

POLISH RESEARCH ON BUKOVINA

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Abstract: *The article is dedicated to the presentation of Polish historical, ethnological, linguistic and sociological, generally interdisciplinary scientific research of the Bukovina region, separated from Moldova after 1774. For political reasons, these studies could start as fully professional, after the fall of communism, when obstacles to accessing Romanian and Ukrainian archives and travelling from Poland to both sides of Bukovina disappeared. The article describes the reasons for Poles' interest in Bukovina, which results from the multiculturalism of the region and the phenomenon of tolerance. The starting point for the research was the Polish minority in Bukovina, which migrated to this region like other ethnic groups after 1774. Currently, the topics best approached by Poles are referring to the dialect of Poles in Bukovina, the culture and identity of the Polish Highlanders in Romanian Bukovina and re-migration from Bukovina in Poland, migration and political history of Poles in Bukovina. The folklore festivals in Jastrowie, Poland and the "Polish Culture Days" in Suceava, Romania also play an important role in the research of Bukovina by Poles. Unfortunately, there is little professional Polish research on problems not related to the Polish minority.*

Keywords: *Polish research, Borderlands, Bukovina, Poles, Historiography, Romania, Ukraine.*

Rezumat: *Cercetări poloneze despre Bucovina. Articolul este dedicat prezentării cercetărilor istorice, etnologice, lingvistice și sociologice poloneze, în general interdisciplinare, științifice din regiunea Bucovinei, despărțite de Moldova după 1774. Din motive politice, aceste studii ar fi putut începe într-un mod profesionist, după căderea din comunismul, atunci când dispăruseră obstacolele în accesarea arhivelor românești și ucrainene și în călătoria din Polonia către ambele părți ale Bucovinei. Articolul descrie motivele interesului polonezilor pentru Bucovina, care rezultă din multiculturalitatea regiunii și fenomenul de toleranță. Punctul de plecare al cercetării l-a reprezentat minoritatea poloneză din Bucovina, care a migrat în această regiune, asemenea altor grupuri*

etnice, după 1774. În prezent, subiectele cele mai bine abordate de polonezi se referă la dialectul polonezilor din Bucovina, cultura și identitatea polonezului muntean din Bucovina română și re-migranții din Bucovina în Polonia, migrația și istoria politică a polonezilor din Bucovina. De asemenea, un rol important în cercetarea Bucovinei de către polonezi îl au festivalurile de folclor din Jastrowie, Polonia și „Zilele Culturii Polone” din Suceava, România. Din păcate, există puține cercetări profesionale poloneze cu privire la problemele care nu au legătură cu minoritatea poloneză.

Résumé : Recherches polonaises sur la Bucovine. On dédia l'article ci-joint à la présentation des recherches historiques, ethnologiques, linguistiques et sociologiques polonaises, en général interdisciplinaires scientifiques de la région de la Bucovine, séparée de la Moldavie après 1774. Par raisons politiques, ces études auraient pu commencer de manière professionnelle, après la chute du communisme, lorsque les obstacles concernant l'accès aux archives roumaines et ukrainiennes se sont évanouis et apparut la possibilité de voyager de Pologne vers les deux parties de la Bucovine. L'article ci-joint décrit les motifs de l'intérêt polonais pour la Bucovine, qui résulte de la multi culturalité de la région et le phénomène de tolérance. La minorité polonaise, qui migra dans cette région, semblable aux autres groupes ethniques, après 1774, représenta le point de départ de la recherche ci-jointe. De nos jours, les sujets les mieux abordés par les Polonais font référence au dialecte polonais de la Bucovine, la culture et l'identité du Polonais montagnard de la Bucovine roumaine et les re-migrants de la Bucovine en Pologne, la migration et l'histoire politique des Polonais de la Bucovine. De plus, les festivals de folklore de Jastrowie, Pologne et "Les Jours de la Culture Polonaise" de Suceava, Roumanie jouent un rôle important dans les recherches des Polonais sur la Bucovine. Malheureusement, il y a peu de recherches professionnelles polonaises concernant les problèmes qui n'ont pas liaison avec la minorité polonaise.

INTRODUCTION

Why Bukovina?

Not only in Poland, but in other countries the borderland issue often had and has an emotional dimension, due to its association with the border conflicts. That is why in many publications about these areas, the political and nationality problems dominated. Frequently, it was rather about justifying the historical or ethnographic rights to such a border territory. An example is Upper Silesia, the historical Polish-Czech-German borderland, which in the past was the subject of sharp disputes between Poland, Germany, and the Czech State. It was also reflected in the literature and played a propaganda role. Unfortunately, until 1989

most of the historians focused on the study of national, political and border conflicts. However, the borderlands are areas where the geographical, historical and political boundaries meet, and the nations, ethnic groups, cultures, languages, religions collide and penetrate each other. Therefore, the borderlands can be a subject of not only historical but also interdisciplinary research. A diverse view on social, political and cultural processes in the borderlands was proposed in Poland before 1989 by Stanisław Ossowski (1897-1963) and Józef Chlebowczyk (1924-1985), but many years had to pass before they were appreciated.¹

Bukovina was and is also a borderland, a mosaic of languages, cultures, religions, and nationalities. Perhaps in many respects, it is more complicated than Upper Silesia. As it turns out, it is also the subject of research of Polish scientists. Why? Apart from the fact that Bukovina is a beautiful tourist region with painted monasteries unknown in Poland, perhaps the answer to this question lies in its past. Compared to the majority of borderlands in Poland, especially Upper Silesia or former Galicia, there were fewer ethnic conflicts in Bukovina and many researchers and tourists from Poland associate it with tolerance. Also, most Poles live in Poland in national, uniform areas, hence the Bukovina mosaic is still attractive to them. For tourists, it is also like a living open-air museum of the multicultural past, which in Poland ended after World War II, as a result of changing the state borders. For the Polish historians, Bukovina was a part of the former Duchy of Moldavia, which from the fourteenth century bordered the Polish Kingdom.

Another factor of historical relevance is the interwar Polish-Romanian alliance and the fact that no territorial disputes between these two countries were recorded after 1918. In Bukovina, a Polish minority lives today, some of whose families left for Poland as re-migrants after World War II. This reality also aroused interest, but it was only the fall of communism in 1989 that enabled Poland and Poles to contact this group and Romania in general. Moreover, there were no sharp Polish-German (Upper Silesia) or Polish-Ukrainian (Galicia) conflicts in Bukovina, and this fact was also important for the Polish researchers. Finally, the year 1989 allowed new research on Bukovina without censorship and political problems. Romanian and Ukrainian borders and archives became accessible for the Poles. The possibility for Polish scientists to confront

¹ See Stanisław Ossowski, *O ojczyźnie i narodzie* [About Homeland and Nation], Warszawa, 1984; Józef Chlebowczyk, *On small and young nations in Europe. Nation-forming processes in ethnic borderlands in East - Central Europe*, Wrocław, 1980.

experiences from border research in Poland could be used in Bukovina. There is also a group of Polish researchers who have Bukovinian roots and study this region because of their sentiments.

Of course, the Poles were still mainly interested in the Polish minority in Bukovina. Research groups and students can come to Bukovina without any problems, although the road is long and complicated. It was also important that Poles in Bukovina in the 90s still lived in certain isolation; there was little migration so that their culture was as if preserved. There was also an older generation who remembered the pre-war times. We can say that this was an ideal situation for the research.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS UNTIL 1989

Until 1918, the Poles wrote about Bukovina – mostly about the Polish inhabitants – because this region was close to Galicia, the land that also belonged to Austria after the liquidation of the Polish State by three powers: Russia, Prussia, and Austria, finally in 1795.² Poles came to Bukovina like many other nationalities from the end of the 18th century. There were three main groups: the first – miners from around Krakow to build a salt mine in Cacica. The second – so-called Czadca (Slovak: Čadca) Highlanders from the Polish-Slovak border, around Cernăuți and Storojineț, then near Gura Humorului and Cacica (Poiana Micului, Pleșa, and Solonețu Nou). The third-wave was represented by the settlers from Galicia, peasants and intelligentsia (engineers, officials, teachers). In total, in Austrian times, it was about 4.5% (36 000 in 1910) of the population.³ It is worth mentioning that for many years the Pole Antoni Kochanowski (1817-1906) was the mayor of Cernăuți and the administrator of the Duchy of Bukovina, and he also built the power of this wonderful city.

Paradoxically, the Polish researchers became interested in Bukovina for

² See for example: Grzegorz Cicimirski, *Polacy na Bukowinie i zadania oświatowe T.[owarzystwa] S.[zkoły] L.[udowej]* [Poles in Bukovina and Educational tasks of the Society of People's School], Kraków, 1907; Otton Żukowski, *Bukowina pod względem topograficznym, statystycznym i historycznym ze szczególnem uwzględnieniem żywiołu polskiego* [Bukowina in Terms of Topography, Statistics and History, with a special emphasis on the Polish Element], Czerniowce, 1914.

³ Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece 1774-1918* [Bukovina during the Austrian rule 1774-1918], Chișinău, 2003, p. 261.

political reasons. In the 30s, there was a Polish-Czechoslovak conflict in Poiana Micului, when a Slovak teacher came from Czechoslovakia to Poiana, claiming that the Highlanders are not Poles but Slovaks because they arrived in Bukovina from the Slovak territories. A Slovak school was established in Poiana, with over 30% of children from the Polish school. This situation worried the Polish diplomacy; accordingly, a geographer from Krakow – Marian Gotkiewicz (1901-1972) was sent to Bukovina to observe the situation and to write the history of the Polish Highlanders. The conflict in Poiana Micului ended in March 1938 when the Romanian authorities liquidated the Slovak school⁴. The effect of Gotkiewicz's stay in Bukovina was reflected in numerous publications describing the Polish villages' history. Before the outbreak of World War II, he determined that, in reality, these Highlanders came from the Slovak region of Czadca, but they spoke Polish not Slovak because their ancestors were refugees from Silesia and Lesser Poland (*Małopolska*, later Galicia) from the 16th-18th centuries. The first group came to Bukovina in 1803. Over the next 30 years, Gotkiewicz also described their customs and post-war re-emigration to Western Poland. Also, the Polish geographer studied the Czadca region, comparing the languages, customs, and names. He criticised the opinions of some historians, who claimed that these people were Slovaks because they came from Slovakia, as long as their language and national identification decided⁵. To this day, their Romanian neighbours call this group *Slovaçi*, which is wrong, even if it is already accepted. Gotkiewicz can be called "the discoverer of the Polish Highlanders in Bukovina"; on the other hand, he was not a historian and acted under political pressure. We cannot call these Highlanders Poles in Slovakia, in the 18th century, because their modern national identification did not yet exist, so we can only talk about the Polish ethnic

⁴ Krzysztof Nowak, *O dusze górali bukowińskich. Polsko-czechosłowacki konflikt na Bukowinie po I wojnie światowej* [For the Souls of Bucovinian Highlanders. Polish-Czechoslovak conflict in Bukovina after World War I], in *O Bukowinie. Razem czy oddzielnie?* [About Bukovina. Together or Separately?], ed. Kazimierz Feleszko, Warszawa 2000, p. 221-233.

⁵ See the list of works on Bukovina wrote by Marian Gotkiewicz edited by his son: Marek Gotkiewicz, *Bibliografia publikacji dr Mariana Gotkiewicza poświęconych góralom czadeckim* [Bibliography of Publications of Dr. Marian Gotkiewicz devoted to the Czadca Highlanders], in *Polacy z Bukowiny. Ich losy i kultura - źródłem tożsamości narodowej* [Poles from Bukovina. Their Fate and Culture - a Source of National Identity], ed. Czesław Osękowski, Żary, 2002, p. 167-171.

group. This group obtained the Polish national identification only in Bukovina. However, those who remained in the Czadca region, despite using the Polish dialect, now identify themselves as Slovaks.⁶

For many years, no one but Gotkiewicz wrote in Poland about Bukovina. Yet, Gotkiewicz had not seen Bukovina after World War II. Besides this, he only described the Polish Highlanders including their re-migration to postwar Poland, because they are to this day the most active Polish Bukovinians. There was no information about the descendants of peasants from Galicia, popularly called *Masurians*. It was only in the first half of the 70s that truly scientific publications appeared. These were the linguistic works of Stanisław Gogolewski (1939-2007) from Łódź about the dialect of the trilingual village of Cacica.⁷ In 1973, Emil Biedrzycki (1890-1975), a roman-philologist from Krakow, born in Dumbrăveni-Bukovina, published the book *Historia Polaków na Bukowinie* (The History of Poles in Bukovina), in which he synthetically described the history of the Polish settlement until 1945, emphasising not only the Highlanders but also other groups and their political, social or cultural life. Although Biedrzycki did not examine the Ukrainian or Romanian archives, his book is still valid and should be used to start searching for information about Poles in Bukovina.⁸ In 1981, a small book of Małgorzata Willaume – *Polacy w Rumunii* (Poles in Romania) – was published, with fragments about the “former Bukovina”.⁹ In 1985, Alicja Sowińska-Krupka’s book analysed the first post-war years of the Polish-Romanian relations, underlying the problem of the Polish minority and

⁶ See and compare: Krzysztof Nowak, *Problem ludności „słowackiej” na Bukowinie w XIX i XX wieku*. [The Problem of the „Slovak” Population in Bukovina in the 19th and 20th centuries], in Zbigniew Kowalski, Helena Krasowska, Jurij Makar, Władysław Strużyński (ed.), *Bukowina. Tradycje i współczesność* [Traditions and the Present Day], Piła-Czerniowce-Suczawa, 2006, p. 213-222. Compare Jozef Jurašek, *Život a osud. Rudolf Kovalik 1902-1938* [Life and Destiny. Rudolf Kovalik 1902-1938], Bratislava, 2002.

⁷ Stanisław Gogolewski, *Polska gwara trójjęzycznej wsi Kaczyki w Rumunii* [Polish Dialect of the Trilingual Village of Cacica in Romania], Wrocław, 1972. His Romanian collaborator in research Elena Deboveanu from București wrote a book: *Polska gwara górali bukowińskich w Rumunii* [Polish Dialect of Bukovinian Highlanders in Romania], Wrocław, 1971, translated from Romanian language by Gogolewski.

⁸ Emil Biedrzycki, *Historia Polaków na Bukowinie* [The History of Poles in Bukovina], Kraków, 1973.

⁹ Małgorzata Willaume, *Polacy w Rumunii* [Poles in Romania], Lublin, 1981.

the re-migration issues.¹⁰ Apart from the Polish problem, no other topics related to Bukovina were raised in Poland.

Nothing new appeared in the next few years. Not without significance was the fact that in the 80s Romania and Poland began to move away from each other for political reasons. It was getting harder and harder to get from Poland to Bukovina. Despite this, some Polish students and lecturers sometimes went there. For example, ethnology students from Wrocław came to Bukovina from the end of the 70s. Among them was Eugeniusz Kłosek, a lecturer at that time, and now the head of ethnology at the University of Wrocław. There was also the author of tourist guides Stanisław Figiel, who in 1984 published a report on his stay in the Highlander's villages.¹¹ However, for most scholars in Poland, Bukovina was almost an exotic country. Re-migrants from Poland also rarely visited Bukovina to meet their families. On the other hand, re-migrants organised their folk groups in Poland.¹²

AFTER 1989

The situation changed after the fall of communism. At the end of the 80s, an ethnologist from the Cultural Center in Piła (north from the town Poznań) Zbigniew Kowalski and a linguist from the University of Warsaw, Kazimierz Feleszko (1939-2001) gathered the Bukovinian emigrants scattered around Poland and created, since 1992, the festival "Bukowińskie Spotkania" [The Bukovinian Meetings] in Jastrowie, near Piła. Subsequent editions were organised in Cernăuți (Ukraine), Câmpulung Moldovenesc (Romania), Bonyhád (Hungary), and Turčianske Teplice (Slovakia). New researchers, working mostly at universities, appeared: the ethnologists Magdalena Pokrzyńska from Zielona Góra and Ewa Kocój from Krakow, the linguist Helena Krasowska from Panka near Storojineț (student of K. Feleszko in Warsaw), the historians Michał Keller from

¹⁰ Alicja Sowińska-Krupka, *Stosunki polsko-rumuńskie 1945-1949* [Polish-Romanian relations 1945-1949], Warszawa, 1985.

¹¹ Stanisław Figiel, *Polskie osadnictwo na rumuńskiej Bukowinie- historia i stan dzisiejszy* [Polish Settlement in Romanian Bukowina – History and Present State], "Wierchy", Krakow, 1984, p. 203-218.

¹² See Magdalena Pokrzyńska, *Bukowińczycy w Polsce. Socjologiczne studium rozwoju wspólnoty regionalnej* [Bukovinians in Poland. A Sociological Study on the Regional Community Development], Zielona Góra, 2010.

Ruda – Vicșani, living in Warsaw, Michaela Oanea from Moara-Bulai, living in Rzeszów, Maria Ostrowschi from Solonețul Nou (student of S. Gogolewski), and Krzysztof Nowak from Katowice, the philologists Joanna Gorzelana from Zielona Góra and Władysław Strutyński from the Yuriy Fedkovych University in Cernăuți. We should also mention the historian Jan Bujak from Krakow, and the philologist and a member of the Bukovinian folk group in Poland Jadwiga Parecka, Elżbieta Wieruszewska from Western Poland who were also interested in the Bukovinian issue. Therefore, it happened that a multidisciplinary Polish team for the study of Bukovina was established at a time when this region was not affected by the migration wave, which included Poland, Romania, and Ukraine in the second decade of the 21st century. Thanks to this, many interesting field studies could be conducted. These people made contact with Kowalski and Feleszko and began to participate in the “Bukovinian Meetings”. Every few years, scientific conferences are organised during the festival in Jastrowie. The results are the publications with articles of Polish, Ukrainian, Romanian, German, Austrian, Jewish researchers.¹³ The reactivation of Związek Polaków w Rumunii (Union of Poles in

¹³ Kazimierz Feleszko, J. Molas (ed.), *Bukowina - wspólnota kultur i języków* [Bukowina – a Community of Cultures and Languages], Warszawa, 1992; Kazimierz Feleszko, J. Molas, W. Strutyński (ed.), *Bukowina. Blaski i cienie “Europy w miniaturze”* [Bukowina. The Glows and Shadows of “Europe in Miniature”], Warszawa, 1995; Kazimierz Feleszko (ed.), *Bukowina po stronie dialogu* [Bukovina on the Dialogue Side], Sejny, 1999; Kazimierz Feleszko (ed.), *O Bukowinie, Razem czy oddzielnie?* [About Bukovina. Together or Separately], Warszawa, 2000; Helena Krasowska, Eugeniusz Kłosek, Magdalena Pokrzyńska, Zbigniew Kowalski (ed.), *Bukowina. Integracja społeczno-kulturowa na pograniczu* [Bukowina. Social and Cultural Integration on the Border], Warszawa, 2010; Radu F. Bruja, Helena Krasowska, Magdalena Pokrzyńska (ed.), *Bukowina: inni wśród swoich* [Bukowina. Others among their own], Zielona Góra-Piła-Warszawa, 2017. From the Polish articles there see, for example: Jadwiga Parecka-Seul, *Cechy gwary górali bukowińskich w gminie Brzeźnica (województwo zielono-górskie) jako ilustracja ich szlaków migracyjnych* [Features of the Dialect of Bukovinian Highlanders in the Brzeźnica Commune (Zielona Góra province), as an illustration of their migration routes], in *Bukowina- wspólnota...*, p. 63-66; Agnieszka Wołoszczuk, *Paralele południowo-słowiańskie w polszczyźnie bukowińskiej* [South-slavic Parallels in the Bukovinian Polish Language], in *Bukowina. Blaski...*, p. 167-174; Kazimierz Feleszko, *Integracja językowa Polaków bukowińskich* [Language Integration of Bukovinian Poles], in *Bukowina. Blaski...*, p. 67-73; Kazimierz Feleszko, *O legendzie bukowińskiej-prozą (czyli kilka pojęć socjologicznych)* [On the Bukovinian Legend – by prose (means several sociological concepts)], in: *Bukowina po stronie...*, p. 49-64; Eugeniusz Kłosek,

Romania) in 1990 also helped a lot. In Zielona Góra – Western Poland, re-migrants from Bukovina formed the organisation “Wspólnota Bukowińska” (Bukovina Community) led by Wilhelm Skibinski.

In 2000, the Museum of Beskid in Wisła (on the Polish-Czech-Slovak borderland) organised an international conference and exhibition “Czadecka Ojcowizna” (Czadca’s Fatherland), in which E. Kłosek, M. Pokrzyńska, H. Krasowska, J. Parecka, K. Nowak, M. Delost took part. A book with articles written by these researchers was published on this occasion and represented a kind of “first summary” of the Polish research on Bukovina.¹⁴ In 2003 in Wisła there was an exhibition dedicated to the 200th anniversary of the Polish Highlanders’ arrival in Bukovina. In the same year, a plaque dedicated to the 200th anniversary of this event was unveiled in the Catholic Church, in the village Crăsnioara Veche, near Storoiineț.

What was new and important in these studies? Apart from historical research, which now could be based on the archival material, we can say that, after 1989, the Polish scholars began to look differently at the borderlands – not only as an area of conflicts but also as an area of meetings and interference of languages and cultures, so this problem about that Ossowski and Chlebowczyk previously wrote. They also began to study the problem of national identification and consciousness as well as the issues of assimilation, stereotypes, problems of integration, inter-ethnic relations, small Homelands, relations between language

O niektórych elementach świadomości i kultury Polaków we wsiach południowej Bukowiny [About some Elements of Poles’ Awareness and Culture in the Villages of Southern Bukovina], in *Bukowina po stronie...*, p. 153-163; Tadeusz Dubicki, *Próby odnowienia życia polonijnego na Bukowiźnie w latach 1945-1950. Organizacja repatriacji* [Attempts to renew the Polish Diaspora Life in Bukovina in 1945-1950. Organization of Repatriates], in *O Bukowinie...*, p. 106-138; Helena Krasowska, Magdalena Pokrzyńska, *Strukturalne konsekwencje Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Folklorystycznego „Bukowińskie Spotkania” (na podstawie opinii polskich uczestników)* [Structural Consequences of the International Folk Festival „Bukovinian Meetings” (on basis of the Polish participant’s opinions)], in *Bukowina. Integracja...*, p. 23-36; Rafał Józwiak, *Autorytety narodowe i lokalne Polaków z Bukowiny ukraińskiej* [National and Local Authorities of Poles from Ukrainian Bukovina], in *Bukowina. Integracja...*, p. 175-180; Joanna Gorzelana, *Swojsko czy obco- o nazwach zespołów bukowińskich w Polsce* [Familiar or Not – about Names of Bukovinian Ensembles in Poland], in *Bukowina. Inni wśród swoich...*, p. 131-140.

¹⁴ *Czadecka ojcowizna* [Czadca’s Fatherland], ed. Krzysztof Nowak, Lublin, 2000.

and nationality and foreign influences in Polish dialects and culture in Bukovina. During the conferences E. Kłosek informed about his way to the ethnographic synthesis of the Polish Highlanders, K. Nowak drew attention to the need to take into account the specifics of borderlands, H. Krasowska presented the first effects of new dialectological studies, and M. Pokrzyńska explained the integration of re-emigrants from Bukovina.

In 2002, a large Polish conference popularising the topic of Bukovina took place in Żary, in Western Poland, where the immigrants live¹⁵. In 2002- 2003, the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw published two volumes of the book entitled *Bukowina moja miłość* (Bukovina, My Love). It was a collection of linguistic texts of Kazimierz Feleszko, which includes a dictionary of Polish dialect in Bukovina.¹⁶

In 2005, the University of Yuriy Fedkowycz in Cernăuți organised a Ukrainian-Polish conference about Bukovina and dedicated it to the memory of Kazimierz Feleszko, during which K. Nowak, E. Kłosek, H. Krasowska, M. Pokrzyńska, and E. Wieruszewska presented the Polish achievements in the field of regional history, ethnology, sociology, linguistics and also the activity of the Union of Poles in Romania.¹⁷

Except for the meetings in Jastrowie, from 1999 an important role in the Polish research about Bukovina is played by the conferences, which are a part of the "Dni Polskie" (Polish Days) in Romania, organised by the Union of Poles in Romania, especially the "Dom Polski" (Polish House) in Suceava. The first conference was devoted to the role of Romania in helping the Polish authorities, the Polish army, and the Polish civilian refugees in 1939 and its title was "The Second World War against the Background of Polish-Romanian Relations". The texts of speeches were edited by the Polish teacher Elżbieta Wieruszewska and the activist of the Union of Poles in Romania, Stanisława Iachimovschi, and published in print the following year.¹⁸ Kazimierz Jurczak, a Romanian philologist

¹⁵ See *Polacy z Bukowiny...*

¹⁶ Kazimierz Feleszko, *Bukowina moja miłość. Język polski na Bukowinie Karpackiej do 1945 roku* [Bukovina, My Love. Polish Language in Carpathian Bukovina up to 1945], vol. 1, ed. Andrzej Żor, Warszawa, 2002; vol 2, *Słownik* [Dictionary], ed. Ewa Rzetelska-Feleszko, Warszawa, 2003.

¹⁷ See *Bukowina. Tradycje i współczesność...*

¹⁸ Stanisława Iachimovschi, Elżbieta Wieruszewska (ed.), *Druga wojna światowa na tle stosunków polsko-rumuńskich. Materiały z sympozjum /Al doilea război mondial pe*

and the Polish consul in Romania, also gave a lot of help to the organizers of the first conferences in București.

Other historians who came to Suceava after 1999 did not deal directly with Bukovina as a topic, but broader with the Polish-Moldovan and Polish-Romanian relations, because this was (and is) the idea of these conferences. For example, Ilona Czamańska from Poznań (specialist in the pre-1918 epoch), Wojciech Rojek from Krakowa (period 1918-1945), Henryk Walczak from Szczecin (period 1918-1939), Agnieszka Kastory from Krakow (period 1918-1945), Aleksander Smoliński from Toruń (military history), Tadeusz Dubicki from Łódź (period 1939-1945), Waldemar Remzer from Toruń (military history). The Romanian scientists who attended these conferences were Constantin Rezachevici, Veniamin Ciobanu (died in 2015), Florin Anghel, Daniel Hrenciuc, Florin Pintescu, Radu F. Bruja, Harieta Sabol, Nicolae Mareș, Ion Constantin, Bogdan-Alexandru Schipor, Vasile Schipor, Olimpia Mitric, Adrian Vițalariu and from the Republic of Moldova: Lilia Zabolotnaia, Alina Felea, Constantin Ungureanu. Also, there were Romanian – Polish philologists such as Stan Velea, Mihail Mitu, Constantin Geambașu. The sessions take place in Polish and Romanian, and if necessary, speeches and discussions are translated into one or the other language. Papers sent by the authors are edited and published by the Union of Poles in Romania the following year. The conferences are sometimes accompanied by a vernissage of historical or cultural exhibitions. For example, the exhibition at the Bukovina Museum in Suceava during the “Polish Days” in 2017 was dedicated to the 150th anniversary of the birth of Józef Piłsudski and his connections with Romania. Speeches and publications are divided into thematic sections, for example: “In the circle of history”, “In the circle of literature and ethnography”, “In the circle of literature and culture”, “In the circle of literature and art”, “In the circle of issues of national minorities”, “In the circle of culture and Bukovinian issues” etc. Sometimes, the organisers proposed some leading topics, most often associated with anniversaries of important events in the history of both countries or the Polish Bukovinian communities. In 1999 it was the 60th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, in 2003 the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the Polish Highlanders in Bukovina. In 2007, several papers were devoted to the 60th anniversary of the re-emigration of Poles from Bukovina to Poland, and the 165th anniversary of the

fondul relatiilor polono-române. Materialele simpozionului. [The Second World War against the Background of Polish-Romanian Relations. Materials of the Symposium], Suceava, 2000.

settlement of Poiana Micului village. A year later, a part of the conference was devoted to important events for both nations year 1918, and in 2009 the 70th anniversary of the arrival of Polish refugees in Romania. In 2015, several papers were dedicated to the battles of Polish legionnaires in Bukovina and the Carpathian mountains (1914-1915), in 2018 the 100th anniversary of Polish independence and Romanian unification. All conference topics from 1999 and 19 publication titles of the post-conference books can be found on the websites of the Union of Poles in Romania. There are also published online post-conference publications since 2013.¹⁹ Earlier ones are available in the “Polish House” in Suceava and in the most important libraries of Bukovina, Poland, and Romania.

Of course, an important place at these conferences is also occupied by the issues of Bukovina, which covers both the history and the present day. The Polish researchers presented in Suceava mainly the topics of the Polish minority in this region, especially of the Czadca Highlanders, which was a continuation, extension, and verification of the “old” works of earlier authors (Gotkiewicz, Biedrzycki, Deboveanu, Gogolewski). Topics related to Bukovina cover the entire historical region and the activity of Bukovinian re-emigrants in Poland. It is worth adding that the first conference presentations of field interviews by Eugeniusz Kłosek regarding national stereotypes in the Polish villages of Bukovina were a certain cognitive shock for some listeners from Romania because the Romanian scientists have not conducted similar research, while in Poland they enjoyed considerable interest.²⁰ The subject of Bukovina also appears in papers devoted to broader Polish-Romanian relations.²¹ Meetings in Suceava have become the largest forum

¹⁹ See the information about these conferences and the publications since 2013: <https://dompolski.ro>.

²⁰ See Eugeniusz Kłosek, *Wokół stereotypów Polaków i Rumunów w polskich wsiach południowej Bukowiny* [Around Stereotypes of Poles and Romanians in the Polish Villages of Southern Bukovina], in *Kontakty polsko-rumuńskie na przestrzeni wieków. Materiały z sympozjum/Relații polono-române de-a lungul timpului. Materialele simpozionului*, [Polish-Romanian Contacts over the centuries. Materials of the Symposium], ed. Stanislava Iachimovschi, Suceava, 2001, p. 212-223; „*Nie taki diabeł straszny jak go malują*”, czyli o stereotypowych obrazach Ukraińców, Niemców, Cyganów i Żydów w polskich wsiach Bukowiny rumuńskiej [„Not so Terrible as the Devil is painted”. or about the Stereotypical Images of the Ukrainians, Germans, Gypsies, and Jews in the Polish Villages of Romanian Bukovina], in *Relacje polsko-rumuńskie. Relații polono-române* [Polish-Romanian Relations], ed. Stanislava Iachimovschi, E. Wieruszewska, Suceava, 2004, p. 25-41.

²¹ See www.dompolski.ro/.

for the authentic dialogue of Polish and Romanian humanists. Hundreds of papers were presented in Suceava, most of which were published. Quite a large variety of them are best testified to the richness of Polish-Romanian relations in the past and today, which, together with new thematically new proposals contribute and encourage them to further discovering and deepening. New, also young researchers appeared, and during the conference and other events accompanying it many new, also difficult, dividing problems were undertaken, filling in these almost twenty years valuable “white spots” in the history of mutual contacts between the two countries and nations, getting to know their rich culture, breaking down stereotypes associated with it and building a common present even in everyday interpersonal relations. During the “Polish Days” people from Romania, Poland, Moldova, and Ukraine integrate, discuss, compare their research, and correct their opinions. In Suceava, the Poles from Bukovina meet members of other minorities from both parts of the region. Friendships made during these meetings pay off with further initiatives in the field of scientific and cultural contacts in Poland or Romania. The meetings in Suceava popularised the knowledge of Bukovina in Poland. The tourist attractions and the Polish villages have become an authentic intercultural bridge between two or more nations, which is not always possible on other borderlands.²²

THE MOST IMPORTANT RESEARCH RESULTS

We must say that in the case of typical historical, scientific works, Emil Biedrzycki’s book remains the most extensive Polish work on the history of Poles in Bukovina, although it is based on a small amount of foreign archival sources.²³ The smaller monographs include works of J. Bujak about the Saint

²² More see about these conferences: Krzysztof Nowak, *Polsko-rumuńskie konferencje w Suczawie (1999–2017). Kształtowanie się ważnego forum polsko-rumuńskiej wymiany myśli naukowej* [Polish-Romanian Conferences in Suceava (1999–2017). Formation of an Important Forum for the Polish-Romanian Exchange of Scientific idea], „Balcanica Posnanensia”, vol. XXIV, 2017, p. 171-195.

²³ Paradoxically, more historical syntheses were made thanks to Romanian historians, for example: Marius Petraru, *Polacy na Bukowinie w latach 1775-1918. Z dziejów osadnictwa polskiego* [Poles in Bukovina in 1775-1918. From the History of Polish Settlement], Kraków, 2004; Daniel Hrenciuc, Florin Pintescu, *Din istoria polonezilor în Bucovina (1774-2002)* [From the History of the Poles in Bukovina (1774-2002), Suceava, 2002; Daniel Hrenciuc, Florin Pintescu, *Istoria și tradițiile minorității poloneze*

Anna Church in Storojineț and about the Polish press; bilingual works Polish-Ukrainian, by Helena Krasowska also about the church of Saint Anna and the Polish-Romanian-Ukrainian village Pătrăuții de Jos in the Northern Bukovina, but in the contemporary socio-cultural context; bilingual works by Polish priest Alfons-Eugen Zelionca born in southern Bukovina (currently in Poland) about the villages Solonețu Nou and Pleșa.²⁴ A Bukovinian with Polish roots, Franz Pieszczoch, wrote about the Poles in the community of Siret.²⁵ A valuable publication is *Polacy w Rumunii mowią o sobie* (Poles in Romania speak about themselves) from 2000, edited by a former teacher from Poland, Anna Mamulska, containing interviews with Poles from the Romanian Bukovina.²⁶ Krzysztof Nowak described and compared the integration processes of the Polish and Romanian borderlands after 1918, the place of Bukovina in the

[History and Traditions of the Polish Minority], Suceava, 2004, Daniel Hrenciuc, *Un destin pentru istorie. Polonezii în Bucovina (1774-2008)* [A Destiny for History. The Poles in Bukovina (1774-2008)], Iași, 2008; *Polonezii din România (1918-1990). De la regat la republică socialistă*. [The Poles in Romania (1918-1990). From the Kingdom to the Socialist Republic], vol. 1, București, 2015. Books of D. Hrenciuc and F. Pintescu bases only on sources from Romania.

²⁴ Jan Bujak, *Święta Anna. Kościół i parafia Storozyniec - Strózeniec (1864-2005. Przypomnienie ludzi, rzeczy i zdarzeń w 100-lecie konsekracji neogotyckiego kościoła parafialnego i w 140-lecie erygowania parafii* [Church and Parish Storojineț - Strózeniec (1864-2005). Reminder of people, things and events on the 100th anniversary of the consecration of the neo-Gothic parish church and on the 140th anniversary of the erection of the parish], Kraków, 2005; *Zaczyny dziennikarstwa polskiego na Bukowinie: „Bratek”, „Ogniwo”, „Osa”, „Przedświt”, „Przegląd Czerniowiecki”, „Diablica”* [The beginnings of Polish Journalism in Bukowina: „Bratek”, „Ogniwo”, „Osa”, „Przedświt”, „Przegląd Czerniowiecki”], Kraków, 2006; „Gazeta” Polska” 1883-1914, Kraków, 2013; *Kronika bukowińskich Polaków 1911-1914* [Chronicle of Bukovinian Poles 1911-1914], Suceava, 2017; Helena Krakowska, *Bukowina - żywa historia Kościoła* [Bukovina - the Living History of the Church], Kraków 2006; *Bukowina. Mała ojczyzna - Pietrowce Dolne / Буковина. Мала батьківщина - Нижні Петрівці* [Bukovina. A Small Homeland - Pătrăuții de Jos], Pruszków, 2002; Alfons Eugen Zelionca, *Nowy Sołonec. Dzieje wsi i parafii/Solonețu Nou: istoria satului și a parohiei* [Solonețu Nou. History of the Village and Parish], Suceava, 2014; *Pleșa. Dzieje wsi i parafii/ Pleșa. Istoria satului și a parohiei* [Pleșa. History of the Village and Parish], Suceava, 2016.

²⁵ Franz Pieszczoch, *Polonezii în istoria orașului Siret* [Poles in the history of city Siret], Suceava, 2008.

²⁶ Anna Mamulska, *Polacy w Rumunii mowią o sobie* [Poles in Romania speak about themselves], Leszno, 2000.

Polish-Romanian relations and the Polish policy, as well as the re-emigration of Poles from Bukovina to Poland.²⁷

In the scientific ethnological research of Romanian Bukovina, Eugeniusz Kłosek showed most activity with his students from Wrocław. His work resulted in a book from 2005: *Świadomość etniczna i kultura społeczności polskiej we wsiach Bukowiny rumuńskiej* (Ethnic Awareness and Culture of the Polish Community in Villages of Romanian Bukovina).²⁸ Nobody else before him and nobody else after him did something similar in the ethnology of Poles in Southern Bukovina, and will not do because of the time of migration and changes in everyday life of the inhabitants.

In the language studies of Bukovina, Maria Ostrovschi did the most after H. Deboveanu, who wrote (but not published) a dissertation about some dialect features²⁹. In 2006, Helena Krasowska wrote a book about the dialects of the Polish Highlanders in Bukovina: *Górale polscy na Bukowinie karpackiej. Studium socjolingwistyczne i leksykalne* (The Polish Highlanders in the Carpathian Bukovina. Socio-linguistic and Lexical Study). She is also a co-author of the publication *Słownik górali polskich na Bukowinie* (Dictionary of the Polish Highlanders in Bukovina), from 2008. The summary of the Highlanders' dialect

²⁷ See, for example, Krzysztof Nowak, *Bukowina w opiniach polskich służb dyplomatycznych, konsularnych i wojskowych w Rumunii (1918-1939)* [Bukovina in the Opinions of Polish Diplomatic, Consular and Military services in Romania (1918-1939)], in *Kontakty polsko-rumuńskie na przestrzeni...*, p. 87-105; *Dyplomacja polska a Polacy w Rumunii po roku 1945* [Polish Diplomacy and Poles in Romania after 1945], in *Blżej siebie. Polacy i Rumuni a historyczne i kulturalne dziedzictwo Europy. Materiały z sympozjum/Mai aproape unii de alții. Polonezii și români raportați la patrimoniul istoric și cultural al Europei. Materialele simpozionului* [Closer to each other. Poles and Romanians and the Historical and Cultural Heritage of Europe. Materials of the Symposium], ed. S. Iachomovschi, E. Wieruszewska, p. 271-283; *Kolejne archiwalia na temat reemigracji Polaków z Bukowiny*. [Further Archives on the Re-emigration of Poles from Bukovina], in *Związki polsko-rumuńskie w historii i kulturze. Legături istorice și culturale polono-române* [Polish-Romanian Relationships in History and Culture], ed. Karina Stempel-Gancarczyk, Elżbieta Wieruszewska-Calistru, Suceava, 2018, p. 455-467.

²⁸ Eugeniusz Kłosek, *Świadomość etniczna i kultura społeczności polskiej we wsiach Bukowiny rumuńskiej* [Ethnic Awareness and Culture of the Polish Community in the Villages of Romanian Bukovina], Wrocław, 2005.

²⁹ Maria Ostrovschi, *Słowotwórstwo rzeczownika i przymiotnika gwary górali bukowińskich w Rumunii*, praca doktorska [Word Formation of the Noun and Adjective of the Dialect of Bukovinian Highlanders in Romania, PhD work], Łódź, 2004.

issues is the publication *Świadectwo zanikającego dziedzictwa. Mowa polska na Bukowinie. Rumunia-Ukraina* (A testimony to a vanishing heritage. The Polish language of Bukovina. Romania-Ukraine).³⁰ These works cover both parts of Bukovina, and it can be said that the dialect of the Polish Highlanders has been saved from oblivion. We can also mention a popular book edited by Jadwiga Parecka about the dialect of Czadca Highlanders living after 1945 near Zielona Góra in Western Poland³¹.

On the other hand, for many years the Polish researchers were not interested in the Poles in Bukovina coming from Galicia, so-called *Masurians*, who still live in such villages as Bulai-Moara, Ruda-Vicșani, Siret, Cacica. Only recently the scientific study of this group was undertaken by Karina Stempel-Gancarczyk who in 2019 finished her dissertation on this subject.³² From sociological, geographical and demographic works, one can point to the publication of Magdalena Pokrzyńska who synthesises her studies about the integration processes among re-migrants in Poland in a book *Bukowińczycy w Polsce. Socjologiczne studium rozwoju wspólnoty regionalnej* (Bukovinians in Poland. A sociological study of regional community development). In 2007 Janusz Górecki from Krakow published a book *Świadomość regionalna Polaków na Bukowinie* (Regional awareness of Poles in Bukovina)³³. Adam Rosmanith from Krakow presented many interesting demographic materials from his research in Polish villages in Bukovina³⁴.

³⁰ Helena Krasowska, Magdalena Pokrzyńska, Lech Aleksy Suchomłynow, *Świadectwo zanikającego dziedzictwa. Mowa polska na Bukowinie. Rumunia-Ukraina* (A Testimony to a Vanishing Heritage. The Polish Language in Bukovina. Romania-Ukraine), Warszawa, 2018.

³¹ Jadwiga Parecka, *Słownik gwary bukowińskiej z lubuskiej Brzeźnicy i jej okolic* [Dictionary of Bukovinian Dialect from Brzeźnica Lubuska and its Surroundings], Żagań, 2019.

³² Karina Stempel-Gancarczyk, *Procesy zanikania języka na podstawie badań gwar polskich na Bukowinie rumuńskiej, praca doktorska* [The Processes of Disappearing of the Language, based on Research Regarding Polish Dialects in Romanian Bukovina, PhD thesis], Warszawa, 2019.

³³ Janusz Górecki, *Świadomość regionalna Polaków na Bukowinie* [Regional Awareness of Poles in Bukovina], Kraków, 2007.

³⁴ See, for example, Adam Rosmanith, *Migracje w skupiskach mniejszości polskiej na południowej Bukowinie w latach 1990-2011* [Migrations in the Clusters of the Polish Minority in Southern Bukovina, in the years 1990-2011], in *Polsko-rumuńskie związki historyczne i kulturowe. Materiały z sympozjum/Legături istorice și culturale polono-române. Materialele simpozionului* [Polish-Romanian Historical and Cultural Relationships.

When it comes to research not concerning the Polish minority, but broader issues of Bukovina, some can only be recommended. First is the book of the ethnologist Ewa Kocój from Krakow about the painted monasteries in Bukovina.³⁵ Next are articles of Longin Graczyk from Warsaw, dedicated to Armenians in Bukovina and of Mirosław Sikora from Katowice about the resettlement of Bukovinian Germans to the area of Żywiec in Lesser Poland, in 1940.³⁶ We can also add that there are several interesting tourist guides about Bukovina, published in Poland, the best of which was written by Michał Jurecki from 2001 *Bukowina-kraina łagodności* (Bukovina – the Land of Gentleness).³⁷

CONCLUSIONS

It can be stated that Polish researchers treat Bukovina as a historical whole. The most common approaches in Polish publications underline the language of the Polish Czadca Highlanders (also in the Ukrainian part of the region) and the

Materials of the Symposium], ed. Stanisława Iachimovschi, Elżbieta Wieruszewska-Calistru, Suceava, 2013, p. 505-520.

³⁵ Ewa Kocój, *Świątynie, postacie, ikony. Malowane cerkwie i monastypy Bukowiny Południowej w wyobrażeniach rumuńskich* (Temples, Characters, Icons: Painted Churches and Monasteries of South Bukovina in Romanian Images), Kraków, 2006.

³⁶ See, for example, Longin Graczyk, *Wirtualna Bukowina – czyli ormiańska tożsamość poza terytorium i czasem* [Virtual Bukovina - meaning Armenian Identity beyond Territory and Time], in *Bliżej siebie. Polacy i Rumuni a historyczne i kulturalne dziedzictwo Europy. Materiały z sympozjum/Mai aproape unii de alții. Polonezii și români raportați la patrimoniul istoric și cultural al Europei. Materialele simpozionului*. [Closer to Each Other. Poles and Romanians and the Historical and Cultural Heritage of Europe. Materials of the Symposium], ed. Stanislava Iachimovschi, Elżbieta Wieruszewska, Suceava, 2007, p. 54-65; Mirosław Sikora, „Siedlungsaktion Buchenland”. Niemcy z Bukowiny w akcji kolonizowania ziem polskich wcielonych do III Rzeszy na przykładzie prowincji śląskiej/górnośląskiej (1940-1944) [„Siedlungsaktion Buchenland”. Germans from Bukovina in the Colonization of Polish Lands incorporated into the Third Reich, on the Example of the Silesian/ Upper Silesian Province (1940-1944), in *Relacje polsko-rumuńskie w historii i kulturze. Materiały z sympozjum. Relații polono-române în istorie și cultură. Materialele simpozionului* [Polish-Romanian Relations in History and Culture. Materials of the Symposium], ed. Stanislava Iachimovschi, Elżbieta Wieruszewska, Suceava, 2009, p. 225-250.

³⁷ Michał Jurecki, *Bukowina. Kraina łagodności. Przewodnik turystyczny* [Bukovina. A Land of Gentleness. Tourist Guide], Kraków, 2001.

cultural, social, religious, demographic, regional and national identity issues of this group in Romania and Poland (after re-migration). We can say that these cases could be saved because, due to current migrations, faster assimilation processes and dying out of the older generation, similar research can no longer be carried out. On the other hand, there is no equivalent of E. Kłosek's ethnological work on the subject of the Polish Highlanders in the Ukrainian Bukovina and on the subject of language studies of *Masurians* there and in Poland after 1945, not to mention about describing their culture and history. Work is still ongoing on the historical reconstruction of the Polish fate in Bukovina during the Austrian and communist times, which would be the result of archival queries not only in Poland or Romania but also in Ukraine, Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, and Germany. It is better in this respect with the interwar period. There is also a lack of Polish research on matters not related to the Poles in Bukovina. On the other hand, it is important that most Polish studies about Bukovina also contain a Romanian and Ukrainian summary, and some of them are published in two languages. Therefore, cooperation with foreign partners should also be important for the possibility of broader Polish research in Bukovina.