civil servants

**2. The Cultural Situation in Lemkovyna in the Second Half of the 19th Century and at the Beginning of the 20th Century.**

The approximate beginnings of the emergence of Lemkovyna as a cultural category 98, both in the minds of its neighbors and its inhabitants, can be traced to the 1850s. Along with its separate name and the gradual process of defining its particular traits, the region has become a specific cultural space, gradually evolving towards a deeper self-awareness. This conscious element enabled extending, nurturing, and shaping what, until then, developed spontaneously. A reflection on the community’s identity was stimulated by the region’s intelligentsia. Therefore, this evolution can be traced most fully in literature, where collective emotions and awareness are verbalized in a direct manner.

In connection with the Romantic interest in folk culture, sightseeing tours combined with recording folklore, customs, and dialect laid down the boundaries and the image of ethnographic, folk Lemkovyna. This image did not embrace the subcategory of intelligentsia, both ecclesiastical and lay, originating in Lemkovyna, and closely related to its cultural space. Hence, even today, Lemko culture is perceived solely as a folk one, and Lemkos as a peasant, illiterate population, which only developed its own intelligentsia in the post-deportation reality after the Second World War.

When discussing the cultural situation of Lemkovyna and its literary life, we will primarily focus on the situation and the creative activities of the Lemko intelligentsia. The term ‘intelligentsia’ started to be used in Galicia around the 1850s, referring, first of all, to big-city civil servants and representatives of some liberal professions, as one of the groups of the bourgeoisie 99. The ‘intellectual layers’ were also identified in rural environments. They primarily included manorial administrative officers, priests, and teachers in village schools. The largest number of people performing intellectual work were employed in the state administration, therefore they were mainly concentrated in the big city of Lviv, the seat of the Galician authorities and offices. The revival of public life after 1848 resulted in an increased demand for journalists, writers, and actors. In 1855, Lviv, with its 70,384 residents, had 3,000 white collar workers, as compared with 800 in Kraków, whose population was 43,923. 100 Most of the Galician intelligentsia in the 1850s came from the nobility, only a part of it from burgesses. In comparison with the Kingdom of Poland, the intelligentsia of peasant origin emerged relatively early in Galicia. In the academic year 1856/57, 4.8% of the students of Jagiellonian University were from peasant families, while at the University of Lviv, this percentage was even higher 101. As early as the 1850s, many second-generation members of intelligentsia lived in Galicia. The material position of this social stratum was difficult. The incomes of civil servants, in particular, were very modest.

It would be highly difficult to determine the national content of the intelligentsia at the time. However, it can be estimated on the basis of the nationality statistics of gymnasium students. For example, in 1854, out of one hundred students of such schools in Eastern Galicia, 42 were of Rusyn nationality, 40 of Polish nationality, nine of German nationality and nine of Jewish nationality.102 The percentage of Rusyn youth in gymnasiums in Western Galicia was low, as they were dominated by Polish students, with a relatively high percentage of Jewish ones. Rusyns constituted more than 10 percent of students only in towns located close to Lemkovyna. For example, 18 Lemkos attended the Nowy Sącz gymnasium in 1854 (14 percent of all students), 23 in 1879 and 19 in 1899.103 The situation in the gymnasiums in Gorlice and Jasło was similar. The Gorlice school was attended by 56 Rusyns in 1913/14, or 14 percent of all students.104

The specific traits of the Ruthenian intelligentsia resulted from its social roots and the role it played in its native society. Not incidentally it was common in Galicia to refer to Rusyns as a community of “peasants and Orthodox priests,” which stressed its two-class structure, resulting of the Polonization of Rusyn gentry in the 16th and 17th century. East Galician cities and towns were mostly settled by Poles, Jews, Germans, and Armenians. Rusyns constituted a minority. Therefore, the Rusyn intelligentsia was traditionally composed mainly of clergy. Only later, school teachers, civil servants, judges, scientists, and artists joined its ranks. The role of clergy, mostly residents of rural areas having close ties with the peasant community, was dominant. Greek Catholic priests were well prepared to play the role of intelligentsia not only as a social and professional stratum, but also as intellectual and political elite. One of the causes was aptly described by Leon Wasilewski:

The attitude of the Rusyn people towards the Uniate Church is far better from the one prevailing in Western Galicia. This is attributed to the fact that Rusyn priests live closer to the people and in many cases work for their benefit. Moreover, they tend not to combat the political aspiration of the people as fiercely as Roman Catholic priests.105

Jan Kozik emphasized another circumstance:

Members of the clergy were almost the only individuals who, during their theological studies, had a chance to see the old monuments of their national literature. They frequently kept tokens of national remembrance in their parish houses. Moreover, in the context of grave backwardness and shockingly low level of education, clergy were the only mentors and guides for rural folks.106

Finally, the lack of celibacy among the Greek Catholic priests was an important factor.

It is worth emphasizing here that the strength of the Greek Catholic clergy in Eastern Galicia was not only in their larger number. Having families of their own, they formed a community which, even if not entirely meeting the criteria for being a part of intelligentsia, constituted a group from which future intellectuals originated. So many distinguished representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the 19th century (and later as well) came from these circles.107

All these factors influenced the fact that the clergy were the social group with the greatest national awareness. They also believed they were the appointed to be guides for the believers and to awaken awareness and enlightenment among them.

The Lemko intelligentsia of the second half of the 19th century formed an integral part of the Galician intelligentsia, and as such it was subjected to the same development processes. However, both its condition and position, determined by specific local factors, deserve a more detailed analysis than the frequently quoted opinion of Julian Tarnowicz that the Lemko intelligentsia consists “in nearly 100 percent of clergy and in nearly 100 percent of Russophiles.”108

The Lemko intelligentsia in Galicia primarily consisted of old priestly families residing in rural parishes for centuries, cultivating patriarchal-conservative traditions in their family, neighborhood, and pastoral relationships.109 Stepan Szach lists more than 150 of such families, claiming that the oldest ones originated in the 15th century. They were all closely related through marriages. Traditionally, a *complete God praiser*, or a graduate of theology (more often than not a priest’s son), visited neighboring clergy houses in the search for a fiancée, which he was expected to marry prior to his ordination, thus consolidating and strengthening family traditions. Traditional *sołtys* families existed in Lemkovyna as well, cultivating the traditions of educating their children.110 However, in general (at least in the initial stage of this process), when the talented son of a peasant finished school, he typically continued his education in order to become a priest and marry into a clergy family, adopting its customs and traditions.111 Nevertheless, in the second half of the 19th century, a number of Lemkos were choosing lay educational paths. Law studies were relatively popular. Many judges, lawyers, politicians, and journalists came from Lemkovyna, including deputies to the Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria, such as Dr. Damian Sawczak112  and Wołodymyr Kuryłowycz, the journalists Wołodymyr Szczawyńskij and Iwan Buczma (editor of the *Hałyczanyn* daily), Dr. Kyryło Czerlunczakewycz, a lawyer and an official in the Austrian Ministry of the Interior in Vienna, Iwan Konstantynowycz, a judge of the Lviv Appellate Court, Aleksander Kmycykewycz and many others. Lemkos were studying medicine as well. Well-known medical doctors include Mykołaj Tychańskij and Mychaił Sawczak from Krynica, Orest Gyża from Wysowa, Andryj Prysłopskij from Węglówka (Waniwka), Teofil Wysłockij from Tymbark. The following served in the Austrian army: Colonel Iwan Puchyr from Świątkowa Wielka, Major Omelian Leśniak from Krasna, Major Danyło Tałpasz from Nowa Wieś, Field Marshall Ludwik Sembratowycz, Colonel Roman Sembratowycz from Tylicz. Some Lemkos selected scientific career paths. Apart from theologians, famous Lemko scholars included the outstanding chemist from Jagiellonian University Emilijan Czyrniańskij (Czyrniański) from Florynka113, and the professor of medicine from the same university, Walerij Sas-Jaworskij (Jaworski), also from Florynka.114 Julian Medweckij (Niedźwiedzki) was a professor at the Lviv Polytechnic School. Wasylij Czyrniańskij from Złockie, associate professor at the University of Lviv, was an expert in zoology and mineralogy. The most numerous group of Lemko lay intelligentsia was comprised of primary and secondary school teachers. Both the esteem enjoyed by gymnasium teachers and the teaching skills required from them were relatively highly in the autonomous province of Galicia.115 They were members of the intellectual elites. The teachers’ rolls name many individuals from Lemkovyna. Toma Polańskij117 was the director of the Przemyśl gymnasium, Maksym Krynyckij from Małastów was a gymnasium teacher in Sambir; Mychaił Polańskij and Adrian Kopystianskij were gymnasium teachers in Lviv, Matwij Astriab from Wysowa in Kiev, Mychaił Konstantynowycz in Ivano-Frankovsk, and Melition Gładyszowski in Stryj – to name just a few members of lay intelligentsia from Lemkovyna.

Some of the educated Lemkos remained in their homeland, mainly as parish priests, cultivating the old traditions of their own community, while some others settled in towns and cities (sometimes outside Galicia), often holding high church or lay positions. Of great importance is the fact of maintaining traditional customs, including the way of thinking and mentality, by high-ranked Lemkos, mentioned in memoirs and other sources. This fact is illustrated by Stepan Szach’s observations and comments:

Father Wasyl Masciuch 118, associate professor in canon law at the University of Lviv in the Austrian times, was, undoubtedly, a typical example of a Lemko clergyman from a peasant family – in his speech, manners, and conservative stubbornness.

... Father Bubniak Mykoła... longed for his mountains and his people! ... ‘On the plains’ he was not able to hide his Lemko accent, which, naturally, was frowned at by those from the lands on the Bug river.119 …Lemkos would always stick together.120

The cultivation of the characteristic features of the Lemko nature, language, and customs is often emphasized in the biographies of eminent persons of Lemko origin.121

Lemkos were perceived as a people whose conservatism and allegiance to Rus’ resulted in the preservation of the Rusyn language and the traditional attires of clergy in times when, in the entire Eastern Galicia, the Rusyn language was only used by peasants.

Those Lemkos, who ended up at the University of Lviv via Przemyśl, used their language among themselves…. They wore the attires similar to those used by their ancestors in the 18th, and even in the 17th century.122

Presumably, even having left their conservative native environments, Lemkos often maintained, in their mindsets and their values, what constituted fundamental features of the traditional Lemko culture.123 Nevertheless, living in distant cultural centers, they participated in the cultural, academic, and political life of those centers, acquired education in their new environment, and were influenced by its culture. It is, therefore, crucial to establish which of the centers were the most accessible and attractive to Lemko intelligentsia, as well as what the education process and the cultural and social life was like there.

Elementary school was the basic unit of the Galician educational system.124 The curricula and the organizational structure of such schools were primarily governed by the act of 1774, regulations from the years 1783–1787, and the so-called *Political Constitution of the German Schools* of 1805, in force throughout the Austrian Empire until 1869. Several amendments were introduced in 1815, transferring the supervision of education to clergy. The following categories of elementary school were established:

1. Regular, or main schools – a preliminary grade and three elementary grades. Local authorities were allowed to extend such schools by another grade. Technically, they were municipal schools. They allowed access to gymnasiums, but the fundamental purpose of main schools was to teach German, which, from third grade on, was the only language of instruction. Additionally, such schools educated in religion and bookkeeping.

2. Trivial schools, both rural and urban, teaching writing and reading, bookkeeping and religion.125 The classes were in Polish, Rusyn, and German.

3. Parish schools were the most numerous ones. They were teaching basic writing, reading, bookkeeping and religious singing skills. Some classes were in Polish and Rusyn, some in German. Cantors and organists usually served as teachers.

Clergy played a major role in education, particularly in elementary education. In the territories with a Rusyn population, it was Greek Catholic clergy. Trivial schools were directly subordinate to deanery inspectors, while parish schools were to parish priests. The inspectors’ duties were usually performed by deputy deans. One district usually consisted of two deaneries. According to official sources, there were 360 elementary schools in the Greek Catholic diocese of Przemyśl in 1866.126 Church sources give the number of 533 in 1867.127 The difference is due to the fact that the official rolls tended not to include some poorly performing parish schools. Their categories were gradually changed. The number of trivial schools was growing, as they were replacing parish schools. Classes were being mostly taught by cantors from local churches. The percentage of schoolchildren attending elementary schools in the 1850s was relatively low: in the school year 1858/59 it was 19.5 percent in the Biecz district; 16.7 in the Dukla district; 12.9 in the Krosno district; and 39.6 in the Muszyna district.128

In the constitutional period, the Imperial Council passed the *Imperial Public School Act of 14 May 1869*, introducing public elementary schools with the locally prevailing language as the language of instruction. Two types of schools were established – common and comprehensive. At least one eight-grade comprehensive school was to be established for every two school districts, and three or four at least four-grade common schools in each district. Education was compulsory for all children aged 6 to 12. Avoiding this obligation was penalized. As a result, 91.3 percent of all enrolled students attended school systematically in the school year 1883/84.129 The education system was supervised by the National School Council established in 1867, which coordinated the activities of regional school councils, supervising, in turn, local school councils. As many as 37 school districts existed in Galicia in 1883/84. Lemkovyna was covered by four districts. There were 43 elementary schools with Polish and 13 with Rusyn as the language of instruction in Nowy Sącz district; 37 and 17, respectively, in Gorlice district; 66 and 10 in Jasło district; while in Sanok district – 57 schools with Polish, 17 with Rusyn and 17 with both Polish and Rusyn.130 This breakdown shows that there were around 60 elementary schools in Lemkovyna at that time. Each district had a school inspector nominated by the minister of education. It was not allowed to perform the duties of both a cantor and teacher at the same time. The schools for cantor-taechers (in Przemyśl and Lviv) were converted into schools for cantors only. Teachers were educated in special schools for teachers and pedagogy courses.

Gymnasiums constituted the higher tier of the schooling system. Six-grade gymnasiums were introduced throughout Austria in 1775, supplemented with two-grade philosophy lyceums serving as a springboard to universities. Latin was replaced by German as the language of instruction. Candidates for gymnasium students had to be at least ten years old and enjoy an impeccable reputation. They were required to pass entrance examinations or have finished three grades of a main school. The gymnasiums were fee-charging schools. In 1848, the philosophy lyceums were dissolved and incorporated into six-grade gymnasiums, thus forming eight-grade classical gymnasiums with *matura* school exit exams. The organizational structure of Austrian gymnasiums131  after 1848 was based on the *Organizational Outline for Gymnasiums*, in force from 1850 to 1918. The eight-grade gymnasium was divided into a four-year lower gymnasium and a four-year higher gymnasium. The first one was the educational base for the latter, and both prepared students to attend a higher real school. The curriculums were similar in both, however, the scope of instruction in the lower gymnasiums was more practical, and in the higher gymnasiums it was extended, preparing students for university studies. From 1867, the language of instruction in public high schools was Polish (with some exceptions). For example, Ruthenian was the language of instruction in the Academic Gymnasium of Lviv. Consecutive diet resolutions introduced it into other gymnasiums as well, initially, only in parallel Rusyn grades, upon which independent gymnasiums were later established, e.g. in Przemyśl and Kołomyja. German was retained as the language of instruction in the Second Gymnasium in Lviv and in the Brody Gymnasium. The language of religion was always the native language of the students of a given denomination. Gymnasiums were treated not only as schooling institutions, but also as venues for the religious and moral education of students. Only three gymnasiums existed in the vicinity of Lemkovyna before 1848: in Przemyśl (est. 1617),132 Rzeszów (1658),133  and Nowy Sącz (1818).134 After 1867, new gymnasiums were established in Jasło (1868)135, Sanok (1880)136, Jarosław (1884)137, Krosno (1900)138, Gorlice (1906)139, Second Gymnasium in Nowy Sącz (1908).140 Arguably, these establishments educated Lemko youth in the first place. However, most of them emerged rather late, towards the turn of the century. On the other hand, different sources, such as the biographies of famous Lemkos and literary sources141 claim that in earlier times young Lemkos, in order to gain education, usually migrated to Hungarian Rus’, first to Podolinec142, and then to Prešov, Košice, or Uzhhorod. Many Lemko students enrolled in the Przemyśl gymnasium before 1867.43 Young people from Muszyna State mainly attended the gymnasium in Nowy Sącz.144 However, until 1867, they could only obtain a lower-gymnasium education there.

In addition to gymnasiums in Galician towns, there were schools for elementary education teachers. Until 1869 they were called *preparands*.145 As many as eight *preparands* operated in Galicia in 1864 (e.g. in Przemyśl), each attended by an average of 20 students. The course for main school teachers lasted six months, and three months for trivial and parish school teachers. Graduates of three-year main schools were qualified for them. During the autonomy period, school teachers were trained in so-called teaching seminaries146. They were treated as vocational schools, rather than high schools, therefore their graduates did not qualify for university education.147 Such seminaries were established, among others, in Stary Sącz, Nowy Sącz, Krosno, Jarosław, Rzeszów, and Przemyśl.

Gymnasium students lived in shared lodgings, those from peasant families usually in very poor conditions,148 frequently starving while waiting for modest provisions delivered by his parents from time to time. Often, they were left to their own resources, since their poor families were not able to support them in any manner. Older gymnasium students usually gave private lessons, thus earning their living. From the 1860s on, dormitories for Rusyn students began to emerge, funded by various organizations, communities, or private individuals.149 This resulted in a considerable growth in the number of gymnasium students from peasant families.

While in mid-19th century most students of gymnasium were from intelligentsia families, mainly sons of priests, fifty years later the majority of students were from peasant families. As many as 18 dormitories existed in nine East Galician cities in 1902/3, inhabited by 699 students.150

Several Rusyn dormitories were available in Lviv alone, plus some in Przemyśl and Sanok. Jarosław and Gorlice had one each, and Nowy Sącz had two. One of them was established in 1898 upon the initiative and under supervision of a committee consisting of local Old Ruthenian patriots. The other one was founded in 1901 by immigrant Ukrainians working as civil servants. In that year, a total of 110 Lemko boys lived in both dormitories.151 Apart from providing the young men with food and shelter, the Rusyn dormitories also played an equally important education and patriotic role, a goal clearly expressed in the bylaws of their supervising societies.

Post-gymnasium educational stages included, most frequently, a theological seminary or, less frequently, one of the universities (Lviv, Kraków, or Vienna), or other Viennese or Galician higher education establishments, such as the Lviv Polytechnic School, the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków, the Royal Polytechnic Institute in Vienna, or the College of Agriculture in Vienna.

Due to the administrative subordination of Lemkovyna to the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Przemyśl and the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Lviv, Przemyśl and Lviv were the main cities in which future priests were educated.

Operating in Lviv from 1783, the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary for students from Galicia, Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia152  was the center of educating future priests, including those from Lemkovyna. After the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary in Przemyśl had been established in 1845, it became the practice for students to attend the seminary in Lviv for three years and then to complete their fourth year at the seminary in Przemyśl, under the tutelage of their ordaining bishop.

The Lviv seminary, constituting, along with the university, the hotbed of Rusyn intelligentsia, was the place where the minds of the newcomers from provincial towns and villages matured, where their philosophical, political, and national views were shaped, where they could develop their artistic talents153. According to Josyf Slipyj:

The seminary became a center where theology was being born and developed, where manuals of theology were written, religious and church magazines were published and, in general, literary and religious life flourished.154

In the scope of theological education, the purpose of the seminary was to supplement whatever knowledge the students were not acquiring at the university. It was the place where the awareness of young Ruthenians was shaped. The ‘Rusyn Trinity’ organization was active in the circles of the seminary and the university students. 155 It was there that Szaszkewycz postulated the use of the local language in sermons. Moreover,

The entire Ukrainian-oriented movement of the 1860s developed thanks to the seminary. It was there that the first Ukrainian-oriented community emerged in Lviv, which helped launch the *Вечeрниці* magazine, purchase many books from Ukraine and maintained connections with Dnieper Ukrainians, Panteleimon Kulish and others…. Meetings of the deputies to the local parliament were held there. Literature, theatre, university issues, distribution of Ukrainian books focused in the seminary. The students of theology worked on a dictionary published later by Omelian Partycki….156

At the same time, the graduates of the seminary included ardent supporters of the Old Ruthenian option (which later evolved into a Russophile one), defendants of etymological spelling, opposing phonetics, ‘hard Rusyns’, particularly frequently met among Lemko clergy.

The aim of the reading room established in 1849 was to promote the intellectual development of the seminary students and their individual studies. It was the home for a choir and a theater group; literary activities (including translations of religious literature, original religious poetry, panegyric works praising important persons, sermons). The influence of the three or four years spent in the seminary on the intellectual and worldview development of the future Greek Catholic clergy was significant.

The average number of seminary students was around 250. However, in some years it was much higher, as in 1877 (400).157

The majority of lectures for the seminary students took place at the University of Lviv,158 which initially consisted of four faculties – of theology, philosophy, law, and medicine. The faculty of medicine was closed in 1806, and reinstated only in 1894. The number of Rusyn students at the University of Lviv was around 380-400 in the years 1880–1890, including 250 students of the theology faculty (36 percent of all students of the university159). Lectures were delivered in German and Latin, and later in Polish. Although just a short-lived episode, the univeristy’s *Studium Ruthenum*160 with Rusyn as the language of instruction, existing in 1787–1809, was an important precedent. The first Rusyn chair – of Rusyn Language and Literature – was established in 1848 with Jakow Hołowacki as its head. Until the end of the Austrian rule in Galicia, ten Rusyn chairs were established, including the Chair of the History of Eastern Europe headed by Mychajło Hruszewśki.

The number of Rusyn students at Lviv Polytechnical School161  (1817–1844 Imperial-Royal Real School in Lviv, 1844–1847 Imperial-Royal School of Technical Sciences, 1877–1918 Imperial-Royal Polytechnic School) was always small. In 1880–1890, out of 130–200 students, there were between four and seven of them. In 1892, only seven out of 169 students were Rusyn.162 Their number was growing with time, as reflected by the establishment of the ‘Osnowa’ Association of Ukrainian Students of the Lviv Polytechnic in 1902.

Various organizations and associations established by students pursuing self-study, social, educational, and other goals had a major impact on the shape of the cultural life in the academic centers. An Old Ruthenian, Russophile “Academic Group” (Академическій Кружокъ) was established in Lviv in 1870, a publisher of the bi-weekly *Другъ* (1874–1877). The organization was dissolved in 1894 and replaced by the “Friend” (Другъ) society. The “Academic Discourse” (Академiчна Бесiда) society, established by nationalist students, existed in 1870–1871. Later it was absorbed by the “Friendly Usurer” (Дружескій Лихвар) society, which, some years later, changed its name into “Academic Fraternity” (Академiчне Братство) (1882–1886). After the dissolution of the short-lived “Vatra” (Ватра) society in the 1890s, its former members, along with the members of the Academic Fraternity, created the “Academic Community” (Академiчна Громада) society (1896–1921), which published the *Молода Україна* magazine.

Apart from student societies, many other cultural, academic and religious societies and institutions existed in Lviv in the second half of the 19th century. They organized the intellectual life of Ruthenians, inspired their artistic efforts, carried out publishing and educational activities, and actively participated in social-political processes.163

Among the institutions influenced by Old Ruthenians (later Russophiles), the following were the most important ones:

Galician-Russian Matica (Галицко-Русская Матиця) — an educational, literature and publishing association, established in Lviv in 1848, and modelled on other Slavic *maticas*. The official organ of the Matica was the *Науковый Сборникъ* (1865–1868) published in *iazychie*, and then *Литературный Сборникъ* (1869–1873, 1885–1890), and finally *Научно-Литературный Сборникъ* (1901–1906). Until 1885, the Matica published over 80 books — school manuals, as well as academic and literary publications.

The Rusyn-National Institute – National House in Lviv (Руско-Народний Институтъ — Народний Домъ во Львов) — was established in 1864 in order to develop the Rusyn language and promote literary activities, science and arts in order to disseminate education and morality among Rusyns. The collections of the Institute’s library included more than 20,000 volumes, a rich numismatic collection, and natural history exhibits. Moreover, the Institute run a dormitory for unprivileged students and operated its own scholarship fund. It also published the *Вҍстникъ Народного Дома* biweekly in the years 1883–1914, 1921, and 1924.

The Stavropegial Institute (Ставропигiйскій Институтъ) — was established in 1864 as a successor to the Stavropegial Fraternity existing since the 15th century at the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; it operated its own print house and bookshop. Initially, the Institute limited its operations to the publishing of church books, prayer books, etc., and the financing of a church and a dormitory. Later, it broadened its scope of operations by publishing valuable documents from its own archives and opening an archeological museum. Moreover, the institute published the *Временникъ Института Ставропигiйского* annuals (1864–1915, 1923–1939).

The Mychail Kachkovski Society (Oбщество имени Михаила Качковского) was established in 1874 in Kolomyia, but its headquarters were moved to Lviv in 1876. It was an educational society, and its goals included “promoting education, customs, diligence, frugality, civic awareness, and virtues in all aspects among Rusyns in Austria.”164 In order to achieve that goal, the society promoted inexpensive, informative booklets (75-125 pages), published each month in the series *Издания Общества имени Михаила Качковского*. Since the publishing of the first of those books in 1875 until the outbreak of the First World War, more than 460 issues appeared. The society was active among peasants. It founded reading rooms in every village where at least 12 inhabitants were interested in using them. In 1911-1912, 31 branches of the society managed 1225 reading rooms, 19 volunteer fire stations, and eight dormitories.

Among the institutions founded and controlled by nationalists the following were the most active:

Rusyn Discourse (Pуська Бесiда) — a cultural-educational society established in Lviv in January 1862 by Julian Ławrowski. It was a club-type society for intelligentsia, organizing events devoted to literature, music, and other cultural and entertainment events, the proceeds from which were donated to the society’s theater. The society had branches in other cities in Eastern Galicia.

Prosvita Society (Просвiтa - Enlightenment) — an educational society established in Lviv in 1868. Its scope of operations was similar to that of the Mychail Kachkovski Society. Initially both societies cooperated, however, soon they conflicted over the differences in their nationalist views. Apart from publishing popular books, Prosvita launched the program of writing and publishing school manuals, books and newspapers for intelligentsia in the ‘Little Rusyn language. It also run a scholarship fund for young people and outstanding activists in the field of culture. Initially most of its members were of intelligentsia origin, only after the amendments to its bylaws introduced in 1883, which included the society’s obligation to establish reading rooms, credit unions and shops, as well as promoting more effective agriculture. Prosvita was also making efforts to reach Rusyn peasants. The society had 3,115 members and 10 branches in 1893.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society (Нaукове Товариство iм. Шевченка)165 — established in 1873, initially as a literary society. As early as in 1874, it owned a print house, in which the *Правда* and *Зоря* magazines were published. New bylaws were adopted in 1892, transforming it from a literary society into a society of sciences. According to the bylaws, its main objective was “to foster and develop science and art in the Ukrainian-Rusyn language, to preserve and collect... the monuments of antiquity the scientific objects of Ukraine-Rus’ (§ 3).” 166 Since its beginnings, the society was divided into three sections: historical-philosophical, philological, and mathematical-natural scientific-medical. It published the first volume in the *Записки Наукового Товариства Шевченка* series in 1882, and two more volumes in the following year. Mychajło Hruszewśkyj became the editor of the series in 1885. He edited 110 volumes by 1913. Other serial publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society included *Хронiка НТШ* (66 volumes in Ukrainian and 59 volumes in German until 1915), *Матерiяли до Українсько-Руської Етнологiї* (7 volumes); *Українсько-Руський Архiв* (13 volumes), *Збiрник Фiлологiчної Секцiї* (18 volumes), *Збiрник Iсторично-Фiлософiчної Секцiї* (15 volumes), *Збiрник Математично-Природописно-Лiкарської Секцiї* (21 volumes). From 1889 to 1905, the society published *Лiтературно-Науковий Вiсниk* (*Українська Бiблiотека* since 1901). Apart from the society’s own publications, its print house printed school manuals and various publications of other publishers and institutions. Nearly 10,000 titles were printed in it until 1939. The operations of the society included a bookstore, library with nearly 100,000 volumes, and museum with 12 exhibition rooms. Moreover, it managed several foundations, the proceeds of which were a source of substantial donations for scientific, research and literary projects.

When analyzing the cultural circles of Lviv in the second half of the 19th century in the scope of their influence on the Lemko intelligentsia living and studying in the city, it is worth mentioning some of the renowned Lemkos of a high social standing, and therefore co-shaping the culture of Lviv and Galicia alike. They included two Lviv archbishops, Josyf Sembratowycz167 (1870–1882) and Cardinal Sylwester Sembratowycz168  (1883–1898); professors of the University of Lviv: Dr. Julian Pełesz 169  (Professor of Pastoral Theology), Dr. Josyf Sembratowycz (Professor of Biblical Studies, future Metropolitan), Dr. Sylwester Sembratowycz (Professor of Dogmatic Theology, future Metropolitan), Dr. Josyf Czerlunczakewycz 170  (Professor of Canon Law), Dr. Tyt Myszkowskij (Professor of Biblical Studies), Dr. Onufryj Krynyckij171 (Professor of Church History, Rector of the University of Lviv 1833/34, 1855/56, 1858/59), Dr. Mykołaj Małyniak (Adjunct Professor of Theology), Dr. Wasylij Maściuch (Associate Professor of Canon Law), Dr. Wasylij Czyrniańskij (Lecturer in Zoology and Mineralogy). Dr. Julian Medweckij was a professor at the Lviv Polytechnic, and the school’s rector. The aforementioned Aleksander Kmycykewycz, judge of the Lviv Appellate Court, had his law office in Lviv, and Dr. Adrian Kopystiańskij, a historian, was a teacher at the academic gymnasium in Lviv.

Przemyśl was another important educational and cultural center for Lemkovyna.172 An eparchial seminary173  functioned in Przemyśl in 1781–1783. It was dissolved at the time when the general seminary in Lviv was established. Emperor Franz Joseph I allowed the establishment of a separate seminary in Przemyśl in 1802. However, in 1845, Bishop Ioann Snihurskij arranged for moving the fourth year of theology studies for the students from his diocese to Przemyśl. Thanks to his efforts, a chair of pastoral theology and a large library were established. In 1893, Bishop Julian Pełesz obtained a permit for a full eparchial seminary in Przemyśl. The construction works, commenced in 1912, were interrupted by the outbreak of the war. Therefore, the seminary was eventually inaugurated in 1921-1922.

The memoirs of Anatol Wachnianyn174  prove that Lemkos constituted a very large percentage of the Przemyśl seminary, it was 50 percent in 1863.

Therefore, out of 12 fourth-year theology students, six were Lemkos: Dub, Durkot, Kmycykewycz, Mochnackij, Towarnyckij, and Chylak; all of them became priests.175

In the late 1890s, the number of Lemko students in Przemyśl decreased significantly. One of the reasons was a selection, whose aim was to exclude Russophiles.176

Along the theological seminar, one more educational institution of a great importance to Lemkovyna existed in Przemyśl – The Cantor and Schoolteacher Institute (Дякоучительскій iнститутъ or Заведенiя пѣвческо--учительское). It was established in 1816 at the Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist, thanks to the efforts of Bishop Mychaił Łewycki, with the permission of the Holy See and Emperor Franz I.177 Its aim was to educate a properly qualified force of cantors, who could also serve as teachers in elementary schools. Hence, only Uniate men could study at the institute. As a rule, boys from poor families were accepted, for whom education was a method of finding employment which would enable them to earn decent living. Apart from a diploma from a two-grade primary school, they were required to possess certain skills required from a cantor and a teacher, and, above all, a recommendation from their parish priests, confirming the candidate’s excellence in the scope of morality and talents. A certificate of poverty granted a tuition exemption. Apart from general education, future cantors were learning Old Church Slavonic and Rusyn grammar, liturgics, singing, church rules, “practical logic,” pedagogy basics, and teaching methodology. The role of a cantor at a Lemko parish was important.178 One of the best known Lemko cantors was Symeon Trochanowskij from Binczarowa (Biłcarewa),a graduate of the Przemyśl institute, and a deputy to the Galician diet in 1870–1880.

The Rusyn Institute for Girls (Рускій Институт для Дiвчат)179  was opened in Przemyśl in 1893 (later renamed Ukrainian Institute for Girls — Український Iнститут для Дiвчат). It was a boarding school, the equivalent of a gymnasium for boys, where Rusyn girls received full general education and basic household skills plus some knowledge in the field of raising children and hygiene. The language of instruction was Ruthenian, however, the girls were also learning Polish, German, and French. At first, it was a comprehensive school. Later a lyceum for girls was established at the institute. The first *matura* examinations were organized there in the school year 1908/1909. Many of the graduates continued their education at universities.

The cultural and intellectual life of Rusyns flourished in Przemyśl as early as in the first half of the 19th century, before Lviv. The Societas Presbyteriorum (Clergy Society) was established here in 1916, the first organization of Rusyn intelligentsia. Its goal was to publish educational and religious books. It was in Przemyśl when first school manuals were published and where the first attempts to defend Ruthenian language were made. Two large libraries, each housing about 30,000 volumes (Iwan Ławrowski’s and bishop Joann Snihurski’s) were established. Bishop Snihurskij was a genuine patron of culture. The aforementioned institute for cantors was established upon his initiative. Moreover, he launched an eparchial printing house in Przemyśl.

The *Перемышлянинъ* calendars (1850–61; 1863–64) and *Перемишлянка* almanac for women (1862) were published in Przemyśl. The gymnasium and seminary circles became active in the 1860s. In 1869, Anatol Wachnianyn organized the Ukrainian-oriented “Hromada” which had 40 members. It was active until the early 1870s, when the Old Ruthenian, Russophile circles became more dynamic. A branch of the Mychaił Kaczkowski Society was opened in 1878, and a branch of Prosvita in 1891. According to the records of the fourth-year theology student in Przemyśl, Stepan Onyszkewycz, out of 23 students, six were nationalists, 15 “hard Russkies” (i.e. Russophile Old Ruthenians) and two neutral.180

The “Боянъ” singing society was established in Przemyśl in 1891, followed by several youth organizations before the First World War: the Self-education Society (Кружок для Товариського Самообразування) in 1907, the Сянова Чайка sports club in 1909, and a gymnasium reading room and drama group in 1910.

The percentage of Lemkos among the Rusyn intelligentsia in the second half of the 19th century was significant. They included bishops Toma Polańskij (1859–1869)181 and Julian Pełesz (1891–1896), 182 writer and initiator of societies for women Kławdia Ałeksowycz, gymnasium director Toma Polańskij, 183 gymnasium teachers Osyf Prysłopskij and Mychaił Polańskij.

While Lviv and Przemyśl were main centers of theological studies, Kraków, with its Jagiellonian University and the Academy of Fine Arts attracted, in particular, students of medicine, and also students of law, sciences, and philosophy, as well as artists.184 Not a very numerous, but fairly active Ruthenian-Ukrainian community lived in Kraków, centered mainly on the Greek Catholic parish of the Church of Saint Norbert.185 Students accounted for a very crucial part of that community:

the Ukrainian youth, studying here since the beginnings of the Galician autonomy, and later at the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts, strongly influenced the nature of the local Ukrainian community. They were a prominent group in the academic circles, introducing new ideas to the older, conservative, and somewhat “lethargic” generation of people, who often felt “Rusyn” only in churches.186

The number of Jagiellonian University students of the Greek Catholic denomination (Ruthenians) was constantly growing in the second half of the 19th century: seven in the academic year 1866/67, 15 in 1877/78, 36 in 1885/86, and 65 in 1890/91.187 The university in Kraków, which, as the only one in Galicia that had a faculty of medicine, attracted students from the eastern part of the region. Therefore, when a similar faculty was launched at the University of Lviv in 1894, most of the Rusyn (Ukrainian) students of medicine from Kraków moved there, and the number of Greek-Catholic students decreased significantly to 38 in 1895/96 and 31 in 1896/97.188 As before the First World War the university in Kraków was the only one in the former lands of the Commonwealth to admit female students, women constituted a high percentage of the student community.

As many as 81 Rusyns (Ukrainians) studied at the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts from the early 19th century to 1918.189 The Chair, Stanisławski, was particularly popular among them, and its students included such famous artists as Trusz, Nowakiwśkij, Buraczek, Bojczuk, and Seweryn. Horniatkewycz’s register190  is not a good source to estimate the number Lemkos among the Rusyn students of the Academy, as it does not include information about their place of birth or residence. However, they certainly included some Lemkos. A student of the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts, Michał Fedorko from Gładyszów,191 was recorded among the Lemko prisoners interned in the Thalerhof camp. He was also listed in Horniatkewycz’s register.

As a result of the consolidation of Rusyn students, the Academic Union (Академiчна Громада), the first Rusyn organization at the Jagiellonian University, was established in 1887. It was dissolved in 1895, after most of the Rusyn students of medicine transferred to Lviv University. However, due to the significant influx of Rusyn (Ukrainian) students following national unrest at the University of Lviv in the years 1902–1907 and 1911–1914, Rusyn-Ukrainian Academic Association (Pусько-Українське Товариство Академiчне) and the Academic Union Association (Товариство Академiчна Громада) emerged. “Засiв” — The Circle of Ukrainian Agriculture Students in Kraków existed until 1914.

The main integrative and cultural role, apart from the Greek Catholic parish, was played by the branch of the "Prosvita" Society, established in Kraków in 1894 on the initiative of Rusyn students and railway officials. It gathered almost all the Rusyns of the city and operated continuously until 1918. The Kraków "Prosvita" organized lectures, social meetings, organized its own library, taught Ukrainian for children, and granted small scholarships for students. Among the most splendid were the Shevchenko concerts it organized.

The percentage of Lemkos among the Rusyn (Ukrainian) students in Kraków is unknown.192 However, it was significant. The factors attracting Lemkos to Kraków universities included the relative proximity of the western Lemko districts, the medical faculty and the direct care and support of Dr. Josyf Czerlunczakewycz,193 the Kraków parish priest from 1867–1883:

He was [J. Czarlunczakewycz] a patron of all Lemko students in Kraków. He knew them all, even their fathers, most of whom were his friends from the seminary, his students from the university, or his relatives. The fathers, mainly priests, entrusted their sons to his care, and some of them even sent the money for their sons’ tuition or living to him. And he cared about them all, showed interest in their examinations and tests, invited them over to tea and kept an eye on them, making sure that they took their examinations, went to church, etc.194

Apart from serving as the Kraków parish priest, Dr. Czerlunczakewycz was a lecturer (and a dean) at the Jagiellonian University theological faculty. Other Lemko professors of the University included Dr. Emilijan Czyrniańskij195  — professor of chemistry, rector of Jagiellonian University and member of the Academy of Learning, Dr. Walerij Sas-Jaworskij196  — professor of medicine, director of the university hospital for 14 years, member of the Academy of Learning.

Vienna, the capital city of Austro-Hungary, was another important center of culture and science for Lemkovyna. The majority of Lemko students there were completing their doctorates in theology. As early as in 1774, Empress Maria Theresa founded a theological seminary for Greek Catholic students from all her lands at the church of St. Barbara, called the “Barbareum.” It existed until 1784. A Roman Catholic-controlled seminary for all Catholics was established in 1802. In 1847, when it was dissolved, 30 Rusyns studied in it. In 1852, the Central Greek Catholic Theological Seminary (the second Barbareum, closed in 1892) was established. It educated many renowned priests during its 40 years of existence. Out of the average of 50 students, the vast majority were Rusyns, for example out of 41 students in 1853, 28 were Rusyns (including 10 from the Przemyśl Diocese), 11 Romanians, and two Croats.197 Only the most talented students were sent to Vienna by their bishops, as the quality of education there was very high:

To begin with, the Vienna seminary was a place where our clergy could gain genuine higher education. And for that reason, despite its drawbacks, the cultural importance of the seminary is enormous. The stay in Vienna alone – in the city, where, apart from the Imperial court, you can find the main government offices – allows you to enjoy many things which you do not find in Galicia.198

The discipline in the seminary was not very harsh, and the freedom of the students was not restricted. They often travelled outside of the city, organized excursions, participated in various celebrations, and the imperial court parades. The students of the seminary established the Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius (Oбщество св. Кирилла и Мефодiя) in 1864, with the bylaws describing in detail the terms of purchasing and donating books, as well as the terms of their distribution in the event of the society’s dissolution.199

The Russophile ideas were particularly popular among the students of the seminary. Moreover, they were in favor of maintaining the Eastern Rite unchanged. All attempts to introduce celibacy or Latinization measures were perceived as humiliating, but also as the proof of the papacy’s ill will towards the Eastern traditions. The Orthodox Church was treated in a friendly manner. A visit of Romanian bishops in 1854 impressed the students:

it was nice to see their Bishops… and Canons wearing beards and mantiya with dignity, having abandoned nothing of the Eastern Rite.200

The students of the Vienna Seminary included many Lemkos. The student register quoted by J. Hordyński includes the following family names: Hojnackij, two Krynyckis, Wysłockij, Gabła, Sembratowycz, Mencyńskij, Pełesz, Gładyszowskij.201 Moreover, there were Lemkos among the professors of the seminary:

Later, in winter 1854, another prefect Krynyckij is mentioned, nicknamed “the Bearded,” and then newcomers to the seminary, Sembratowycz and Czerlunczakewycz.202

All of them were Lemkos. Julian Pełesz was the prefect of the seminary in the years 1867–1870 (in 1874–1885 he was the pastor at the Church of Saint Barbara and the seminary’s rector). Josyf Sembratowycz (future Metropolitan of Lviv) was the vice prefect of the seminary in 1853–1858.

The number of lay students in Vienna grew with time. In 1875, 73 Rusyns studied at the University of Vienna and three at the Vienna College of Technology. Between one and 12 Rusyns studied at the College of Agriculture.203 Modest Humeckij and Władymir Szczawyńskij studied medicine in Vienna. In 1868, Rusyn students in Vienna established the “Січ” student association. S. Szach mentioned six Lemkos among them.204

The Rusyn community in Vienna mainly consisted of permanent residents – civil servants and blue-collar workers, as well as temporary residents – soldiers and students. Additionally, Rusyn deputies to the Imperial Council, politicians, and journalists were frequent guests to Vienna. The community consisted of about 3,000 people. Permanent Lemko residents included the renowned and respected journalist, very popular in the Rusyn community, Władymir Szczawyńskij. Iwan Konstantynowycz worked at the Austrian Ministry of the Interior for 40 years, until his death in 1889.

Rusyn magazines were published in Vienna, such as the official *Bҍсникъ ... Русиновъ Австрiйской Державы* (1850–1866); *Отечественный Сборникъ* (1853–1859, 1861, 1862, 1866); *Золотая Грамота* (1864–1867); *Русска правда* (1888–1892); *Просвещение* (1893–1902); *Страхопудъ* (1863–1867).

Lemkos also studied theology at the College of Saint Athanasius in Rome. It was a seminary founded in 1577 by Gregory XIII for students from Greece, however, in 1615, Pope Paul V allowed for enrollment of four Rusyn students a year. Since then, several talented Rusyns from Galicia were traditionally educated there. Apart from Greeks and Rusyn, a certain number of Bulgarians and Romanians were also enrolled. All the students were learning various foreign languages, music, and fine arts. Moreover, they could use a very rich, valuable library. Their dormitory was adjacent to the Church of Saint Athanasius. It was there that Sylwester Sembratowycz and Mykołaj Małyniak did their doctoral studies in theology.

The participation of Lemkos in the cultural, intellectual, and religious life of the Galician academic centers in the second half of the 19th century was significant. However, this does not mean that the creativity of Lemko cultural elite was limited to the mentioned centers outside of Lemkovyna. Rural rectories constituted a form of cultural centers. The social life of the Rusyn clergy flourished in them, and certain rules and principles in mutual relations were in effect. Rectories often had valuable book collections. Parish priests organized cultural life in villages. No event in rural communities could be organized without their knowledge, consent and, frequently, participation. The wives of parish priests organized lectures and training courses for local women in the scope of hygiene, raising children, and running households. Mothers sought for their daughters to learn many practical skills through temporary work as servants of the local parish priests. A rectory was the most important cultural, educational and patriotic institution in a Rusyn village, as emphasized by many researchers of the social reality in Galicia:

The significant role played by Rusyn clergy results from their social position among their people. It is a numerous, affluent and intelligent stratum, one that Polish society could only dream about. The rectory of a Rusyn parish priest is a great national institution, a workplace that is efficient because of the thousands of its ties with the society.205

The reading rooms of the M. Kaczkowski Society stimulated a significant development of the cultural life in Lemko villages. The first of them were established in Lemkovyna towards the end of the 19th century.206

One of the first was the reading room in Pielgrzymka [Перегримка], founded “long before the war” by Father Tyt Myszkowski, and in Lipowiec, with a magnificent library founded by Father Mykoła Wołoszynowicz. A rich and influential library existed in Świątkowa Wielka before the First World War. A reading room was established in Królik Wołoski in 1913. Many others existed, however, little is known about them due to the lack of available sources.207

Reports and correspondences published in the *Лемко* magazine in 1911–1913 prove that the reading rooms of the M. Kaczkowski Society existed in the majority of Lemko villages. They enjoyed a great popularity in Lemkovyna. The ideological program of the society found fertile soil there (it promoted traditional Rusyn values and simple moral tenets), and, undoubtedly, the cultural and educational role of the reading rooms was very attractive to the peasants: promoting household and farming knowledge, legal advice, historical information, etc. Throughout their existence,

the reading rooms of the M. Kaczkowski Society played an important role in shaping the separate Lemko awareness and preserved many cultural features reserved to Lemkos only.208

The Lemko population treated the reading rooms as their own and frequently joined them for purely patriotic reasons.209

Just before the First World War, in a close collaboration with the reading rooms of the M. Kaczkowski Society, the Russophile gymnastic-firefighting society “Русская Дружина” was established in several towns of western Lemkovyna (for example, in Tylicz, Krynica, Florynka210). The inauguration celebrations included drama and gymnastic performances. However, its activities did not exert a greater influence on Lemko culture.

Branches of Prosvita started to emerge in Lemkovyna in the early 20th century, in Nowy Sącz in 1902, and in Jasło and Sanok in 1903. However, the network of the rural Prosvita reading rooms in Lemkovyna expanded largely after the First World War, even though the first one appeared relatively early – in 1892 – in Odrzechowa near Rymanów. The society mainly addressed Ukrainian civil servants, urban intelligentsia, and partially, clergy. During the 1906 Prosvita convention in Nowy Sącz, Iwan Bryk, a delegate of the Board, stressed the lack of delegates from the social group to which the activity of the organization was addressed, that is, Lemko peasants.211

Branches of Silski Hospodar opened in Sanok and Nowy Sącz. The organization, dealing with the improving of the agricultural standards and the promotion of education among peasants, was the most active Rusyn agricultural organization in Galicia. It saw a rapid growth in its operations and popularity after 1909, following the first agricultural exhibition organized in Stryj by Prosvita. Many regional and village branches, as well as cooperatives were established then. In 1910, Silski Hospodar had 88 branches, 317 local agencies and 12,500 members. In Lemkovyna alone, 38 agencies were registered in 1914, out of which 22 operated in Sanok district, six each in Grybów and Nowy Sącz districts, and four in Gorlice district. 212

The Лемківський Банк credit union operated from 1903–1912 in Nowy Sącz, organized by Ukrainian white collar workers living in that city. Lemko farmers were among the members of its managing and supervisory boards, however, as a very small minority.213

In general, the Ukrainian national influences in the discussed time period were only starting to reach Lemkovyna, therefore they were very limited.

An analysis of the cultural situation in Lemkovyna should include the methods and possibilities of publishing literature, as well as its recipients. Until 1911, Lemkovyna lacked its own, separate magazine or any other permanent publishing platform. Lemko writers used publishing opportunities in distant cultural centers, although sometimes they published their own magazines (e.g. Kławdia Ałeksowycz’s *Перемишлянка*, Sylwester Sembratowycz’s *Pускій Сiонъ* or *Новий Галичанинъ* published by Petr and Amwrosij Polański). The most obvious method of entering the literary circles was to publish one’s works in Galician magazines, mainly the Lviv-based ones, and less frequently the ones from Przemyśl or Vienna. The selection of magazines was quite wide.214 Six Rusyn periodicals were published in Galicia in 1865, eight in 1875 (throughout Austria), 18 in 1880, 20 in 1890 and 30 in 1900.215 The factors influencing the selection of a particular title included the nature of the literary work, the openness of the editors to external material, personal relationships of writers with editors, the profiles and the political-national bias of the magazines. In fact, the latter was the most important factor determining the cooperation of a writer with a particular magazine or publisher. Many Lemko authors published their works in the Lviv *Словo*, an Old Ruthenian magazine published in 1861–1887. The main part of its material consisted of political and economic news, however, fiction and numerous reports from rural areas, including Lemkovyna, appeared in its pages as well. Chylak, Ałeksowycz, and Szczawyńskij were among those who published in *Словo*. *Проломъ* (Lviv 1880–1882) was another Old Ruthenian paper often publishing fiction and reports from Lemkovyna, later transformed into *Новый Проломъ* (Lviv 1882–1888). Both titles were published twice a week. They were later replaced by *Червоная Русь* (Lviv 1888–1891), published three times a week, and then daily, replaced, in turn, by *Галицкая Русь* (Lviv 1891–1893), and then by *Галичанинъ* (Lviv 1893–1913). Other titles subscribing to the Old Ruthenian line included *Hауковый Сборникъ* (Lviv 1865–1868), and then *Литературный Сборникъ* (Lviv 1869–1873, 1885–1887), published by the Galician-Rusyn Matica, initially as a quarterly, and then once a year (irregularly); and a periodical which is particularly important when presenting publishing opportunities and choices made by Lemko writers – the *Новый Галичанинъ*. *Журналъ для Литературы и Белетристики* bi-weekly (1889–1891), initially published in Przemyśl, and then in Lviv. Its editors, Petro and Amwrosij Polański, from an old Lemko clergy family, turned it into an independent publishing platform for their own (and not only) literary works and journalism. Other papers worth mentioning here include *Pодимый Листокъ. Письмо Литературно-Наукове*” published twice a month in Chernivtsi in 1879–1882; *Руска Рада* (1898–1908) addressed to lower social strata, also published in Chernivtsi; *Временникъ Института Ставропигiйского* annals published in Lviv in 1864–1915 and then in 1923–1939; *БесѢда* — *Литературный Журналъ съ Иллюстрацiями*, published in Lviv twice a month in 1887–1898, initially as a literary supplement to *Страхопуда* (after 1894 *БесѢда* became the main paper, and *Cтрахопудъ* its satirical supplement). Władymir Chylak’s satirical texts appeared in *Страхопóдъ*, which was also published twice a month in 1886–1898. Lemkos published their texts in the Lviv pedagogical-cultural magazine *Учитель* (1869–1874, 1880), issued once, and then twice a week; *Зоря Галицкая — Письмо Посвященноє Литератур, Забав и Господарству*, issued in Lviv twice a week in 1848–1857, and then in 1860 as an album (it published the famous *Русины-Лємки* — *Rusyns-Lemkos* byA.I. Toroński, and the poem by Klaudia Ałeksowycz *ПѢсня Ольдины —Oldyna’s Song*). Individual works or reports of Lemko authors can be found in *Oтечественный Cборникъ ПовѢстокъ, Сказокъ, Историческихъ Воспоминанiй, Господарскихъ и Инныхъ Общеполезных Встiй и пр. и пр.* — a weekly issued in Vienna in 1853–1859, 1861, 1862, 1866; *Боянъ (письмо для белетристики и науки)* — published in Lviv in the 1860s; *Денниця* — a bi-weekly published in Lviv in the early 1880s.

Religious texts, debates, theological discussions and sermons were primarily published in the church paper *Рускій Сіонъ*, founded upon the initiative of and managed by the metropolitan Sylwester Sembratowycz. Initially, its editors were mainly clergy from Lemkovyna. The paper was issued twice a month in the years 1871–1880, 1883–1885. However, other church papers existed, such as *Душпастыръ* (Lviv 1887–1894), *Богословскій ВѢсникъ* (Lviv 1900–1903) and *ВѢсникъ Перемыской Єпархiи* (Przemyśl 1889–1914).

Finally, the periodicals issued by M. Kaczkowski Society, very popular among Lemkos, should be mentioned here. They frequently published their works in *Illustrated Calendars* (*Ілюстрованный Календарь Общества имени М. Качковского на годъ*...), and in separate volumes in the *Изданiя Общества имени Мих. Качковского* series.

Among the magazines published by nationalists, the majority of texts authored by Lemkos appeared in *ДѢло*, issued in Lviv twice, and then trice a week, and eventually as a daily in 1880–1918, 1922–1939. Lemkos also published in the Lviv bi-weekly *Зоря* (1880–1897) and in the *Лiтературно-Науковий Вiсник* monthly published by Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1898–1914, 1917–1919, 1922–1939.

It is worth mentioning the émigré press and the Lemko diaspora in general, whose influence on the social and cultural life of Lemkos in their home country was growing towards the end of the 19th century. Not restricted by censorship, the émigré press was much more open to any ideas and opinions not always accepted in the press at home. The democracy and freedom of speech patterns, assimilated in the American society by Lemko immigrants,216 were reflected in the nature and content of the papers published by them and circulated at home as well. The number of letters from Lemkovyna received by the Rusyn-Ukraininian *Cвобода* (1893–1914)217  (*Писмо з Лем­кiвщины, Допис з Лемковщины, Просвiта на Лемковщинi, Пiсні Лемкiв з пiд Бескида — Letter from Lemkovyna*, *Correspondence from Lemkovyna*, *Prosvita in Lemkovyna*, *Songs of the Beskid Lemko*) was significant, bearing witness to the fact that Lemko writers directly used the opportunity of publishing their text in the émigré press in North America.

Wiktor Hładyk, the renowned Lemko diaspora activist maintaining close ties with his compatriots in the Carpathian Mountains, can serve as an example. In 1902, he launched the *Правда* daily in New York, soon adopted by the Russian Brotherhood Organization (Oбщество Русскыхъ Братств) as its official organ. When another Lemko, Father Teofil Obuszkewycz took over the position of its editor in 1905, Hładyk went on to launch other papers: *Pусскій Голос* (Edmonton 1913–1916), *Русскій Народ* (Winnipeg 1914–1919), *Канадiйска Православна Русь* (Winnipeg 1915). Letters from Lemkovyna often appeared in his papers.

Apart from the basic form of publication in Galician (and, partially, in émigré and Vienna) periodicals, individual books were also published in the researched time period of the development of Lemko literature, in addition to multiple-volume editions of Lemko literature. In the 19th-century Galicia it was a general practice for various cultural-social institutions, educational and patriotic societies and individual editorial offices to establish their own publishing houses for the sake of printing series of books of a certain thematic and ideological profile.218 They were usually named *Библіотека...* or *Изданія....* Apart from the already mentioned publishing activities of such societies as Halychian-Ruthenian Matitsia, M. Kaczkowski Society, Prosvita, Shevchenko Scientific Society, it is worth mentioning other series, such as *Изданія Общества “Акедемическій Кружокъ”*, *Дешевая Бібліотелка* published by the Academic Community Association, *Библіотека Руского Педагогического Общества*, series published by the following magazines: *Новый Проломъ*, *Новый Галичанинъ* (1889–1891), *Дҍло* (*Бібліотека найзнаменитших повістей* 1881–1900), *Правда*. Iwan Franko was the editor of the *Дрібна Бібліотека* series in 1877. The Old Ruthenian party published series promoting mainly Russian literature: *Славянская Библіотека* (Vienna 1865–1869), *Библиотека Русскихъ Писателей* (1884–1885) and its sequel *Русская Библиотека* (1887–1905). Aleksander Barwiński published the *Библіотека Исторична* series in 1886–1904. A very popular *Библіотека для Рускои Молодежи* series (1894–1913) edited by Julian Nasalski and *Бібліотека Театральна* edited by Mychaił Biłous (short dramatic works) were published in Kolomyia. Mychaił Biłous run a separate publishing house in Kolomyia, focused on popular educational booklets for peasants. Towards the end of the Galician period, the famous Lemko editor and publisher from Lviv, Hryhoryj Hanulak, commenced his publishing activity, which flourished in the interwar period.

Both periodicals and all serial publications were subject to censorship in Galicia. Despite the fact that the fundamental constitutional laws in Galicia granted freedom of print, in reality, each printed work could be confiscated. Church censorship existed alongside the government one. Authors, editors and publishers of periodicals or books could be held criminally liable for their content. Many issues of the *Проломъ* biweekly were confiscated. For that reason, the magazine often changed its title and publishing frequency. Other Old Ruthenian, Russophile magazines faced a similar situation because of promoting pro-Russian content. Periodicals of the Ukrainian Radical Party, e.g. the *Батькoвщина* weekly, were also confiscated. Even the church *Рускій Сіонъ* magazine was confiscated in 1880 due to a controversial article by Mykołaj Małyniak.

The majority of books and brochures containing works by Lemko writers appeared in the series published by M. Kaczkowski Society. Apart from the most popular booklets, the 19th-century Lemko literature was available in books of other publishers, even those from outside of Galicia. Notable examples include the four-volume of works by Ieronim Anonim (W. Chylak) published by Lviv Academic Circle society in 1882 (the fourth volume appeared in 1887) on the 10th anniversary of the society. The posthumous volume marked as *Послђднiя произведенiя В.И. Хиляка* (*The last works by* *W. J. Chylak*), containing the writer’s last two works and a critical-biographical essay by Osyp Monczałowski appeared as a supplement to that publication in 1894.

The editorial office of *Новый Проломъ* published *Двђ повђстки* *посвященныи мiрскимъ галицко-русскимъ холостякамъ* (*Two Stories about Lay Rusyn-Galician Bachelors*) by W. Chylak in 1886, and a short story by the same author, *Гаврилко-разжказъ изъ галицко-русской жизни* (*Hawryłko — a Story about the Galician-Rusyn Life*) was published in Sankt Petersburg in 1905.

A relatively large number of book and brochure editions of the Polański brothers’ works indicates a strong publishing initiative of the authors. The *Библіотека Нового Галичанина* series (1889–1891) published by the editorial office of the *Новый Галичанинъ* biweekly, was mostly devoted to the works authored by its editors. Short satirical works appeared in *Литературно-гумористичный сборникъ* (*A Literary-Satirical Collection*),the first issue of the series. It was followed by a popular-scientific essay by Petro Polańskij, *Церковь и приходъ св. Варвары в Вђдни* (*The Church and Parish of St Barbara in Vienna*)*.* His translation of *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* into Galician Rusyn was the third volume in that series. The fourth volume contained his historical novel *Месть Роксоляны* (*Roxelana’s Revange*). Petro Polańskij also published his works outside of his publishing house. Two volumes of his short stories, *Карпатскiи Новелли* (*Carpathian Short Stories*) appeared in Leipzig in 1888, and his polemical considerations *Вопросъ о фонетицђ*(*Phonetical Issues*) were published by Galician-Ruthenian Matica in 1892. Amwrosij Polańskij published most of his short stories and dramatic works in separate booklets, using his own resources. However, he later used the services of Hryhoryj Hanulak. A vast collection of his fiction was published in Moscow in 1916, in the *Библіотека Карпато-Русскихъ писателей подъ редакцієй Ф. Ф. Аристова* series. Drama works by Olimpij Polańskij (Bсегорьевъ) appeared in booklets, most frequently in the series published by M. Kaczkowski Society, but also in the *Бiблiотека для Рускои Молодежи* or *Театральна Библiотека* series. Finally, Henryk Polańskij published over twenty educational brochures, mainly in Kolomyian publishing houses of M. Biłous and in the publishing house of M. Kaczkowski Society. He also published numerous reference books, considerations, and even the Ruthenian-German dictionary (in cooperation with Biłous), two poetry volumes at his own expense, and, using the services of Kolomyian publishing houses (Бібліотека для Рускои Молодежи, Библіотека Театральна), several short dramatic works.

Several works by Mykołaj Małyniak were also published in Przemyśl as *Зерна Горушичны Н.Д.М. Камянина* (*Mustard Grains of N. D. M. Kamianin*) in volumes called *Жмени* (*Handfuls*). Kławdia Ałeksowycz’s stories for children were published, at her own expense, by M. Kaczkowski Society, and her drama works in the *Театральна Библіотека* series. Among its numerous publications, M. Kaczkowski Society published several books by Wasyl Czernecki, in the *Бiблiотека для Руской Молодежи* series in Kolomyia and in *Мiсiйнi Книжечки* series. Modest Humeckij published, at his own expense, two poetry collections, *Poezyje przez Nieznanego (Poetry by Unknown) and* *Думки и Думы*, philosophical considerations *Aforyzmy na tle przyrody (Aphorisms with Nature in the Background)* and *Darwinizm (Darwinism),* and his drama *Nero czyli wielcy bohaterzy (Nero or Great Heroes)*. Finally, it is worth mentioning the works by Hryhoryj Hanulak, published before the First World War, particularly his poetry collection *Весняни сны* (*Spring Dreams*) and several one-act comedies, which marked the beginning of the extensive publishing activities of that writer and editor.

The first Lemko newspaper, *Лемко — газета для народа*, was launched in 1911. It was a very crucial moment in the history of Lemko culture. The emergence of a regional paper showed an increasingly comprehensive extraction of the region’s cultural space and the beginnings of the emancipation aspirations of Lemko intelligentsia. Their own forum enabled focusing on Lemko issues and expressing opinions specifying the image of the land and its inhabitants. It was on the pages of that newspaper, where the large-scale shaping of the written Lemko language based on the native dialect occurred.

The pre-war edition of *Лемко* existed until 1914, and was later re-launched during the interwar period.

A paper with a Ukrainian national orientation, *Пiдгiрский Дзвiн*, was also published before the First World War, first in Sanok, and then in Nowy Sącz, twice a month in 1912. It was a political, educational, and economic paper, in the Ukrainian language, rarely using the Lemko dialect.

In 1914 Roman Prysłopskij published *Свҍтъ. Просвҍти­тельний Двомiсячникъ* in Nowy Sącz, a bi-monthly of a distinctly popular-educational nature. Only three 40-page issues appeared.

The issue of the Lemko literature recipients and their scope of influence belongs to a much broader issue of indicating the recipients of the basic East Galician periodicals and publications of M. Kaczkowski Society, Stavropegial Institute, Hryhoryj Hanulak, and such series as *Бiблiотека для Руской Молодежи* and *Театральна Бiблiотека*. It is reasonable to assume that such publications, distributed in a relatively effective manner, reached all the representatives of the East-Galician intelligentsia. According to Fyłyp Swystun:

The Rusyn intelligentsia, in spite of being a small and rather poor group, are more likely to purchase subscription to their own, Rusyn papers than Polish ones…. Lower-rank Rusyn civil servants and teachers consider it their patriotic duty to subscribe to at least one paper. Many rural priests receive several papers.219

Similarly, the Lemko intelligentsia were interested in the subscription to Rusyn periodicals and book series. Thus private libraries emerged, often consisting of several thousand volumes. However, the illiteracy rate among peasants was very high in the second half of the 19th century. Statistics for 1880 show that 77% of the population of Galicia older than six could neither read or write. Compulsory education introduced in 1867 resulted in a significant decrease in illiteracy, down to 57% in 1890. The majority of the illiterate population were concentrated in East-Galician Poviats. In the western districts the illiteracy rate exceeded 50% only in Nowy Sącz, while in the remaining ones it was between 40% and 50%.221 This proves that a considerable portion of rural population could use books and newspapers. However, in general, the reading habit was rare, both among Polish222 and Rusyn223 peasants. Nevertheless, the reading room system, dynamically developing at the end of the 19th century,224 promoted readership. That system was even able to combat illiteracy. Members of the rural reading rooms included individuals who could not read (sometimes they constituted a high proportion of all members).225 The practice of reading aloud helped them fully use books, magazines, and brochures. They discussed the read texts on par with the other members.

Considering the fact that, towards the end of the historical time period under discussion, reading rooms were available in many Lemko villages, it can be assumed that Lemko peasants were not deprived access to books and newspapers.226. And since they were usually reading rooms of the M. Kaczkowski Society, it is perfectly understandable that they promoted mostly their own publications and those ideologically similar. It is also known that Lemko authors mainly wrote to such publications. Thus, a conclusion can be made that, apart from the Lemko intelligentsia, the recipients of what we call Lemko literature here included, to a certain extent, Lemko peasants. More direct evidence of the indicated readership is provided by correspondence published in *Лемко*, which proves that during certain celebrations plays were staged in villages, such as *Запоморочена*227 (*Bewildered*) by Kławdia Ałeksowycz. These conclusions pertain to the last years of the Galician period, when, due to the evolution characteristic for the entire territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a range of transformations in the scope of education, society, and awareness occurred in Lemkovyna. They were stimulated by factors of official, administrative nature (e.g. education, participation in the political life), the émigré influences and the local patriots – priests, teachers, cantors, founders of reading rooms, promoters of education and progress, and those awakening the ethnic awareness. In light of the increasingly evident signs of the local quality in the cultural and literary life of Lemkovyna, such as the launch of its own newspaper, it is reasonable to assume that literary facts directly connected with Lemkovyna were particularly willingly accepted here. The sphere of assumptions can be abandoned only in the later, interwar period, which provides direct evidence of Lemkos’ interest in their own literature.228 At that time Lemkovyna, subjected to extensive political propaganda and educational actions, embraced another stage of forging its own identity.