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Mapping Stateless Peoples: The East Slavs of the Carpathians

In 1996, I published a large-scale (1: 355 000) map entitled Carpatho-Rusyn Settlement at the Outset of the 20th Century (henceforth the C-R Settlement Map).[1] The map depicted over 1,300 villages inhabited by Carpatho-Rusyns between the years 1900 and 1921, with comparative reference to the years 1881 and 1806.

Carpatho-Rusyns have never had their own state nor even an administrative entity that encompassed all the territory where they have lived. Consequently, some criteria other than officially recognized borders had to be found in order to decide what should be depicted visually as Carpatho–Rusyn territory. This essay is an attempt to explain the conceptual basis of the C-R Settlement Map, which together with several smaller maps has begun to function as a didactic tool for those who in recent years support the idea of a distinct Carpatho-Rusyn nationality.[2]

My first encounter with the problem of depicting on a map the territory inhabited by a people that has no state dates back to the mid-1970s. At that time, I was commissioned to prepare 89 maps for the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. These maps were intended to show the homelands of each of the peoples represented in the encyclopedia, some of whom had their own state, some of whom did not. Authors of the entries were asked to submit along with their text a sketch map with some of the elements they would like to have

1 Paul Robert Magocsi, *Carpatho-Rusyn Settlement at the Outset of the 20th Century with Additional Data from 1881 and 1806/Rozselenia karpat'skŷkh rusyniv na zachatku XX stolittia z dalshymy dannŷmy z 1881-ho i 1806-ho roku* (Orwell, VT, 1996). A second revised edition appeared in 1998.

2 Smaller versions of the map have appeared since 1987 in each issue of the quarterly *Carpatho-Rusyn American* (Pittsburgh, PA and Fairfax, VA, 1978–present); in a brochure entitled *Carpatho-Rusyns* that has appeared in various editions: English, Ukrainian, and Slovak (Orwell, VT, 1995), Vojvodinian Rusyn and Serbo-Croatian (Novi Sad, 1995), Hungarian (Budapest, 1996), Polish (Orwell, VT, 1996); and at least once in the print media of all countries where Rusyns live: *Rusyn*, I, 1 (Medzilaborce, Slovakia, 1991), inside cover; *Besida* IV.2 (Krynica, Poland, 1992), insert; *Podkarpats'ka Rus'* (Uzhhorod, Ukraine), September 9, 1993, p. 3; and *Rusynskŷi zhyvot*, I, 1 (Budapest, 1994), p. 2. Both the small and large versions of the map are featured since 1995 on the Carpatho-Rusyn World Wide Web Internet site—http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org/carpatho.

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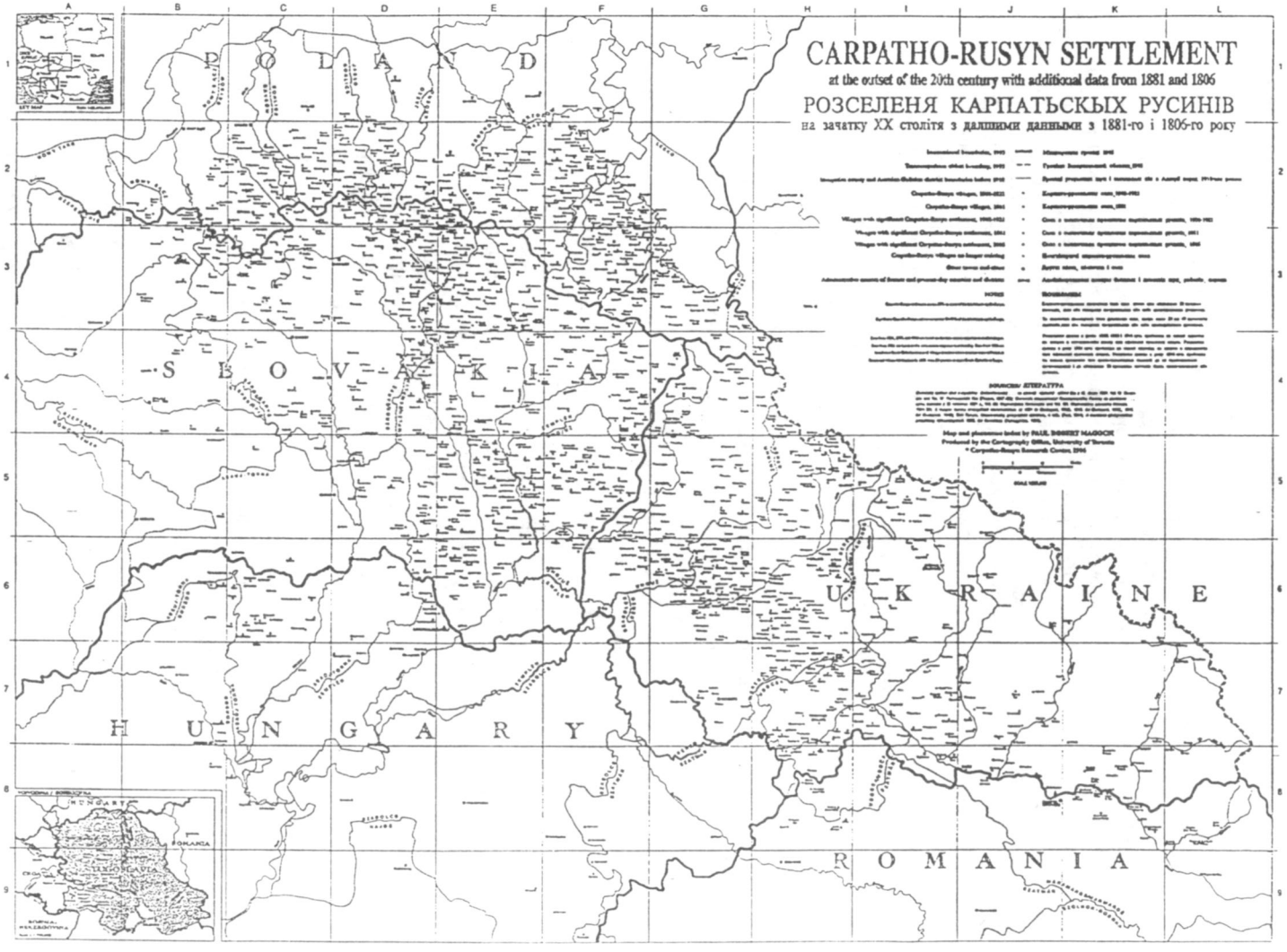

depicted. I remember vividly the map that accompanied the entry on the Basques, whose homeland straddles the present-day borders of Spain and France.

The Basque sketch map included no state borders or even a reference to either Spain or France. The Basque homeland could therefore have been anywhere, and this caused the encyclopedia editors—embued with Harvard's characteristic intellectual condescension—to dismiss the map outright as an example of myopic nationalism. Not unexpectedly, the final map that I drew for the encyclopedia made clear that the Basque Land (Euzkadi) was firmly a "part" of Spain and France.[3]

It took several years to extricate myself from the tyranny of contemporary state boundaries and to realize that the "borderless" map by the Basque author was in one sense as legitimate as my published corrected version in which the Basque homeland was rendered as subordinate to Spain and France. Why was the Basque author's version of spatial reality also legitimate? Because when asked about their homeland, at least some Basques respond in categories that disregard contemporary and historic state boundaries. And why is this so? Because they know that as Basques they have lived in their own homeland before Spain or France had ever come into existence. Hence, Basque "boundaries" have as much justification to be depicted on maps as any latter-day and often changing state boundaries.

Such an approach implies that there may be different kinds of boundaries. Some are "real" because they have been agreed to by governments, confirmed by surveyors, and depicted with lines on a map. Others are "real" because a group of people with a common historical memory are aware of and believe in their existence. Does this mean that boundaries in the second category are merely imagined and are, therefore, unreliable because imaginations can vary from individual to individual? Or do there exist quantitatively objective criteria which can be used to determine the boundaries of stateless peoples?

The stateless people under consideration here are the Carpatho-Rusyns. They are depicted on the C-R Settlement Map as living on contiguous territory within the present-day state boundaries of Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, and Romania. All these territories were before World War I part of Austria-Hungary. The Carpatho-Rusyn inhabited lands within each present-day country are also known by regional names: (1) Subcarpathian Rus' (*Podkarpats'ka Rus'*) or Transcarpathia (*Zakarpattia*) in Ukraine; (2) the Prešov Region (*Priashev'ska Rus'/ Priashevshchyna*) in Slovakia; (3) the Lemko Region (*Lemkovyna/ Lemkivshchyna*) in Poland; and (4) the Maramureş Region (*Maramorosh*) in

3 Stephen Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA, 1980) 173.

Romania. Aside from these four regions which form a compact territory, there are as well isolated Carpatho-Rusyn villages or groups of villages (islets) in nearby southeastern Slovakia, northeastern Hungary, and farther south in the Vojvodina (historic Bačka and Srem) of Yugoslavia's republic of Serbia.

Carpatho-Rusyns are linguistically and culturally an East Slavic people who live along a linguistic-cultural boundary, the other side of which is inhabited by West Slavic (Poles and Slovaks), Finno-Ugric (Magyars), and Romance (Romanian) peoples. Problems have arisen whenever scholars have attempted to determine with any degree of exactitude the extent of the Carpatho-Rusyn areal. Particularly problematic is the southwestern boundary with the Slovaks. There is also difficulty in delineating an eastern boundary, assuming there should be an eastern boundary at all. Put another way, to what degree are Carpatho-Rusyns distinguishable from fellow East Slavs, specifically the Ukrainians of neighboring historic Galicia?

PREVIOUS STUDIES

There is a sizeable literature dealing with the extent of Carpatho-Rusyn territory.[4] The earliest studies began to appear in the mid-nineteenth century, a time when the first population censuses were being conducted in a systematic fashion in Austria-Hungary and inhabitants were being asked by governmental functionaries to define themselves in terms of the language they spoke, their religion, and eventually their national identity. Such questions caused confusion, and the inhabitants of certain villages often identified themselves differently from one census to the next. This prompted scholars to analyze the relationship between the official statistics and ethnolinguisitc "reality." The most comprehensive works, which dealt with settlement on the southern slopes of the Carpathians were by the Russian historian Aleksei L. Petrov and the Ukrainian historian Stepan Tomashivs'kyi.[5] The controversial boundary between Rusyns

4 The literature is surveyed in Stepan Tomashivs'kyi, "Etnografichna karta Uhors'koi Rusy," in Vladimir I. Lamanskii, ed., *Stat'i po slavianoviedieniiu,* Vol. III (St. Petersburg, 1910) 181–189; Jan Húsek, *Národopisná hranice mezi Slováky a Karpatorusy* (Bratislava, 1925) 5–12; and Bohdan Strumins'kyi, "Terytoriia: istorychnyi narys pohliadiv," in *idem*, ed., *Lemkivshchyna: zemlia—liudy—istoriia—kul'tura*, Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka, Vol. CCVI (New York, Paris, Sydney, Toronto, 1988) 11–86.

5 Of Petrov's numerous studies on the subject, of particular relevance here are: "Zamietki po ètnografii i statistikie Ugorskoi Rusi," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvieshcheniia* CLXXIX.2 (St. Petersburg, 1892): 439–458; reprinted in his *Stat'i ob Ugorskoi Rusi* (St. Petersburg, 1906) 1–18; *Prediely ugrorusskoi riechi v 1773 g. po ofitsial'nym dannym: karty*, Sbornik Otdieleniia russskago iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskago akademii nauk, Vol. LXXXVI (St. Petersburg, 1909); *Prediely*

and Slovaks prompted the most literature, as some of the leading Slavists from the pre-World War I era attempted to delineate a "correct" boundary. Among the more important contributions to the debate were by the Norwegian Slavist Olaf Broch,[6] the Galician-Ukrainian ethnographer Volodymyr Hnatiuk,[7] the Czech philologist František Pastrnek,[8] the Russian linguist Aleksei Sobolevskii,[9] the Czech archaeologist and anthropologist Lubor Niederle,[10] and the Slovak linguist Samuel Czambel.[11] Although they did not participate in the polemics among the aforementioned Slavists, the maps and statistical compilations of the Austrian official, Karl von Czoernig,[12] and the Magyar scholars Elek Fényes,

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ugrorusskoi riechi v 1773 g. po offitsial'nym dannym: izsliedovanie i karty, Zapiski Istorichesko-filologicheskago fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago universiteta, Vol. CV (St. Petersburg, 1911); and *Národopisná mapa Uher podle úředního lexikonu osad z roku 1773* (Prague, 1924), with map 1:468 000.

Tomashivs'kyi's major contribution is an ethnographic map based on the Hungarian census of 1900, with commentary, statistics, and index: Stepan Tomashivs'kyi, "Etnografichna karta Uhors'koï Rusy," in Vladimir I. Lamanskii, ed., *Stat'i slavianoviedieniiu* Vol. III (St. Petersburg, 1910): 178–269 and map 1:300 000 (1906). Tomashivs'kyi's map was reviewed at length with supplemental information by Oleksander Nazariïv, "Etnohrafichna terytoriia uhors'kykh ukraïntsiv-rusyniv," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* CII (L'viv, 1911): 164–191. Aside from the ethnographic map, Tomashivs'kyi also undertook a detailed critique of Hungary's censuses in "Uhors'ki rusyny v s'vitli madiars'koï uriadovoï statystyky," *ibid.*, LXI (1903): 1–46, and in "Prychynky do piznannia etnohrafichnoï terytoriï Uhors'koï Rusy teper i davnishe," *ibid.*, LXVII (1905).

6 Olaf Broch, *Studien von der slovakisch-kleinrussischen Sprachgrenze im ostl. Ungarn* (Kristiania, 1897) and *Weitere Studien von der slovakisch-kleinrussischen Sprachgrenze* (Kristiania, 1899).

7 Volodymyr Hnatiuk, "Hungarian-Ruthenica," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* XXVIII.2 (L'viv, 1899): 29–38; "Rusyny Priashivs'koï eparkhiï i ikh hovory," *ibid.*, XXXV (1900): 1–70; and "Slovaky chy Rusyny?: prychynok do vyiasnennia sporu pro natsional'nist' zakhidnykh rusyniv," *ibid.*, XLII.4 (1901): 1–81.

8 F. Pastrnek, "Rusíni jazyka slovenského: odpověd' panu Vlad. Hnat'jukovi," in Vladimir I. Lamanskii, ed., *Stat'i po slavianoviedieniiu,* Vol. II (1906): 60–78.

9 A. Sobolevskii, "Kak davno russkie zhivut v Karpatakh i za Karpatami," *Zhivaia starina*, IV.3–4 (St. Petersburg, 1894): 524–526.

10 Lubor Niederle, "K sporu o ruskoslovenské rozhraní hranici v Uhrách," *Slovanský přehled* V (Prague, 1903): 345–349; "Ještě k sporu o rusko-slovenskou hranici v Uhrách," *ibid.*, VI (1904): 258–261; and "Nová data k východní slovenské hranici v Uhrách," *Národopisný věstník československý* II (Prague, 1907): 1–3.

11 Samo Czambel, *Slovenská reč a jej miesto v rodine slovanských jazykov* Vol. I (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1906).

12 Karl Freiherr von Czoernig, *Ethnographie der oesterreichischen Monarchie*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1855–1857).

Pál Balogh, and most recently Edit Tamás,[13] contributed to the debate about the southern extent of the Carpatho-Rusyn areal.

The attempts by scholars to determine the boundaries of the Lemko Region on the northern slopes of the Carpathians have also produced an extensive literature. The most comprehensive map of the region together with statistical data on individual villages and towns was prepared by the Galician-Ukrainian geographer, Volodymyr Kubiiovych, who reconstructed data based on various censuses conducted between 1900 and 1931.[14] With regard to the specific extent of the Lemko Region, the western and northern boundary with Poles has been less difficult to define than the eastern boundary.[15]

Ever since the early nineteenth century scholars have debated whether Lemko-Rusyn territory extends as far east as the San River, or whether it ends somewhere to the west between the Solinka, Osława, or Wisłok River valleys.[16] Since the 1930s, the number of works on the Lemko Region has increased substantially, and the question of the eastern boundary continues to be debated by

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13 Elek Fényes, *Magyar országnak s a hozzá kapcsolt tartomanyoknak mostani állapotja statisztikai és geographiai tekintetben*, 6 vols. (Pest, 1833–1840), esp. vols. III and IV; Pál Balogh, *A népfajok Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1902); Edit Tamás, "A szlovák-magyar-ruszin nyelvhatár a történelmi Zemplén és Ung megyében," in Judit Katona and Gyula Viga, eds., *Az interetnikus kapcsolatok kutatásának újabb eredményei* (Miskolc, 1996) 267–284.

14 Volodymyr Kubiiovych (Kubijovič), *Etnichni hrupy pivdennozakhidn'oï Ukraïny (Halychyny) na 1.1.1939/Ethnic Groups of the South-Western Ukraine (Halyčyna—Galicia) 1.1.1939* (Wiesbaden, 1983). This work contains statistical data for Ukrainian-inhabited Galicia; the accompanying map (1:250 000) has an insert covering "Zakhidnia Lemkivshchyna/Westernmost Part of Halyčyna."

15 On the northern and western boundary of the Lemko region, see the early work by Dionizy Zubrzycki, *Granice między ruskim i polskim narodem w Galicji* (L'viv, 1849)—German edition: *Die Grenzen zwischen der russinischen und polnischen Nation in Galizien* (L'viv, 1849); and Tit Myshkovskii, "Iugozapadnaia ètnograficheskaia granitsa Galitskoi Rusi," *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik Galitsko-russkoi matitsy* LXIX [VIII] (L'viv, 1934): 3–9.

In contrast to the southern slopes of the Carpathians, in the Lemko Region there was only one islet of East Slavic settlement separated by some distance from the compact territory along the mountain crests. This consisted of eight villages north of the town of Krosno near the bend of the Wisłok River inadvertently left off the first edition of the C-R Settlement Map but added in the second edition.

16 Those scholars who favored the San River as the eastern Lemko boundary include Wincenty Pol, Ivan Vahylevych, Aleksei Torons'kyi, and Iakiv Holovats'kyi. Those who consider the boundary to be along a line farther west include Denys Zubryts'kyi, Izydor Kopernicki, and Ivan Zilyns'kyi. See the discussion in Roman Reinfuss, "Łemkowie jako grupa etnograficzna," *Prace i materiały etnograficzne* Vol. VII (Lublin, 1948–1949): esp. 89–94; and Strumins'kyi, "Terytoria" 25–35.

Polish and Ukrainian linguists,[17] ethnographers,[18] and geographers.[19] Despite the results of multidisciplinary research there is still no concensus on the eastern boundary.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE C-R SETTLEMENT MAP

How, then, does the 1996 C-R Settlement Map differ from the preceding literature and what does it add to our understanding of where precisely the Carpatho-Rusyn homeland is located? First, a few words about the content of the map. It shows 1,300 villages where 20 percent or more of the inhabitants were Carpatho-Rusyn in the period 1881 to 1921, together with other villages which had more than 50 percent Carpatho-Rusyn habitation in the year 1806. The vast majority of villages are on contiguous territory along the southern and, in part, northern slopes of the northcentral ranges (Beskydy, Bieszczady, Gorgany) of the Carpathian Mountains. There is also an inset map of the Vojvodina (historic Bačka and Srem) where Rusyn immigrants from what is today northeastern Hungary and Ukraine's Transcarpathia settled beginning in the mid-eighteenth century.

Superimposed on this pattern of villages are three levels of boundaries: present-day state boundaries, the boundary of the Transcarpathian oblast in Ukraine, and the boundaries of counties (*megye/Comitat/župa*) in the former Hungarian Kingdom and the districts (*Bezirk/okruh*) of the former Austrian Habsburg province of Galicia that existed as administrative units at least until 1918. On the reverse side of the map is an index that lists over 3,600 names of villages according to the following criteria: present-day name; historic name(s);

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17 Józef Szemlej, "Z badań nad gwarą lemkowską," *Lud Słowiański* III.2 (Cracow, 1934): 162–177; Zdzisław Stieber, "Wschodnia granica Łemków," *Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń PAU* XL.8 (Warsaw, 1935): 246–249—French edition: "La frontière orientale des Lemki," *Bulletin internationale de l'Académie polonaise des sciences et des lettres* no. 7–10 (Cracow, 1936): 232–236; Ivan Zilyns'kyi, "Pytannia pro lemkivs'ko-boikivs'ku hranytsiu," *Lud Słowiański* IV.1 (Cracow, 1938): 75–101.

18 Jan Falkowski and Bazyli Pasznycki, *Na pograniczu łemkowsko-bojkowskiem* (L'viv, 1935; reprinted Warsaw, 1991); Roman Reinfuss, "Problem wschodniego zasięgu etnograficznego Łemkowszczyzny," *II. zjazd sprawozdawczo-naukowy poświęcony Karpatom wschodnim i środkowym* (Warsaw, 1938): 1–11; idem, "Etnograficzne granice Łemkowszczyzny," *Ziemia* XXVI.10–11 (Warsaw, 1936): 248–253; and idem, *Łemkowie jako grupa*, esp. pp. 84–102.

19 Stanisław Leszczycki, "Zarys antropogeograficzny Łemkowszczyzny," *Wierchy* XIII (Cracow, 1935)—reprinted in Walery Goetl, ed., *O Lemkowszczyźnie* (Cracow, 1935) 14–40; Ihor Stebel's'kyi, "Heohrafiia liudyny," in Strumins'kyi, *Lemkivshchyna* 113–146.

and several linguistic variants (Carpatho-Rusyn, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Ukrainian).[20] Determining an appropriate name for a given place was not straightforward. Among other things, a Carpatho-Rusyn standard does not exist for all areas covered on the map,[21] while each Rusyn village south of the Carpathians has two, often significantly different names in Hungarian, as well as variants (not provided) in the Czech and Russian languages that were in official use in Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia at various times in the twentieth century.[22] All the names in the index are cross-referenced to a main

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20 Slovak place-names follow the main forms used in the invaluable *Retrospektívny lexikon obcí Československej socialistickej republiky 1850–1970*, Vol. II: *Abecedný prehl'ad obcí a častí obcí v rokoch 1850–1970*, Pt. 2: *Slovenská socialistická republika* (Prague, 1978), which provides for each village the former Hungarian and in some cases German names, as well as Slovak names in various historic orthographies. Romanian place names are from Coriolan Suciu, comp., *Dicţionar istoric al localităţilor din Transylvania*, 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1968).

21 There is a standard only for the territory of Subcarpathian Rus' (present-day Transcarpathia in Ukraine); in 1927, the Czechoslovak government approved a Rusyn name for each settlement (using the Cyrillic alphabet in its etymological script). See the explanation and index in *Statistický lexikon obcí v republice československé ... na základě výsledků sčítání lidu z 15. února 1921*, Vol. IV: *Podkarpatská Rus* (Prague, 1928) x–xii and 63–68. For the Prešov Region in Slovakia, Rusyn names were taken from Iurii Pan'ko, ed., *Orfografichnyi slovnyk rusyn'skoho iazýka* (Prešov, 1995). Rusyn names in the Lemko Region were taken from the dictionary (*słowniczek*) of place-names in Janusz Rieger, "Toponomastyka Beskidu Niskiego i Bieszczadów Zachodnich," in *Łemkowie: kultura—sztuka—jezyk* (Warsaw and Cracow, 1987) 133–168, although I have added ы/ŷ to distinguish that characteristic Carpatho-Rusyn vowel from и/y. Rusyn names for villages in present-day Hungary, Romania, and southeastern Slovakia which were not indicated in the above sources were taken for the most part from Tomashivs'kyi, "Etnografichna karta."

22 During the height of the magyarization efforts before World War I, the Hungarian names for most Carpatho-Rusyn villages south of the Carpathians were changed between 1900 and 1910. The government's goal was to make the names sound less Slavic. For instance, Kolbasov (Slovak)/Kovbasuv (Rusyn), which had been Kolbaszó in Hungarian until 1900, became Végaszó. Analgously, Negrovo (Rusyn)/ Nehrovo (Ukrainian), which had been Negrova in Hungarian became Maszárfalva. With regard to orthography on the C-R Settlement Map, the older Hungarian phoneme cz has been replaced by modern spellings (i.e., Rakaca, instead of Rakacza), and contemporary forms are used for compound names (i.e., Alsóremete, instead of Alsó-Remete). Czech names, which had official status between 1919 and 1938, are found in *Statistický lexikon obcí*, Vol. IV, 49–63; Russian names, which had official status from 1945 to 1991, are found in N.N. Semeniuk et al., eds, *Istoriia gorodov i sel Ukrainskoi SSR: Zakarpatskaia oblast'* (Kyiv, 1982); and Georg Heller, *Comitatus Bereghiensis, Comitatus Unghensis, and Comitatus Marmarosiensis/Comitatus*

entry that is in the dominant/official language of the country in which the village is located today: Polish in Poland, Ukrainian in Ukraine, etc. It is the present-day official forms that appear on the map itself.[23]

The sources used to compile the C-R Settlement Map were governmental and church censuses on which individuals were asked to identify their language ("mother tongue") or their nationality. Before turning to the reliability of such sources and the reasons for choosing one census over another, first a word about the criteria used for determining the group identity of what is called here Carpatho–Rusyns. This requires a brief definition of a people or nationality.

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Scholars have wrestled with the problem of defining a nationality ever since the nineteenth century, when an interest in different peoples and in the ideology of nationalism became a dominant concern in Europe and then gradually in other parts of the world. Some commentators have argued that a nationality is defined by the presence of certain observable "objective" characteristics, such as territory, historical tradition, ethnographic characteristics, and most especially language. Others have argued that regardless of the presence of all or some of such

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Ugocsiensis, Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars an der Universität München, Serie A, Vols. 15, 17, 18 (Munich, 1983–85).

23 Ukrainian forms posed a special problem. Aside from the numerous name changes after 1945, which were basically intended to slavicize what were perceived to be Hungarian-sounding forms (i.e., Niagovo became Dobrians'ke; Trebushany—Dilove; Voloskoe—Pidhirne), Soviet Ukrainian orthography differed from Ukrainian orthography in the West. This was particularly evident in place names with the traditional ending *o* that were changed to *e* (i.e. Poroshkovo became Poroshkove; Mukachevo—Mukacheve, although Mukachiv in Ukrainian publications in the West), or that were simply shortened (Iablonovo—Iabluniv; Tiachovo—Tiachiv). After 1991, the local authorities in independent Ukraine have sought to return in part to orthographic forms that are not associated with the Soviet era.

Nevertheless, there is still inconsistency, so that while Poroshkove has again become Poroshkovo, Pidhirne has not become Pidhirno. Finally, in an attempt to respond to the sensitivities of Magyar-inhabited districts in southern Transcarpathia, the oblast government has approved the older Hungarian names in both their Ukrainian and Hungarian forms. Thus, Vuzlove has become Bat'ovo (Hungarian: Bátyú), Ivanivka has become Ianoshi (Hungarian: Jánosi). For further details, see Anikó Beregszászi, "Language Planning Issues of Hungarian Place-Names in Subcarpathia," *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* XLIII.3–4 (Budapest, 1995-96): 373–380. The Ukrainian names used on the C-R Settlement Map, including the recent changes implemented since 1991, are found in *Zakarpats'ka oblast: dovidnyk administratyvno-terytorial'noho podilu na 1.VI.1996 roku*, 3rd. edition (Uzhhorod, 1996).

observable common characteristics, a population cannot be considered a distinct people or nationality unless its individual members are aware of such a common identity. In other words, there needs to be present a national will.

In the case of the Carpatho-Rusyns, they have traditionally used terms derived from the noun Rus' to describe themselves: *rusynŷ* (Rusyns), *rusnatsi* (Rusnaks), *podkarpats'ki rusynŷ* (Subcarpathian Rusyns), *karpatorossŷ* (Carpatho-Rusyns), as well as to describe their attributes: *rus'kŷi iazŷk* (Rusyn language), *po-rus'kŷ*, *po-rusnatski* (in the Rusyn or Rusnak language), *rus'ka vira* (adherent of the Rus' or Eastern Christian faith).[24] Such ethnonyms, which were built around the noun Rus' and which encompassed both a religious and linguistic identity, helped to distinguish Carpatho-Rusyns from their Polish, Slovak, Magyar, and Romanian neighbors to the north and south, as well as from Jews, Germans, and Roma (Gypsies) who lived in towns and villages within and immediately adjacent to the Carpatho-Rusyn areal.[25]

Nomenclature, however, does not by itself help to distinguish Carpatho-Rusyns from other East Slavs. This is because at least until the 1920s, the Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovina also called themselves Rusyns. Consequently, Ukrainian authors considered the ethnonym Rusyn to be an older name for Ukrainian, while Russian authors considered it to be a regional name for Russian. From such a perspective, there is no need to define a Carpatho-Rusyn areal distinct from the rest of the East Slavic world. Instead, the East Slavs on both sides of the Carpathians are subdivided into three ethnographic groups—Lemkos, Boikos, and Hutsuls. These groups may have distinct ethnographic characteristics, but they are viewed as part of an East Slavic ethnolinguistic continuum, whether as a branch of the Ukrainian nationality or a branch of an even more encompassing Russian nationality.[26]

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24 The noun Rus' and its derivatives also figure in the names given by outsiders and by Carpatho-Rusyns themselves to their homeland: *Karpats'ka Rus'* (Carpathian Rus'), *Marchia Ruthenorum* (The Rus' Mark), *Podkarpatská Rus* (Subcarpathian Rus'), *Preshovs'ka Rus'* (Prešov Rus'/Region), *Ruténföld* (Ruthene Land), *Rusinsko* (Rusinia), *Rus'ka Kraïna* (Rus' Land), Ruthenia, *Zakarpats'ka Rus'* (Transcarpathia Rus').

25 The noun Rus' also formed the basis of the names given to Carpatho-Rusyns by neighboring peoples: *magyarorosz/orosz* (Hungarian), *rusin* (Polish), *rusín/rusnak* (Slovak), *rutén* (Hungarian), *Ruthener* (German).

26 Russophile authors put less of an emphasis on ethnographic differentiation than on seeing the Carpatho-Rusyn areal as part of the Little Russian branch of a larger Russian or "common Russian" (*obshcherusskii*) nationality. Cf. Grigorii Kupchanko, *Nasha rodina* (Vienna, 1896; reprinted New York and Berlin, 1924); and Timofei D. Florinskii, *Zarubezhnaia Rus' i eia gor'kaia dolia* (Kyiv, 1900). Ukrainophile authors have developed an extensive literature on the three ethnographic regions which

The major shortcoming of this approach is that the three-fold ethnographic classification scheme does not respond, so to speak, to the reality on the ground. For instance, none of the so-called Lemkos and very few of the so-called Boikos living on the southern slopes of the Carpathians have ever called themselves Lemkos or Boikos, but instead use the terms Rusyn or Rusnak to describe themselves. Linguists, moreover, do not speak of Boiko dialects on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. In other words, the people that ethnographers consider to be Boikos living south of the mountains in a territory that coincides with virtually all of Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia do not describe themselves as Boikos and are classified by linguists as speaking dialects that are different from Boiko dialects north of the mountains.[27]

If the ethnographic scheme, with its arguments about similarities between people on the northern and southern slopes of the mountains, is rejected as a valid conceptual framework, how does one justify including within the Carpatho-Rusyn areal (1) the Lemko Region in historic Galicia, which is north of the Carpathians; and (2) the southeastern corner of Transcarpathia where the inhabitants have traditionally used the name Hutsul just as do the inhabitants immediately on the northern slopes of the mountains? Even more important, how can one justify speaking at all of a Carpatho-Rusyn areal distinct from the rest of the East Slavic world?

Put quite simply, the C-R Settlement Map reflects the views of political activists and writers who at least since the second half of the nineteenth century have, like the Basques mentioned at the outset of this essay, come to believe in the existence of a definable homeland called Carpathian Rus'. They have based

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comprise lands on both sides of the Carpathians and that, in turn, are considered part of the Ukrainian nationality. Cf. Iurii H. Hoshko, ed., *Hutsul'shchyna: istoryko-etnohrafichne doslidzhennia* (Kyiv, 1987); Iurii H. Hoshko, ed., *Boikivshchyna: istoryko-etnohrafichne doslidzhennia* (Kyiv, 1983); and Bohdan O. Strumins'kyi, *Lemkivshchyna: zemlia—liudy—kul'tura*, 2 vols. (1988).

27 See Georgij Gerovskij, "Jazyk Podkarpatské Rusi," in *Československá vlastivěda*, Vol. III: *jazyk* (Prague, 1934) 460–480 with map, who speaks of a group of closely related "Subcarpathian dialects" throughout what most others call the "southern Boiko" region; and Iosyf O. Dzendzelivs'kyi, "Stan doslidzhennia henezy ukraïns'kykh diialektiv," *Movoznavstvo* XV.1 [85] (Kyiv, 1981): esp. 49–50, who speaks of four basic dialectal groups throughout all of Transcarpathia. The recently published authoritative *Atlas ukraïns'koï movy*, Vol. II (Kyiv, 1988), plate IV, indicates that Boiko dialects exist only in Galicia, while most East Slavs south of the Carpathians speak what are classified as "Transcarpathian" dialects with only a small area of Hutsul dialects in the far east. On the C-R Settlement Map, the Hutsul area comprises the town of Rakhiv and a mere 17 villages east of, but not including, Velykyi Bychkiv.

their belief on the presence among the area's inhabitants of a national will expressed in the form of a common historic tradition. Admittedly, there has also been a Russian national will and a Ukrainian national will expressed at various times among the region's East Slavic inhabitants, and those are subjects worthy of attention in their own right. The object of this essay, however, is to explain the evolution of the Rusyn national will and therefore the justification for the areal depicted on the C-R Settlement Map.

Since the establishment of the first states in east-central Europe, the crests of the Carpathian Mountains formed an administrative boundary that separated the inhabitants on the southern slopes from those on the northern slopes. Those same Carpathian crests also coincided with a dividing line that determined different geographic spheres. The southern slopes are part of the Danubian Basin. All rivers, transportational patterns, and centers of trade and commerce point in a southward direction. For nearly a millennium the dominant state structure in the Danubian Basin was the multinational Kingdom of Hungary, of which the Carpatho-Rusyn areal was an integral part. Thus, while it is true that there may be some similarities in the language and religion of the East Slavic inhabitants on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains, those living on the southern slopes were until as recently as 1945 part of an entirely different geo-political sphere.[28]

The question of the relationship with other East Slavs became an issue of concern in the course of the nineteenth century, when, under the impact of nationalism, local leaders began to seek a group identity based on cultural instead of political criteria. Initially, mid-nineteenth century reformers like Adolf Dobrians'kyi, argued that all the East Slavic Rusyns living within the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina formed, together with Hungary's Uhro-Rusyns, one people.[29] This people, moreover, deserved to have its own

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28 For recent attempts that argue for Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia as a distinct central European geo-politcal unit whose present-day inhabitants of various nationalities represent an amalgam called the "Transcarpathian people," see Ivan Pop and Volodymyr Halas, "Stanú sa Zakarpatci štátotvorným národom?," *Medzínarodné otázky* III.2 (Bratislava, 1994): 33–42; Ivan Pop, "Podkarpatská Rus a Zakarpatská Ukrajina—historický úděl a perspektivy malé země a malého naroda mezi střední a východní Evropou," in *Euroregio Egrensis* (Prague, 1994): 27–36; Ivan Pop, "Homo totalitaricus?: istoriia Zakarpattia, krytychni rozdumy," *Karpats'kyi krai* VI.5–7 (Uzhhorod, 1996): 4–22; and Alexander Duleba, "Základné geopolitické charakteristiky Zakarpatska," in *Zakarpatsko* (Bratislava, 1995): 187–233.

29 On the broader definition of Carpatho-Rusyns, see Iakov Golovatskii [Holovats'kyi], "Karpatskaia Rus': geograficheskо-statisticheskie i istoricheskо-etnograficheskie ocherki—Galichiny, sievero-vostochnoi Ugrii i Bukoviny," *Slavianskii sbornik* I (St. Petersburg, 1875): 1–30 and II (1877): 55–84; and A.

administrative unit based on nationality criteria within what reformers hoped would become a reconfigured Austria-Hungary.

The political realization of such a broader definition of Rusyns turned out to be impractical for two reasons: (1) Austria-Hungary was unable and unwilling to transform itself into a federal state based on nationality units; and (2) as Rusyn leaders north and south of the Carpathians increased their personal and organizational contacts, they began to realize that whatever linguistic and religious similarities they may have had were not strong enough to overcome their differences brought about by having lived for centuries in divergent political and geographic spheres. One contemporary from the Russian Empire, who otherwise was convinced that on both sides of the Carpathians "live the very same Rusyn people speaking the very same language," nonetheless admitted: "Characteristically, Hungarian Rus' is completely separated not only from Ukrainian territory [in the Russian Empire] but from its nearest neighbor, Galicia, as well. There has been and there still is no spiritual unity between Hungarian Rus' and Galician Rus'. The political and historical conditions in Hungarian Rus' have proven to be an even more divisive factor than the mountains that separate Galicia from Hungary."[30] The growing strength of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia during the last decades of the nineteenth century only further alienated the articulate elements among Rusyns living south of the mountains.[31]

On the other hand, the sense of a distinct Carpatho-Rusyn identity based on historical tradition was enhanced by developments connected with the drive for political autonomy. Ever since the mid–nineteenth century, Rusyns living south of the Carpathians had been concerned with attaining political autonomy for a territory which they argued was inhabited by a distinct people. As early as 1849, the Austrian government created the Uzhhorod military district, which in practice became a Rusyn-led administrative entity. Although short-lived, the Uzhhorod district set a precedent which Carpatho–Rusyn spokespersons hoped once again to achieve even during the new wave of magyarization in the 1860s and 1870s, when religious and secular leaders continued to submit to the Hungarian

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Petrov, *Ob ètnograficheskoi granitsie russkago naroda v Avstro-Ugrii: o somnitel'noi 'vengerskoi' natsii i o nedielimosti Ugrii* (Petrograd, 1915).

30 L. Vasilevskii (Plokhotskii), "Vengerskie 'rusnaki' i ikh sud'ba (pis'mo iz Avstrii)," *Russkoe bogatstvo* 3 (St. Petersburg, 1914): 368.

31 Despite their best efforts to establish contacts with the Rusyns in the Hungarian Kingdom, pro-Ukrainian cultural activists like Mykhailo Drahomanov and Volodymyr Hnatiuk complained of being rejected by their brethren south of the mountains. For the texts of such reactions, see Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848–1948* (Cambridge, MA, 1978) 60–63.

government petitions for the creation of a Carpatho-Rusyn autonomous region.[32] By the twentieth century, the principle that Carpatho-Rusyns were deserving of political autonomy because they formed a distinct national group was accepted by every state that ruled the region. Hence, the autonomous Rus'ka Kraïna (1918–1919) was created in post-World War I Hungary, Subcarpathian Rus' (1919–1938) in the new state of Czechoslovakia, Carpatho-Ukraine (1938–1939) in post-Munich federated Czecho-Slovakia, and Transcarpathian Ukraine (1944–1945) in an international political vacuum—although in the presence of the Soviet military—during the closing months of World War II.[33] There was, moreover, a remarkable consistency in the territorial extent of these autonomous units. Each one, beginning with the very first one back in 1849, comprised the four historic Hungarian counties of Ung/Uzh, Bereg, Ugocsa/Ugocha, and Máramaros/Maramorosh.

There was as well a degree of consistency in the geopolitical goals of Carpatho-Rusyn leaders. They continued to demand that Rusyn-inhabited regions in at least three other counties—Szepes/Spish, Saros/Sharysh, and Zemplén/Zemplyn in present-day northeastern Slovakia—be included within any Rusyn autonomous province. Their demands were even formally recognized by the international community, when two treaties at the Paris Peace Conference (Saint Germain, 1919 and Trianon, 1920) accepted the principle that "the Ruthenes south of the Carpathians" be endowed with "the fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak state."[34]

It is certainly true that in practice no government ever delivered fully on its promises of autonomy for Carpatho-Rusyns. What is important in this discussion, however, is that the very recognition of some degree of autonomy for a Rus' land south of the Carpathians instilled in the inhabitants a sense of a distinct Carpatho-Rusyn political as well as cultural/national identity. Such an awareness was codified and promoted by numerous publications, including textbooks used in schools between 1919 and 1944, that provided a new generation of young people with a conceptual framework that considered the history of Subcarpathian Rus' (including all Rusyn lands south of the

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32 On these little-known efforts, see the petitions submitted to the Hungarian government cited in Mária Mayer, *Kárpátukrán (ruszin) politikai és társadalmi törekvések, 1860–1910* (Budapest, 1977) 27–35; English edition: *The Rusyns of Hungary: Political and Social Developments, 1860–1910* (New York, 1997) 28–37.

33 For documents on the Subcarpathian Rusyn autonomous tradition in the twentieth century, see P. Hod'mash, comp., *Od avtonomnoï Podkarpats'koï Rusy do suverennoï Zakarpats'koï Ukraïnŷ* (Uzhhorod, 1996).

34 *Traité entre les Principales Puissances Alliées et Associées et la Tchécoslovaquie* (Paris, 1919) 26–27.

Carpathians) as well as Rusyn literature and art as phenomena with their own internal evolution distinct from that of their neighbors.[35]

Such theoretical constructs were reflected in practice. Throughout the interwar years, Carpatho-Rusyn political and civic activists living in the Prešov Region argued they were only "temporarily" under a Slovak administration, and they repeatedly demanded to be united with their brethren in neighboring autonomous Subcarpathian Rus'. Those demands were reiterated as late as 1945, a time when Subcarpathia was about to be annexed to the Soviet Union.[36] At the far southeastern corner of the Carpatho-Rusyn areal, recent documents have come to light to show that there, too, in early 1945, representatives of the dozen or so villages in Maramureş Region of Romania requested that they be united with their brethren in Transcarpathia.[37] And as for settlements father south that were separated from compact Carpatho-Rusyn territory, older residents in several villages of present-day northeastern Hungary retain an active historical memory that their ancestors are Rusyns (*ruténok*) from the Carpathians, while farther south the Vojvodinian Rusyns have a well developed literature that makes it clear that their ancestral home is in the Carpathian Highland (*Hornïtsa*).[38]

If an argument can be made that Rusyns south of the Carpathians have a common political culture and a sense of historic tradition that is distinct from other East Slavs, how does one justify the inclusion of the so-called Lemko Region north of the mountains within the framework of a Carpatho-Rusyn areal?

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35 Among works in this genre were: Yrynei M. Kondratovych, *Ystoriia Podkarpatskoî Rusy dlia naroda* (Uzhhorod, 1924; reprinted 1991); Evgenii Nedziel'skii, *Ocherk karpatorusskoi literatury* (Uzhhorod, 1932); *Ystoriia podkarpatorus'koi lyteraturŷ* (Uzhhorod, 1942); and A. Yzvoryn [Evgenii Nedziel'skii], "Suchasnî rus'kî khudozhnyky," *Zoria/Hajnal* II.3–4 (Uzhhorod, 1942): 387–418 and III.1–4 (1943): 258–287.

36 Ivan Vanat, *Narysy novitn'oï istoriï ukraïntsiv Skhidnoï Slovachchyny*, Vol. II: *1938–1948* (Bratislava and Prešov, 1985) 29–63 and 218–223; Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Rusyns in Slovakia: An Historical Survey* (New York, 1993) 71–95.

37 On February 4, 1945, 426 delegates from seventeen villages gathered at Sighet, the regional administrative center on the left bank of the Tysa/Tisza River in Romania, to form the First Congress of National Committees that issued a manifesto calling for unification of Maramureş with Transcarpathia. Omelian Dovhanych, "Maramaros'kyi z"izd," *Karpats'kyi krai* IV.1–2 (Uzhhorod, 1994): 36–37.

38 Miron Žiroš, *Živa Hornïtsa I: demohrafiino-etnohrafiini drahopis* (Budapest, 1996); István Udvari, "Rusyns in Hungary and the Hungarian Kingdom/Rusiny v Vengerskom Korolevstve" and Ljubomir Medjesi, "The Problem of Cultural Borders in the History of Ethnic Groups: The Yugoslav Rusyns/Problem kulturnikh hranïtsokh u istoriï etnïchnikh zaiednïtsokh: iuhoslavianski Rusnatsi," in Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *The Persistence of Regional Cultures/Tryvalist' rehional'nykh kul'tur* (New York, 1993) 105–162 and 103–165.

At first glance it might seem that the ethnographic principle is being invoked after it has been rejected in the case of Carpatho-Rusyn lands farther east. In fact, it is historical tradition as well as in part geography that has helped to create a sense of communality across the crests of the mountains.

With regard to geography, it has always been relatively easy for the inhabitants of the Lemko Region to maintain commercial, cultural, and familial relations with East Slavs immediately to the south, because the Beskyd ranges—roughly between the Poprad River in the west and the Osława River in the east (the present-day boundary between Poland and Slovakia)—have the lowest elevations throughout the Carpathians and are penetrated by several routes that cut through accessible passes (Tylyč/Tylycz, Dukl'a/Dukla, Lupkiv/Łupkow).[39]

Not surprisingly, then, when at the close of World War I the East Slavs of the Lemko Region organized for the first time to decide their political future, the strongest orientation among them called for unity with their Rusyn brethren living south of the mountains.[40] It was, in fact, the political demands of the Lemko Rusyns that resulted in the first maps which conceptualized in visual terms the idea of an entity called Carpathian Rus', whose territory basically coincided with the villages from the 1900–1921 period shown on the C-R Settlement Map. The Lemko-inspired concept of a Carpatho-Rusyn homeland was submitted to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919,[41] and it was only after the Czechoslovak government refused to accept their request for unification that the Lemkos formed on the northern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains an independent Lemko Rusyn Republic that was to last sixteen months (December 1919 to March 1920). Despite the failure to unite politically after World War I, Lemko writers and historians have kept alive a tradition that the Lemko Region

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39 On the wide range of contacts across the Beskyd ranges, see Roman Reinfuss, "Związki kulturowe po obu stronach Karpat w rejonie Łemkowszczyzny," in Jerzy Czajkowski, ed., *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat* Vol. II (Rzeszów, 1992): 167–181.

40 On the various political orientations among the Lemkos after World War I, see Paul Robert Magocsi, "The Ukrainian Question Between Poland and Czechoslovakia: The Lemko Rusyn Republic (1918–1920) and Poltical Thought in Western Rus'-Ukraine," *Nationalities Papers* XXI.2 (1993): 95–105.

41 Anthony Beskid and Dimitry Sobin, *The Origin of the Lems, Slavs of Danubian Provenance: Memorandum to the Peace Conference Regarding Their National Claims* (Prešov, 1919). The idea of Carpathian Rus' political unity was kept alive by Lemko and other Rusyn immigrants in the United States and was revived during World War II. See the June 1942 resolution with map in "Amerykanskyi Karpatorusskyi Kongress," in *Karpatorusskyi kalendar 1943* (Yonkers, NY, 1942): 17–34. In early 1945, the Lemko Workers' and Peasants' Committee in Gorlice informed Carpatho-Rusyns meeting in Prešov that they wished to unite with them. Cf. Vanat, *Narysy* 219–220.

and its East Slavic inhabitants are culturally part of a Carpathian Rus' homeland on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains.[42]

As for the territorial extent of the Lemko Region north of the Carpathians, the boundary with Polish-inhabited villages remained stable until 1945, after which Lemko-Rusyns were deported en masse from their homeland.[43] And whereas Polish and Ukrainian ethnographers and linguists continue to disagree on the region's eastern boundary (see above, notes 16–19), Lemko historical tradition is governed by the precept that "the border of the Lemko Region extends... in the east to the San River."[44]

There is still the question of whether the historic inhabitants of the Lemko Region should be distinguished at all from other East Slavs (i.e., Ukrainians) north of the Carpathians. In this regard, it is instructive to note why East Slavs living west of the San River began to call themselves by the regional name *Lemko*. During the first decade of the twentieth century, local leaders became displeased with the Ukrainian national movement that was radiating from L'viv throughout eastern Galicia. Since in Polish (the functional language throughout Galicia before World War I) the term *Rusini* was used to describe all East Slavs north of the Carpathians, articulate spokespersons living west of the San River wanted to distinguish themselves from what they considered the pro-Ukrainian *Rusini* in eastern Galicia. Hence, they replaced their own historic name *Rusyn* with a new ethnonym, *Lemko*.[45] Such a name change did not, as we have

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42 Lemko historical ideology is outlined in Ivan Teodorovich, "Lemkovskaia Rus'," *Nauchno-literaturnyi sbornik Galitsko-russkoi matitsy* LXIX [VIII] (L'viv, 1934): 10–21; in the popular history by Yvan F. Lemkyn [Ivan Polans'kyi], *Ỳstoryia Lemkovynŷ* (Yonkers, NY, 1969); and Olena Duc'-Fajfer, "The Lemkos in Poland/Lemkŷ v Pol'shcŷ" in Magocsi, *Persistence of Regional Cultures* 83–103 and 80–102.

43 Between 1945 and 1947, the postwar Communist government of Poland, as part of its agreement with the Soviet Union on population exchanges, encouraged all East Slavs within its new borders to emigrate voluntarily to Soviet Ukraine. Those who refused were forcibly resettled in former German territories that had just become part of western and northern Poland (Silesia, Pomerania, East Prussia). Villages in the Lemko Region were either abandoned (marked by an x on the C-R Settlement Map) or resettled by Poles. In the 1960s, some Lemko Rusyns began to return to their native villages, and today there are about 15,000 to 20,000 living again in the Lemko Region.

44 Teodorovich, "Lemkovskaia Rus'" 10.

45 The term *Lemko* actually appeared as early as 1831, and it was used in publications throughout the nineteenth century. It did not, however, begin to be used as an ethnonym by the populace at large until the first decades of the twentieth century. As for its etymological origin, Lemko derives from the adverb *lem* (only), which is actually used in most Carpatho-Rusyn dialects north and south of the

discussed above, affect negatively the Lemko sense of commonality with fellow Rusyns on the southern slopes of the Carpathians.

STATISTICAL DATA

Now to return to the question of sources used in the C-R Settlement Map. Based on the assumption that the definition of a people is best gauged by how individual group members identify themselves, census data seems the most readily available source to determine self-identity. Like any data, census reports are problematic. For instance, at the data-gathering stage, it is possible that the individual being interviewed does not understand the question being asked, or that he or she may be intimidated and therefore provide an answer assumed to be acceptable to the census enumerator and the "authorities" posing the question. Then there is the problem of classifying the answers once the raw data is collected. As an example, it is quite possible that on a single census conducted in the Carpatho-Rusyn areal the following answers might be given in response to the question of native language or nationality: *rusyn, rus'kyi, uhro-rus', karpatoros, lemko*. How should census enumerators classify these responses in the final report? Should there be listed six separate nationalities/language; should one of the terms be used to represent all six variant answers; or should some other "known" classification such as Russian or Ukrainian be used?

Despite the potential shortcoming of censuses, they are still the only sources we have for determining the identity of the inhabitants over a large territory and with the possibility of comparison over different periods of time. The data for the C-R Settlement Map was based largely on pre-World War I data, in particular the Hungarian census of 1910.[46] This data is relatively more reliable than later censuses because it asked persons to identify their mother tongue, not nationality.[47] Should, for instance, the question "nationality" have been asked, it is likely that an inhabitant of Rusyn, or Slovak, or Jewish background would have answered Hungarian, or Austrian, or Habsburg, because

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mountains as far as the Borzhava River valley in central Transcarpathia. On the evolution of the name and its adoption as an ethnonym, see Duc'-Fajfer, "Lemkos in Poland" 84/81–82; and Bohdan Struminsky, "The Name of the Lemkos and of Their Territory," in Jacob P. Hursky ed., *Studies in Honor of George Y. Shevelov, Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences* Vol. XV (New York, 1981–1983): 301–308.

46 *A magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása*, Magyar statisztikai közlemények, új sorozat, Vol. XLII (Budapest, 1912).

47 Mother tongue (Hungarian: *anyanyelv*) meant the language usually spoken at home.

the respondant would have associated nationality with citizenship in the Hungarian Kingdom, Austrian Galicia, or the Habsburg Monarchy.

To underscore this point, we need only look at the census conducted a little over a decade later by the ostensibly more democratic Czechoslovak government. In Czechoslovakia's 1921 and 1930 censuses, the question of nationality instead of mother tongue was asked. Among the answers a respondant was urged to give—and that were later tabulated and eventually published in the census reports for the country's two eastern provinces, Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus'—were: Czechoslovak, German, Magyar, Rusyn,[48] or Jewish. The political tendentiousness of such an approach is obvious. One result was that according to official census data there were no Slovaks in Slovakia, only "Czechoslovaks." Moreover, since the inhabitants of whatever nationality were by 1921 citizens of Czechoslovakia, they could rightly describe themselves as Czechoslovak. This is, in fact, what happened in many villages in northeastern Slovakia. Hence, among the same people who throughout the nineteenth century had described themselves as Rusyn (in answer to the mother tongue question), in 1921 and in 1930 some described themselves as Czechoslovak, others as Rusyns.

To distort matters even further, Slovak publicists and scholars, reacting to what they perceived as manipulation of census data by Czechs in the central government in Prague, simply "translated" the term *Czechoslovak* into Slovak, thereby transforming all "Czechoslovak nationals," whether of Rusyn, Jewish, German, and even Magyar background, into Slovaks.[49] Thus, the pre-World War I Hungarian census reports, which ask the question of mother tongue, provide a

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48 The rubric for Rusyns in the village-by-village census data (*Statistický lexikon*) was designated simply as *ruská*, which in Czech means Russian. In the summary report for the 1921 statistics, the word *ruská* was followed by a parenthesis that read (Great Russian, Ukrainian, Carpatho-Rusyn). Cf. *Sčítání lidu v republice československé se dne 15. unora 1921*, Vol. I (Prague, 1924) 84–85. The introduction to the village-by-village census report for 1930 explained: "Because of lack of space, the second rubric under nationality is marked only as 'ruská'; this, of course, also indicates those persons who stated their nationality as Ukrainian, Carpatho-Rusyn, Rusyn, or Rusnak." *Statistický lexikon obcí v republice československé... na základě výsledků sčítání lidu z 1. prosince 1930*, Vol. IV: *Země podkarpatoruská* (Prague, 1937) x.

49 An excellent illustration of the distortion resulting from "statistical slovakization," accompanied by a map indicating the Slovak-Rusyn ethnographic boundary according to the 1930 statistics, is found in: Ladislav A. Potemra, "Ruthenians in Slovakia and the Greek Catholic Diocese of Prešov," *Slovak Studies* I (Rome, 1961): 199–220. Cf. the earlier polemic commisssioned by the patriotic Slovak League: Ján Ruman, *Otázka slovensko-rusínskeho pomeru na východnom Slovensku* (Košice, 1935).

better insight than any later censuses into the national identity of the inhabitants on the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains.

With regard to the Lemko Region north of the Carpathians in the historic province of Galicia, I did not have access to the Austrian statistics for either 1900 or 1910. Hence, I used data from Poland's 1921 census, which provided the following nationality rubrics: Polish, Rusyn, German, Jewish, other.[50] While it is generally true that mother tongue is a more reliable indicator than national identity, the question regarding nationality in the 1921 Polish census does have validity. This is because on the same census there is data on religious affiliation. It is interesting to note that the figures for Rusyn nationality and Greek Catholic religion are virtually identical. Since north of the Carpathians there has generally been a correlation between Poles as Roman Catholics and Rusyns as Greek Catholics, this lends weight to the validity of the nationality response in the 1921 Polish census data.

The next question was how to define in statistical terms a Carpatho-Rusyn settlement (village or town)? Is the presence of any number of Rusyns, even one, sufficient? Or, do all the inhabitants have to be Rusyn? Most maps that show nationality or religious affiliation employ the principle of a simple majority; that is, a settlement must have 50 percent or more of its inhabitants of a given identity to be included. Considering the complexity of ethnocultural borderlands, the C-R Settlement Map includes solid green symbols (dots, squares, triangles) for places with 50 percent or more Rusyn inhabitants, and open symbols for settlements with 20 to 49 percent Rusyn inhabitants. The vast majority of settlements in the 20 to 49 percent category are on the southern slopes of the Carpathians and generally beyond the contiguous Carpatho-Rusyn areal. There are also a few villages within the areal that were not included because less than 20 percent of their inhabitants were Rusyn.[51]

MAPPING THE DATA

With regard to its visual impact, the C-R Settlement Map adopts what might be called the maximalist approach. Since it is meant to show chronological evolution, the map does not depict the status of the Carpatho-Rusyn population at a particular point in time, but rather all villages and towns that *at any time*

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50 Główny urząd statystyczny Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Vol. XII: *Województwo Krakowskie*, and Vol. XIII: *Województwo Lwowskie* (Warsaw, 1924–25).

51 Among such villages are Slovak-inhabited Lenartov and Stebnícka Huta in the Prešov Region, and German-inhabited Nimets'ka Kuchava and Nimets'ka Mokra in Transcarpathia.

were inhabited by 20–49 and 50 percent or more Carpatho-Rusyns. To achieve this result, the Hungarian census of 1910 and the Polish census of 1921 were used as the base, to which were added other villages that had 20 to 49 percent and 50 percent or more Rusyn inhabitants according to the 1921 Czechoslovak census and the 1900 and 1881 Hungarian censuses.[52]

Finally, to such governmental data was added a new source not available to scholars who had previously described or mapped the Carpatho-Rusyn areal. This is the census conducted in 1806 by the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Mukachevo, which at the time covered the entire Rusyn areal south of the Carpathians in the historic Hungarian Kingdom.[53] Of the twelve questions on the church census, one indicated which language—Rusyn, Magyar, Slovak, or Romanian—was used by the parish priest during the homily. In contrast to the liturgical part of the service which was in Church Slavonic, the homily was a personalized message given in a language which parishioners could readily understand. Although the church census was not intended as an inquiry about mother tongue or nationality, it is perhaps because of the indirect nature of the question that we are able to obtain an impartial insight into the linguistic and nationality composition of settlements south of the Carpathians as early as 1806.

Not every village where the Greek Catholic priest delivered his homily in Rusyn was included on the C-R Settlement Map, however, only those where 50 percent or more of the inhabitants understood (and likely spoke) Rusyn. In order to determine whether a village's inhabitants were at the time at least 50 percent Rusyn, the number of Greek Catholics listed in the 1806 census was compared to the total population of each village. Since the 1806 census did not include information on the total number of inhabitants in a given village, that data was derived from the next chronologically closest source, the comprehensive

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52 *Statistický lexikon obcí v republice československé ... na základě výsledků sčítání lidu z 15. února 1921*, Vol. III: *Slovensko* and Vol. IV: *Podkarpatská Rus* (Prague, 1927-28); *A magyar korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása*, Magyar statisztikai közlemények, új sorozat, Vol. I (Budapest, 1902); *A magyar korona országaiban az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás*, Vol. II (Budapest, 1882).

53 The eparchy covered twelve Hungarian counties: Abaúj-Torna, Bereg, Borsod, Gömör, Máramaros, Sáros, Szepes, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Ugocsa, Ung, and Zemplén, which today are within the boundaries of Slovakia, Ukraine, Hungary, and Romania. The complete census with explanatory data was published by István Udvari, comp., *A munkácsi görögkatolikus püspökség lelkészségeinek 1806. évi össszeírása*, Vasvári Pál Társaság füzetei, Vol. III (Nyíregyháza, 1990). For a summary of the data, see István Udvari, "Perepis' prikhodov Mukachevskoi greko-katolicheskoi eparkhii 1806 goda," in Ryszard Łużny, Franciszek Ziejka, and Andrzej Kępiński, eds., *Unia brzeska: geneza, dzieje i konsekwencje w kulturze narodów słowiańskich* (Cracow, 1994) 163–173.

geographical dictionary for the entire Hungarian Kingdom published in 1851 by Elek Fényes.[54]

There are 173 Carpatho-Rusyn villages from the 1806 census data (distinguished by a separate triangular symbol), most of which are in present-day southeastern Slovakia and northeastern Hungary. These regions were not shown on most previous maps depicting Carpatho-Rusyn settlement, and their appearance here supports the earlier views of Slavists like Pavel Šafárik and Lubor Niederle that "all of eastern Slovakia is, in fact, slovakized Rus' territory (*vlastně poslovenštěná Rus*)."[55]

There is, of course, another way to depict the Carpatho-Rusyn areal; that is, to plot those villages and towns inhabited by Carpatho-Rusyns at a particular point in time. This is what Aleksei Petrov did for the year 1773 and Stepan Tomashivs'kyi for 1900 on large-scale maps with village by village statistics on the southern slopes of the Carpathians.[56] As an example of what such an approach would yield over a longer period of time, it might be useful to depict sequentially that part of the Carpatho-Rusyn areal which has changed most dramatically; namely, the area of present-day northeastern Hungary and eastern Slovakia where Carpatho-Rusyn, Slovak, and Magyar settlement patterns interact.

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54 For instance, the 1806 church census listed for the village of SzŒled (Abaúj-Torna county) a total of 303 Greek Catholic inhabitants. Fényes describes SzŒled as a Rusyn-Magyar-Slovak village with Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran (Evangelical) adherents. The 302 Greek Catholics represented 60.5 percent of the population and, therefore, the village is indicated on the C-R Settlement Map for 1806.

Fényes also indicated several villages not listed as Rusyn-speaking parishes in 1806 census but that were either exclusively Rusyn (Vernárd/Vernár, Telgard/Švermovo, Sumjác/Šumiac in Gömör county and Sislóc/Šyšlivci in Ung county) or mixed Rusyn-Magyar/Magyar-Rusyn, i.e., primarily Greek Catholic inhabitants with some Roman Catholics and/or Protestants. These villages were added to the second edition of the map. On the other hand, a few villages in Sáros, Abaúj-Torna, and Zemplén counties described by Fényes as Slovak were deleted on the second edition. Elek Fényes, *Magyarország geographiai szótára*, 4 vols. (Pest, 1851; reprinted Budapest, 1984).

55 Lubor Niederle, *Slovanský svět* (Prague, 1909) 93. According to Pavel Josef Šafařík, *Slovanský národopis* (1842, 4th ed. [Prague, 1955]) 32–33, the Slovak-Rusyn boundary was formed by the Topl'a River from Bardejov in the north to its mouth near where it joins the Latorica River in the south, with the exception of the Sotak triangle on its east bank bounded by Stropkov, Snina, and Humenné. Šafařík's boundary is reconstructed on a map in Strumins'kyi, "Terytoriia" 49.

56 See above, note 5.

A quick glance at the attached seven maps depicting Rusyn settlement south of the Carpathians in 1806, 1881, 1900, 1910, 1921, 1930, and 1991 reveals in graphic fashion a reduction in the number of villages where at least 50 percent of the inhabitants identified as Carpatho-Rusyn.[57] With their backs to the mountains, the Rusyn "retreat northward" has nevertheless not always been consistent, and it was quite common for the inhabitants of a single village to claim they were Rusyn in one census, Slovak in the next, and yet again Rusyn. The change in identity or language from census to census was most evident in villages south of Stará L'ubovňa, around Svidník and Stropkov, and to the north and southeast of Uzhhorod. It becomes quite obvious, however, that because of frequent changes in identity, a trend toward assimilation with the state nationality, and more recently out-migration that the geographic area inhabited by Carpatho-Rusyns in eastern Slovakia has been reduced dramatically during the nearly two centuries from 1806 to 1991. The first major reduction occurred during the five decades between 1841 and 1890, at a time when, according to one Czech statistician, 176 Rusyn villages in eastern Slovakia were slovakized, 37 were magyarized, while only one Slovak village was rusynized.[58] This was also a period when most of the Rusyn villages in present-day northeastern Hungary were magyarized. The second major reduction occurred about a century later, between 1945 and 1990, with the result that today there are only a handful of villages in eastern Slovakia (and none in the Lemko Region of southeastern Poland) where 50 percent or even 20 to 49 percent of the inhabitants describe themselves with an East Slavic ethnonym (Rusyn, Lemko, Ukrainian, Russian).

The recent decline since World War II has been the result of a number of factors: the manipulation of statistical data, demographic change (caused by voluntary out-migration, involuntary resettlement, a decline in birth rates), and national assimilation.[59] It would certainly be useful to explore further the

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57 The shaded areas on the maps represent villages with 50 percent or more Rusyn inhabitants based on published census reports indicated above in notes 46, 48, 50, 52, and 53 as well as in the unpublished data from the Krajský statistický úrad, Košice, "Narodnost' obyvatel'stva podl'a obci v okresoch východného Slovenska, r. 1991," supplied to the author by the Institute for Social Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Spoločenskovedný ustav SAV), Košice, Slovakia. With regard to the latter source, the responses for Rusyn and Ukrainian were combined.

58 Jaromír Korčák, "Etnický vývoj československého Potisí," *Národnostní obzor* III (Prague, 1933): 270. For further details, see Húsek, *Národopisná hranice* 461–484.

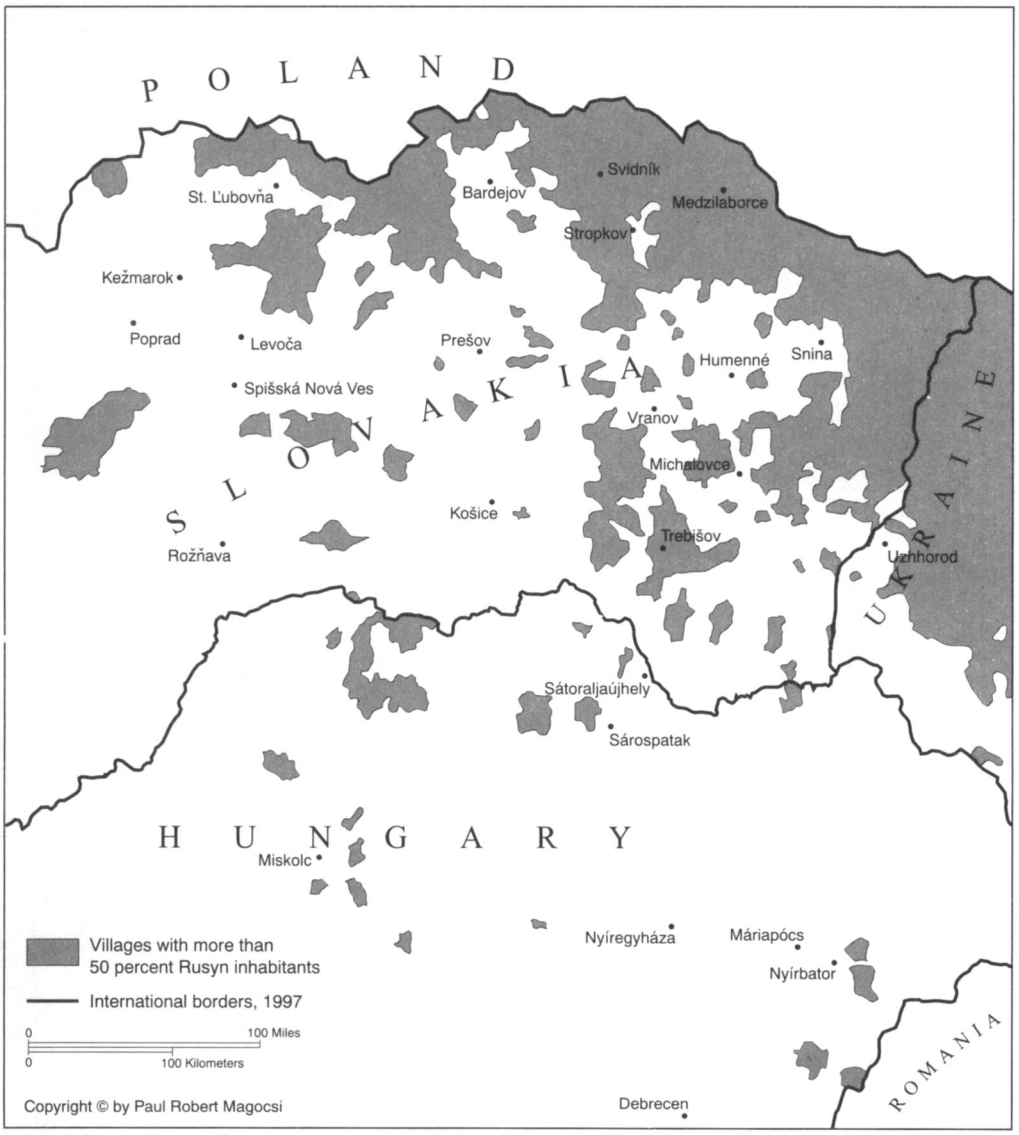
59 For details on post-World War II developments on both sides of the Carpathians, see Pavel Maču, "National Assimilation: The Case of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia," *East-Central Europe* II.2 (1975): 101–131; and Kazimierz Pudło,

reasons for the precipitous decline of Carpatho-Rusyns in the twentieth century and to determine whether it is correct to assume—as many writers do—that national assimilation is a uni-directional process. The latter assumption would seem to be challenged by the unexpected revival of a Rusyn-language instruction in elementary schools in a few villages in Hungary (Múscony and Komlóska) and in Slovakia that had either been magyarized or slovakized but that since the political changes of 1989 are returning to their ancestral Rusyn heritage. These are questions, however, for another essay.

CONCLUSIONS

The concern here has been to reveal some of the problems connected with mapping a stateless people. At the very least, the C-R Settlement Map has succeeded in plotting the exact location in relation to historic and contemporary administrative borders of all villages whose inhabitants at some time between 1806 and 1921 identified themselves as Rusyns. With regard to the question of the Carpatho-Rusyn areal as representing the homeland of a distinct people, this is only one way that the East Slavic inhabitants and their leaders perceived themselves during the past two centuries. The areal has been perceived in other ways: as smaller in size yet still representing the homeland of a distinct people, or as part of a larger Ukrainian or Russian national territory to the north and east. In the end, one thing seems clear. As the homeland of a distinct people, the Carpatho-Rusyn areal has changed in the past and is likely to continue to change in the future despite the best efforts of scholars to fix it permanently in time and space through lines and symbols on a map.

Łemkowie: proces wrastania w środowisko dolnego Śląska, 1947–1985 (Wrocław, 1987).



RUSYN SETTLEMENT SOUTH OF THE CARPATHIANS **1900**

RUSYN SETTLEMENT SOUTH OF THE CARPATHIANS 1910

RUSYN SETTLEMENT SOUTH OF THE CARPATHIANS **1921**

RUSYN SETTLEMENT SOUTH OF THE CARPATHIANS **1930**

RUSYN SETTLEMENT SOUTH OF THE CARPATHIANS **1991**