria, near Dobromil, not far from the Polish-Soviet border. In Dynów I joined the group of Polish pilgrims to avoid wandering alone. A multitude of people came to Kalwaria.... I was alone in this crowd of pilgrims and felt overwhelmed. Suddenly I heard something familiar. Blindly, I went through the crowd in the direction of the song: "Sail the worlds, song of love." Women were singing in a small procession with an embroidered image of Our Lady on the banner and the Ukrainian inscription "Lubachiv." I was deeply touched and felt tears of emotion. I joined, singing loudly. The procession was held to the ruins of the Ukrainian church on the hill.... Pilgrims knelt

25 Barcik, "Kalwaria Paławska," 94, Gosztyla and Motyl, "Badania nad budownictwem," 47. Kusal Paweł, *Zapomniane Bieszczady* [*Forgotten Bieszczady*] (Krosno: Ruthenus, 2014), 150.

down in front of the ruins and began praying.²⁶

In the same year, Jan Lewiarz, an Orthodox priest and a chaplain from Zimna Woda (*Wrocław voivodeship*), came to Subcarpathia to observe the situation with the former Greek Catholic churches, chapels, parishes, and former parishioners who escaped the resettlements of 1944–46 and Operation “Vistula” in 1947.²⁷ As Bogdan Huk discovered, Jan Lewiarz wrote a report to the Orthodox metropolitan Polish Autocephalous Church, in which he noted the churches, which were ruined or transformed into archives, schools, or stores; the condition of the parishes; and the fear of those former parishioners, who had avoided the resettlements and were afraid to tell him about their Ukrainian origin and their belonging to Greek Catholicism. While in Przemyśl, Jan Lewiarz learned that a masonry church in Kalwaria Pałacowska was demolished. He noted his disappointment in the report, stressing that he intended to seek permission to hold a Mass in that church, which would enable him to know the number of Ukrainians in the area. However, the church was ruined, and only an old little chapel was still preserved.²⁸

The other source fell into my hands when I was in the field. An elder man, a Ukrainian from Przemyśl who was quite concerned about places of memory for Greek Catholics in Subcarpathia, gifted me a book in Ukrainian, printed in Lviv, titled *Paclavs'ka Kalvarija* and dedicated “to all Ukrainians forcibly evicted from their homeland.”²⁹ The book is based on the oral stories of Greek Catholic Ukrainians who were resettled from Subcarpathia in Poland to the Soviet Ukraine. According to their memories, the first pilgrimage from Lvivska oblast of the Soviet Ukraine to the place where the Greek Catholic church existed on Kalwaria Pałacowska, was organized as a touristic voyage in 1986, but it didn’t transform into an annual journey.³⁰

26 Omelian Pleczeń, *9 lat w bunkrze. Wspomnienia żołnierza UPA* [Nine years in Bunker. Memories of the UPA Soldier], trans. Mirosława Kawecka (TAKT: Lublin, 1991), 172-3.

27 Bogdan Huk, ed. *Źródła do dziejów Ukraińskiej Cerkwi Greckokatolickiej w Polsce w latach 1944–1989* [Sources for the history of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Poland in 1944–1989] (Przemyśl: Archidiecezja Przemysko-Warszawska Ukraińskiej Cerkwi Greckokatolickiej, 2007), 199-202.

28 Huk, *Źródła do dziejów*, 199.

29 Василь Гірний, *Пацлавська Кальварія. Релігійне видавництво «Добра книжка»*. Львів. [Vasyl Hirnyj, *The Calvary of Paclav, Relihiijne vydavnytstvo "Dobra knyzhka"*] (Lviv, 2004).

30 Гірний, *Пацлавська Кальварія*, 4.

Relying on all the above mentioned testimony, I can assume that during the communist period there were single and occasional rare cases of pilgrimages to the site of the demolished church with the participation of Ukrainians still living in Eastern Poland, but it didn't turn into a pilgrimage movement. Thus, the multilayered nature of Kalwaria Pałacowska as a shared sacred space was lost, alive only in memories as a part of an imagined landscape rooted in prewar coexistence. Nowadays the place where the Greek Catholic church stood before its destruction is private farmland that has a lengthy slope where the remnants of the church foundation still can be seen. During the Assumption of Mary holiday, this terrain is used by the pilgrims from Poland, who situate their tents and trailers near the very foundation without any knowledge about the history of this place.³¹ During my initial fieldwork in 2015, my attention was attracted by a cross, which stood on the foundation's remnants. That was the starting point of my explorations in an attempt to discover the interconfessional palimpsest of the shrine, which was hidden under its current external homogeneity.

As I was told by a Ukrainian from Przemyśl who was deeply engaged in taking care of old abandoned Greek Catholic sites in the region of Subcarpathia, the story of erecting the memorial cross at that place started nearly twenty years ago. A group of Ukrainians from Przemyśl—the descendants of those Greek Catholics who were resettled under Operation “Vistula”—approached the local government and the Prior of the Franciscan Monastery in Kalwaria Pałacowska to ask for permission to build a chapel on the place where the Greek Catholic church had once stood. Their appeal was supported by the request of another group of Ukrainians—descendants of those resettled from the area to the USSR in 1944–46 and living now in Mostys'ka, a border town in Lvivska oblast, Ukraine. I was told the story of this collective appeal in various interpretations several times in Przemyśl and surrounding villages during my conversations with local Ukrainians. Due to this collective narrative, I learned that despite long-term negotiations with Roman Catholic high clergy both in Przemyśl and in Kalwaria Pałacowska, local government structures, and the current owner of the private farmland, the Greek Catholics were not

31 Buyskykh, “Pomiędzy pamięcią,” 58.

allowed to build a chapel on the slope. However, the owner of this slope allowed them privately to put a cross on the remnants of the church's foundation and perform their solemn services near the cross. However, this cross is not an officially registered monument, and the Ukrainian minority of Subcarpathia has no official right to use the terrain where it stands or to build anything else there. Thus, the small group of Greek Catholics from Przemyśl are still looking for an official way to put up a marker with the information about the former Greek Catholic shrine that existed here before the postwar resettlements.

The disadvantage of my research on this issue is the partial absence of the voices from the “other” side, mainly clergy from the Franciscan monastery.³² However, in April 2017, I was able to talk to the owner of the property that held the remnants of church. He seemed to be frightened and told me that his mother's relatives suffered from the Ukrainian partisans in 1944. That was the main reason why he was not happy I was conducting research in the area and asking about the demolition of the church. With great emotion, he told me that his father had nothing to do with the destruction of the church, and he didn't even own the slope at that time. However, various hints gathered through conversations with the other villagers stressed that the father of that man was among those persons who took the church's bricks for building purposes. Unintentionally, I happened to serve as a trigger, drawing out controversies and conflicting opinions in the community.³³ At the same time, those circumstances were exactly what provided me with a rich supply of empirical data, quite important for understanding the role of the nonexistent Greek Catholic church as a locus of local contradictory memories, reflected in the landscape.

Despite the external homogeneity of the current sacral landscape in Kalwaria Pałacowska, the imagined landscape plays an essential role in understanding the multilayered palimpsestic nature of the site. In using this description, I mean that the landscape is based on memories of local Polish inhabitants about the site of the shared structure where both Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic shrines coexisted during a time when two communities, Polish and Ukrainian, were neighbors.

32 See Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, “Stereotypes in the Service of Anthropological Inquiry: Pilgrims from Ukraine in the Kalwaria Pałacowska Sanctuary,” *Etnologia Polona* 38 (2018): 89–106.

33 Buyskykh, “Forgive, Forget.”

This vision of the past landscape coincides somehow with the imagined landscape existing in the memories of Ukrainians—both Greek Catholics living in Przemyśl, and the few Greek Catholics and Orthodox pilgrims from Ukraine who traveled to the area where their ancestors lived before WWII, as part of a pilgrimage organized by the Ukrainian Roman Catholic Church. Those imagined landscapes became palpable for me through the memories articulated by my interlocutors, who belonged to various groups, through conversations and observations of people's behaviors, including their religious expressions.

THROUGH THE BORDER: SEEKING ROOTS AND HEALING

A pilgrimage from Ukraine to Kalwaria Pałacowska took place in August 1991, the first time since the collapse of the USSR. Since 2000, the Franciscans from St. Anthony's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Lviv have organized this pilgrimage, which is officially called *The Pilgrimage of the Archdiocese of Lviv to Kalwaria Pałacowska*.³⁴ It is held during the great Roman Catholic holiday, the Feast of the Assumption of Mary.

The pilgrimage from Ukraine to Kalwaria Pałacowska is composed of two groups: the Lviv group, which encompasses parishioners of various Roman Catholic parishes from Lvivska, Ternopil'ska, Khmelnytska oblasts, and even from Kyiv'ska oblast, Ukraine; and the Mostys'ka group, which consists mainly of Roman Catholics from Mostys'ka and other border towns and villages in Lviv'ska oblast. In 2015 when I began my initial fieldwork, only about 350 pilgrims took part in the pilgrimage, and in 2017, they numbered less than 300. Greek Catholic and Orthodox believers were dispersed through both parts of the pilgrimage, never joining as one common group either during the two-days way or during the general pilgrimage program in Kalwaria Pałacowska. The reason why some people don't have enough motivation to engage in the pilgrimage is related to both the bureaucratic and physical difficulties of the cross-border journey. Although, my interlocutors told me that going through this exhausting journey, an average person goes through a kind of "purgatory," followed by the higher goal, which is to go through the entire

34 Buyskykh, "Pomiędzy pamięcią," 51.

pilgrimage and pay reverence to the Holy Mother of God and ask for healing. The fatigue connected with the border crossing seemed to be a necessary requirement for further spiritual relief and healing on Kalwaria Pałacowska.

In 2016 and 2017, I observed how the Franciscan priests were constantly stressing that we were on an “ecumenical pilgrimage” of Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Orthodox believers. They also underlined the presence of a young Orthodox priest, a student of Lviv Orthodox Theological Academy in the pilgrimage. He prayed together with Roman Catholic Franciscan chaplains, at the same time never holding a Mass in Eastern rite by himself. Franciscans were underlining the tolerance between Christian denominations during the pilgrimage, and the ability of the Calvary Holy Mother of God to accept everyone despite their confession and ethnic origin.

The pilgrimage from Ukraine is always received hospitably by the Franciscan priests in Kalwaria Pałacowska. They address official greetings to a pilgrimage from Ukraine, although they never officially speak of its interdenominational nature or the presence of Greek Catholics and Orthodox believers among the Roman Catholic majority. In 2016, the pilgrims were offered the option to sleep under the roof in the main cathedral, and in 2017, a big tent beyond the cathedral was organized. The charitable organization “Caritas” provided pilgrims with a tea in the morning, and in the evening, a dinner. Over the next two days during the evening Masses, the priests providing the sermons stressed that Kalwaria Pałacowska hosted their “brothers in faith from the East,” referring to the pilgrims from Ukraine. At the same time, the Franciscan “owners” of the place never mentioned the denominational diversity of the pilgrimage, despite the fact that the Franciscan chaplains accompanying pilgrims were constantly stressing it. Seemingly, the presence of Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims wasn’t mentioned at all, nor was the historical place of their worship on the territory of Kalwaria Pałacowska. Such a perception silences the former heterogeneous nature of the “mountain of two rites,” as Kalwaria Pałacowska was known before the WW II.

Taking part in the pilgrimage, observing pilgrims and being involved in their religious practices and experiences, I would stress that this particular pilgrimage is

a complex, diverse community that holds various motives and aspirations, such that its actors cannot easily be grouped under a single heading. Taking this into account, I decided to focus on Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims, who despite being separated into two groups during their pilgrimage from Ukraine, came to Kalwaria Paławska with a specific common goal influenced by their families' past. That goal was to pay respect to the land of their fathers and grandfathers, to see the place where the Greek Catholic Church stood before WWII, and to pray there, commemorating members of their families who were resettled from that area in 1944–46. It is important to note that those several Orthodox followers I observed during the pilgrimages were descended from Greek Catholic families resettled from the area. It seemed that Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims forge their feelings of rootedness and belonging through religious mobility. Their engagement in Roman Catholic pilgrimage doesn't prevent them from fulfilling their goal, on the contrary, it strengthens the experiences of "spiritual relief" and "healing" they receive from participating in the official pilgrimage program.

Karolina Follis documented a related case during her research in Lublin province, another area of Eastern Poland, bordering with Ukraine. In 2005, she observed a religious procession of people coming from the Ukrainian side and crossing the border, singing and holding icons. They were coming to a Greek Catholic church and an old Ukrainian cemetery on the Assumption of Mary holiday in August. Their destination lay in a village located in Poland that had been inhabited by Greek Catholic Ukrainians before WWII who were resettled to the Soviet Ukraine during the 1944–46 population transfers. The new border went through the village, dividing it in such a way that the church and cemetery were left on the Polish side, while some houses and fields were on the Soviet side. However, although abandoned, the old Greek Catholic church wasn't devastated like the one in Kalwaria Paławska. In the late 1990s, the church and the cemetery were renovated, thanks to the efforts of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic minority in Lublin. After that, those who were resettled to the Soviet Ukraine and their descendants were able "to come back" to their lost homeland and pay reverence to the sacred site. This movement

was shaped as a pilgrimage.³⁵

To put my research case in a broader comparative context, I find it useful to explain here the concept of a *roots pilgrimage*. The cultural practices of displaced people, including religious and touristic pilgrimages to their homeland (or to the land of their ancestors), has been discussed in numerous studies. These pilgrimages may involve different religious traditions and transmit various cultural experiences of visiting “shared” sites of worship that are connected with family memories. As Mario Katić notes,

A roots pilgrimage, as it is known, addresses those travelers/pilgrims that annually travel to their homelands, which they were forced to leave because of economic situation, war, political pressure, or some other reason. Their travel back home is observed as a pilgrimage to their family and national roots even though some of them are not actually going to some official religious pilgrimage place.³⁶

All participants of roots pilgrimages—who are Bosnian Croats and Croats coming to Republika Srpska once a year; or Greek Cypriot refugees engaging in pilgrimages across the state border on the Cyprus; or Crimean Tatars forcibly displaced from Crimea in 1944 and returning to their homes and shrines as tourists in the 1980s, which resulted in a movement of repatriation; and many other ethnic and/or religious groups in Europe and beyond it seem to be deeply concerned about forging continuities with the past.³⁷ These pilgrimages contain a processes of

35 Karolina S. Follis, *Building Fortress Europe: The Polish-Ukrainian Frontier* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 37.

36 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 Wien: Lit Verlag, 2014), 145.

37 Lisa Dikomititis, “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 Dikomititis (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), 79–94. 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, 15–35 (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2014). Katić, “Pilgrimage and/or Tourism.” Олена Соболева, “Формування образу етнічної батьківщини кримських татар в умовах репатріації та облаштування в АР Крим,” in *Матеріали до української етнології* 10, no. 13 (2011): 44–51 [Olena Soboleva, “Formation of the Image of the Ethnic Homeland of

recovery: memories, old wounds, histories and sacred places. A demand to visit a place influenced by yearning to connect with one's family history and searching for the roots was also framed as "pilgrimages of nostalgia" or "nostalgic pilgrimage."³⁸ Katharina Schramm, describing "roots journeys" of Afro-Americans to the sites of traumatic memory in Ghana, proposes the term "homecoming." She notes that such a term "captures both the sacred and the secular dimensions of the phenomenon without giving analytical preference to just one of these poles."³⁹ Nataša Gregorič Bon uses a related definition of "returning", indicating: "Returning has both spatial and temporal implications. It 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."⁴⁰

In the case of my research these social actors who "return" to the "lost homeland," facing the past, are Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims seeking to engage with denominational, ancestral and territorial legacies which have become distanced from them given Soviet-era population shifts. Their returning has the strong healing effects of recovering the old wounds rooted in their families' past. The process of recovering is strengthened by the religious experience the peregrines gain being engaged in the pilgrimage. I will address this kind of "roots pilgrimage" performed by Ukrainian Greek Catholics and Orthodox from Lvivska oblast in Ukraine, being mostly the descendants of those Greek Catholic believers who have been resettled from Polish Subcarpathia in 1944–46 to the Soviet Ukraine. Further I intend to show what are their perceptions of that particular place, why past is so meaningful

the Crimean Tatars in the Conditions of Repatriation and Settlement in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea," in *Materialy do ukrajins'koji etnologii* 10, no. 13 (2011): 44-51]. Anne-Marie Losonczy, "Pilgrims of the 'Fatherland': Emblems and Religious Rituals in the Construction of an Inter-Patriotic Space between Hungary and Transylvania," *History and Anthropology* 20, No. 3 (September 2009): 265 – 280. Katharina Schramm, "Coming home to the Motherland. Pilgrimage tourism in Ghana," in *Reframing Pilgrimage. Cultures in motion*, ed. Simon Coleman and John Eade (Routledge: London and New York, 2004), 135-151.

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

39 Schramm. "Coming home," 141.

40 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: Bergahn, 2016), 71.

for them, and how the idea of “guesthood” can contribute to the major discussion of sharing sacred sites and multiple pilgrimages.

“TO BE GOOD GUESTS”: GREEK CATHOLIC AND ORTHODOX PILGRIMS IN ROMAN CATHOLIC SHRINE

My ethnographic data challenges Robert Hayden’s theory of “antagonistic tolerance” which accommodates both conflict and sharing as unavoidable modes in the pragmatics of social life in a multiethnic and multireligious neighborhood.⁴¹ According to Hayden, “sharing” of sacred spaces means “competition between groups and ‘tolerance’ that is a pragmatic adaptation to a situation in which repression of the other group’s practices may not be possible rather than an active embrace of the Other.”⁴² This theory has already been sufficiently reframed and complemented. Thus, Glenn Bowman proposed looking at sharing in a variety of forms, including the “pleasures of conviviality” that people may experience.⁴³ Hence, negotiating differences is not an exclusive mode of interdenominational or inter-religious sharing of a sacred site. In this regard, I share David Henig’s suggestion to look at the conflict and sharing “as the results of specific processes and not as proxies for interactions between social actors,” and therefore to research pilgrimage sites where sharing takes place, as “contested places” where religious expressions, belongings, and politics compete and are “negotiated, enacted and experienced.”⁴⁴ In this regard, the idea of *palimpsest* both as a pilgrimage and as a reference point in understanding the multilayered structure of the site sufficiently broadens the existing descriptions of the nature of sharing sacred sites. Relying on this, I propose to focus on the experiences of “others” who, not being a part of the dominant group—the “owners” of the space—who visit the shrine, connected with their families’ past, use it for their own spiritual and religious needs, and gain meaningful experiences, at the same time not wanting to own it or to be engaged in a rivalry for the sacred space. I believe that the mode of “guesthood” as the alternate vision of sharing space is reasonable in the case where Greek Catholics and Orthodox believers, as

41 Hayden, “Antagonistic Tolerance.” Hayden and Walker, “Intersecting Religioscapes.”

42 Hayden, “Antagonistic Tolerance,” 219.

43 Bowman, “Comment,” 220.

44 Henig, “This is Our Little Hajj,” 753.

a part of a Roman Catholic pilgrimage, visit a Roman Catholic Shrine in Poland and temporally share this currently homogeneous area with the dominant Roman Catholic group. The memories, emotional “roots,” religious aspirations and rituals of the “guests” enrich the pilgrimage site with new meanings, addressing at the same time its former heterogeneous nature and, therefore, making it a multilayered sacred space again.

Analyzing the nature of sacred places, J. Eade and M. Sallnow state that a shrine is “a religious void, a spiritual space capable of accommodating diverse meanings and practices.”⁴⁵ These sacred meanings ascribed to local sacred places are culturally bound; they are constructed and transmitted by various actors: local inhabitants, pilgrims, and the “owners” who possess control of a sacred place. They all produce diverse meanings, attaching them to the shrine and thus contributing to its “religious capital.”⁴⁶ A small group of Greek Catholics and Orthodox pilgrims from the Ukrainian pilgrimage attach their own meaning to the Roman Catholic pilgrimage site, which differs from the official Franciscan narration that silences the former heterogeneous nature of the place. As Eade and Sallnow state, in the case when the “owners” of the shrine may attempt to impose the single official discourse to the others, competing religious discourses arise.⁴⁷ In my research case, I believe that the latent conflict of meanings is not literally visible in Kalwaria Paławska; however, it is palpable, revealing itself in silence and deliberate non-noticing of Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims.

The majority of local inhabitants and Polish pilgrims are completely unaware of Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims from the Ukrainian pilgrimage, and about the place of their memories in Kalwaria Paławska. Moreover, even the Roman Catholic majority of the pilgrims from Ukraine doesn’t share the knowledge about the former Greek Catholic church and pilgrimages. In their own turn, Greek Catholics and Orthodox pilgrims, feeling themselves to be guests, don’t negotiate to be mentioned in the Franciscans’ official greetings, or to be visible as a separate group. Being strangers in many senses (denominational, ethnic, linguistic), they

45 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” 15.

46 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” 15.

47 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” 15.

don't need to own the place; for them, it is enough to experience it, feeling ties with the ancestors resettled from the area.

Dispersed groups of Greek Catholics and Orthodox pilgrims within the walls of the Roman Catholic cathedral and during solemn services seemed, on initial observation, to go through the same procedures of showing reverence to the saints and the sites of power as did Roman Catholic pilgrims. For example, they performed the gesture of genuflection, bending one knee to the ground after entering the Roman Catholic cathedral. With the intention of healing themselves or asking for a cure for the families, Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims performed all the appropriate actions and gestures during the Roman Catholic Masses. Along with Roman Catholic pilgrims, they went to Roman Catholic priests for confession, believing that confession during the pilgrimage has a strong healing effect. However, deeper observation revealed a number of differences in how they performed religious rituals. Greek Catholic and Orthodox women were covering their heads with kerchiefs and scarfs in the shrine, as they used to do in their churches. They were making the sign of the cross in the Byzantine form: three fingers, right to left. They regretted that there is no possibility to kiss any icon to be cured (as they got used to doing in their churches). During the liturgy, those who didn't understand Polish were praying in their own way, and in Ukrainian.

I was told that they were “extremely hopeful” that by being “good guests” in the Roman Catholic shrine and fully participating in the liturgy, engaging both body and mind, they will have responses to their requests to the Calvary Holy Mother of God. People were very concerned about doing the right things so that their hopes could be fulfilled. However, the experience gained during an official pilgrimage program and engagement in Roman Catholic Holy Masses and other rituals obviously wasn't enough for my Greek Catholic and Orthodox respondents to reach a “total relief” and a “healing” effect. To gain the latter, they had their own sacral place on Kalwaria Paławska that was sanctified by their families' memories.

For three years (2015–17), I was present at a Greek Catholic liturgy near the wooden memorial cross at the place where the Greek Catholic church stood. This liturgy is not an official service. It is usually held on August 14, the last day of the whole

pilgrimage program at Kalwaria Paławska. (It should be added that on August 14 the *Honey Spas* (Savior), one of the great Orthodox and Greek Catholic holidays, is celebrated.) Beginning that day, people start an Assumption Fast that precedes the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (Ukr. *Успіння*) on August 28, according to the Julian calendar. After the morning Mass in the main cathedral and the general Roman Catholic pilgrimage program, Greek Catholics and Orthodox followers, exhausted from the journey, still attended the Greek Catholic liturgy and celebrated their own holiday. The Mass was celebrated by a Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest near the memorial cross. The priest came from Mostys'ka, Ukraine, and happened to be from the family of those Ukrainians who were resettled to the Soviet Ukraine from one of the villages neighboring Kalwaria Paławska in 1946. Taking part in the Masses, I could observe how deeply my respondents were engaged in the liturgy. I noticed how touched the pilgrims were when the priest talked about the forcible resettlement of Ukrainians after WWII and about Greek Catholic priests murdered by the NKVD. He repeated those words every year and prayed for their memory, bringing tears to my respondents' eyes. After the Mass, pilgrims came to the memorial cross to touch and kiss it. Those who already had the communion in the Roman Catholic cathedral during morning Mass didn't take it for the second time. However, every year there were several women who were waiting for "their own communion," given by the Greek Catholic priest.

During those Masses in 2015 and 2016, a hint of a latent conflict of meanings had become visible for me. Polish pilgrims and tourists who put their tents and cars on the territory of the slope were probably enchanted or at least interested in the kind of folklore attraction they had the opportunity to observe: a bearded priest in another vestment than the one they were used to seeing; a two-hour-long solemn service in foreign language; singing and kneeling women in kerchiefs near the cross, the meaning of which was completely unintelligible to them. Some of them took pictures of the liturgy and the way the communion was given. After that Mass, some women told me they felt stress over being observed in such a way, and they all emphasized that nowadays they are "only guests" on the land of their ancestors. However, during the Greek Catholic Mass in 2017, I didn't note anybody who took pictures of the service and priest. I did, however, notice one old man who

stood near tents with other Polish pilgrims, and then came close to the memorial cross. He was standing for a while, and then bent his knee and crossed himself. The Greek Catholic priest noted it and told me after the Mass, how emotionally touched felt, that it was the first example for many years, when one of the Polish pilgrims showed respect to the cross and the liturgy performed near it.

Those Greek Catholic and Orthodox women who took part in that liturgy engaged in the pilgrimage mainly because they demanded to see the place they knew from family stories. They called the whole Roman Catholic site “our Kalwaria,” highlighting that their grandparents or parents took part in Greek Catholic pilgrimages to Kalwaria Paławska before WWII. Those Orthodox pilgrims turned out also to be the descendants of Greek Catholics who were resettled from the area. The experiences of trauma and, namely, the loss of homeland were transmitted to them by their displaced parents and grandparents in a veiled way through their religious upbringing. For a number of my respondents, whose family members experienced repression as a result of a total rejection of the Greek Catholic Church in the USSR, this transmission conveyed such strong emotion “as to seem to constitute memories of second generation in their own right.”⁴⁸ In their oral stories, I noticed a strong sense of belonging to the place they knew only from family narrations. Their families were resettled in 1944–46 from different villages of Subcarpathia to various regions of the Soviet Ukraine. My respondents themselves were born in different places, with various backgrounds and experiences. As pilgrims, they became acquainted with one another only during the pilgrimages to Kalwaria Paławska starting at the end of the 1990s. They don’t see each other during the year, meeting only on the pilgrimage, where they share family memories again. Their strong need to attend a sacred place that is connected with their family stories, coupled with their demand to take part in their own Greek Catholic liturgy despite being engaged in the program of a Roman Catholic pilgrimage, can be seen as an act of commemoration and respect for the memory of their displaced ancestors. This is also, as I view it, quite a distinctive example of a multiple pilgrimage phenomenon.

One Greek Catholic woman told me that her grandfather was a Greek Catholic

48 Marianne Hirsch, “The Generation of Postmemory,” *Poetics Today* 29, no. 1 (2008): 103–28.

priest, guiding pilgrims to Kalwaria Paławska before WWII. In 1944, they were resettled first to the Soviet Ukraine, and then forcibly sent in exile to Siberia. She was born there and was brought up on stories about the “lost homeland” near Przemyśl and about the Greek Catholic pilgrimages to Kalwaria Paławska. Returning to the Soviet Ukraine in the late 1950s, the whole family was allowed to settle in Central Ukraine, where they attended Orthodox parishes. In the middle of the 1980s, that woman moved to Lviv, to be as close to the “ancestor’s land” as she could. In 2015, when we became acquainted, she told me:

I’m so happy to return to our Kalwaria. I did something my grandfather wasn’t able to do. He died in GULAG. ... I even don’t know where his grave is. I did something my father wasn’t able to do. He died before the collapse of the USSR, when the border was still closed. I’m coming to our Kalwaria now and praying for their memory here. I feel as if they were here with me (Female, Ukrainian, born in 1945 in Irkutskaya oblast USSR, August 2015).⁴⁹

According to that woman’s narration, the very place, Kalwaria Paławska, brings her closer to her father and grandfather, and she “feels their presence” there. It is the main motivation of her participation in the pilgrimage. For three years, I observed her with the other women, engaging in the whole Roman Catholic pilgrimage program, fulfilling their own spiritual needs only on the last day of the pilgrimage by coming to the memorial cross and taking part in their “own” liturgy. I always asked them, why don’t they come to that particular place on any other day of the year, like tourists, so they would not be observed with curiosity by the Polish Roman Catholic pilgrims and locals. They constantly answered that “pilgrimage is meaningful,” because the exhausting road is a “purgatory” that brings relief when they arrive at their destination. They also added that a separate Greek Catholic pilgrimage to the memorial cross is impossible because the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine would not organize it, not wanting to instigate any conflict with the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. Thus, they prefer to join the well-organized Roman Catholic pilgrimage to Kalwaria Paławska, which is hosted by the Franciscan “owners” of the shrine.

49 GULAG (Russian: *Glavnoje upravlenije lagerej, poselenij i mest zakliuchenija*)—a system of forced-labor camps and prisons in the USSR.

The multiple pilgrimage of Greek Catholics and Orthodox pilgrims and their separate liturgy at the site contributes to its religious capital, reviving at the same time its heterogeneous nature, which was interrupted by WWII and its aftermath, together with postwar forcible resettlements and the destruction of the Greek Catholic Church—now recognized as the sacred site of the absent “others.” Now we can observe how memories about the family members and post-memories about the Greek Catholic pilgrimages before the WWII turn into personal spiritual experiences, strengthening the pilgrims’ sense of belonging to the place.

Being “good guests,” as they frame it, Greek Catholics and Orthodox pilgrims don’t negotiate about their own pilgrimage site on the territory of Kalwaria Paławska, they also are not asking for more, having enough meaningful religious experiences on the site. At the same time, being foreigners, they seem to be afraid of interacting with the “owners” of the shrine and the language barrier makes it difficult to talk about the shared history with the dominant group. While feeling like “guests” and mourning their parents’ and grandparents’ forcible expulsion from the area, Greek Catholics and Orthodox still felt grateful for the opportunity to be engaged in the Roman Catholic pilgrimage and be hosted by the Franciscans.

In general, I believe that “guesthood” can be proposed as a form of interdenominational and interethnic temporary coexistence on this particular sacred site. Despite the marginalized status of “guests,” the presence of Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims from Ukraine enriches the site with new meanings and religious expressions, reviving its former palimpsestic nature. Because the “antagonistic tolerance” is not an exclusive mode of sharing at this site, it is not visible but it is literally palpable here. Still, it becomes apparent in the Franciscan friars’ exclusion of the Greek Catholics and Orthodox pilgrims from an official religious discourse in the Kalwaria Paławska sanctuary. They and their memorial cross are not mentioned in any of its official narrations or solemn services held during the Great Fair in August. At the same time, Franciscans always stress that they “host Ukrainians” in “their” sanctuary, giving Ukrainian pilgrims a place where they can sleep for free and organizing dinners for them together with “Caritas.” The whole situation results in a general exoticism of all the pilgrims who come to Kalwaria Paławska

from Ukraine. Notwithstanding their denomination (the majority is Roman Catholic, some are Greek Catholic and Orthodox) and origin, they are generally perceived as a curious attraction by local inhabitants and Polish pilgrims.

CONCLUSIONS

In anthropology of religion, pilgrimage is perceived as “a way for individuals and groups to orient themselves in space, time and history.”⁵⁰ The religious activity described in Polish Subcarpathia seems, to various extents, to be animated by the legacies of the post-WWII period. Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims seek to engage with denominational, ancestral, and territorial legacies that have become distanced from them due to Soviet-era population shifts and postwar relocation of national boundaries. They seem to be deeply concerned about forging continuities with the past, remaining connected with their families’ memories. I perceive it as a process of recovery of memories, family stories, and sacred places. Their religious energy and sense of purpose seem to emerge from the latent but still palpable tensions felt by Greek Catholics and to some extent Orthodox believers engaging with the Roman Catholicism predominant in Poland.

The whole pilgrimage from Ukraine to Poland illustrates a multisited, temporal community consisting of Ukrainian citizens of both Ukrainian and Polish origin, Roman Catholics, and Greek Catholics and Orthodox believers. According to Hayden’s theory, despite pragmatically tolerating each other, the religious groups in fact compete for dominance over the shrines. I do not think “competitive sharing” is the exclusive form of tolerance between the Roman Catholic Franciscan “owners” of Kalwaria Pałacowska, local Polish inhabitants, Roman Catholic Polish pilgrims, and Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims. Coming to Kalwaria Pałacowska, the latter are not engaged in a rivalry with Polish pilgrims for a holy place or in arguments about controversies of the past with local inhabitants. For them, being guests, it is enough to experience the place and gain spiritual relief there. However, I noticed the latent conflict during the Greek Catholic Mass near the memorial cross, when the little group of Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims felt themselves quite

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

alien despite the fact that they came to the place connected with their family memories. They were trying to be “good guests” during the whole pilgrimage to receive the mercy from the Calvary Mother of God, and they succeed. However, although they still had meaningful experiences of relief and healing, they lacked something of their own, like a Greek Catholic chapel, that would possess the knowledge of the historical presence of their religious and ethnic group at this place.

The “guesthood” of Greek Catholics and Orthodox pilgrims and their separate liturgy at the site contributes to its capital, reviving its palimpsestic nature interrupted by WWII and its aftermath together with forcible resettlements and destruction of the Greek Catholic sacred site. At the same time, the Franciscan “owners” of the place never mention the presence of Greek Catholics and Orthodox believers in the pilgrimage from Ukraine. Seemingly, the presence of Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims is silenced, as is the place of their own worship on the territory of Kalwaria Paławska. Such an attitude leads to neglect of the prewar heterogeneity of Kalwaria Paławska, which is still sensed in the imagined landscape, shared to some extent by old Polish locals and their “guests”—the Greek Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims.

To conclude, my discussion points to the important role that religious practices and especially pilgrimages play in linking people with their ancestors and specific sacred places in which family memories become part of religious experience. The approach to the phenomenon of pilgrimage as a palimpsest allows one to trace the connections between the places of worship, historical events influencing the landscape and the nature of the sacred sites, memories, senses of belonging, religious motivations, and personal spiritual experiences of the pilgrims seeking for relief, healing, and their roots. The ethnographic observations, as a result of my research, open up a number of more general questions related to the importance of post-memory, built on the traumas of parents or grandparents, in constructing an identity that needs the religious experience of the sacred place connected with the family. This, in turn, opens the possibility for a broader discussion of the relationship of memories with a sense of belonging and the reasons why certain places become sacred to the bearers of other religious denominations living abroad.

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