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**RELIGIOUS DIMENSION OF NATIONAL
IDENTITY IN INTERWAR POLAND**

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The article analyzes the peculiarities of the study of the religious dimension of the functioning of the national state - Second Commonwealth. The specifics of the coverage of church-religious processes as a part of the problems of national minorities of interwar Poland are considered. The interdependence between national doctrine and Catholicism as its element is established and the correspondence with the vector of Catholic studies of the concept of the national Polish state is established. The differences in the discourse on the study of the functioning of Ukrainian denominations in Poland - Orthodox and Greek Catholicism are outlined. The specifics of the study of confessions of non-titular nations and the state policy regarding national-religious minorities as a source of contemporary national bias are highlighted.

The issue that has not attracted the attention of researchers is the role of the religious factor in the formation and existence of national states of Central and Eastern Europe. The actualization of the religious issue, both in modern Ukraine and in neighboring Poland, prompts a more thorough analysis of the phenomenon of the church as an element of the national doctrine. Aspect of the religious life of inter-war Poland is the interdependence of identities - religious, national, and linguistic. A typical phenomenon - a Catholic-Pole, a Greek-Catholic- Ukrainian, a German-Protestant-was accompanied by a large number of excellent cases.

This study suggests the proportionality of the issues of the functioning of the political and religious dimension of the life of interwar Poland. At that time, the Polish elites failed to cope with the challenge of multi-confessional (ultimately, and multinational) state, which emerged as a national one. The entire spectrum of scientific analysis of the national-religious life of the Second Polish Commonwealth splits into narrowly confessional directions and is not constructed into logical conclusions and prospects of perfection. The lack of comprehension of the defeats of the past predetermines the conflict of the present-from the glorification of xenophobia in modern Polish society and in the Polish-Ukrainian relations.

Introduction. Events of last year showed a relapse of nationalism in the current geopolitical situation. The impression is that we are seeing the completion of the «end of history» promised by Fukuyama. The obvious latent existence of nationalism as a doctrine and its inverse revival is beyond doubt. Understanding the phenomenon and virulence of nationalism leads to the emergence of numerous scientific studies and intelligence that analyze nationalism as a determinant of the formation of national states. For example, E. Gellner proposes to distinguish the temporal (respectively, territorial) belt of this process - and the territories of Central and Eastern Europe fall into the so-called third belt. In the conceptual dichotomy «culture-state,» this space is interesting because there is a transition from a single boundary state - an ideally pure, non-political system - to the opposite - an ideally pure national political system. Undoubtedly, such a transition was accompanied by global conflicts and upheavals. «Simultaneous creation of a national state and a national culture in a world in which there was a shortage of both components, in a world that consisted of a huge, extremely complex language and cultural diversity that was superimposed on geographical and cultural diversity - it was a recipe for disaster» [2, p. 247].

Gellner singles out two main scenarios for the construction of national states. The first is due to the presence of the idea of a historical nation - a group that had previously had its state education but lost it. Nationalistic demands are associated with the rebirth of a political unit that has disappeared as a result of dynastic or religious conflicts. The second scenario assumed the creation of a political unit, which is associated exclusively with the cultural originality of the territory. The formation of national states of Central and Eastern Europe occurs in the period after the end of the First World War - from the wreckage of empires, which were divided between the continent. One of these states - the newly formed II Commonwealth - has become a representative of both scenarios of the formation of national states and at the same time a struggle between the nations that succeeded and the national minorities that were defeated in their state-building competitions.

The issue that has not attracted the attention of researchers is the role of the religious factor in the formation and existence of national states of Central and Eastern Europe. The actualization of the religious issue, both in modern Ukraine and in neighboring Poland, prompts a more thorough analysis of the phenomenon of the church as an element of the national doctrine. Obviously, the connection between religious and political factors was somewhat underestimated - which is worth only the resonant fact of the proclamation of Jesus Christ king of Poland in November 2016. Obviously, the origins of such a large-scale desecularization socio-political space must be sought in the past, namely in the phenomenon of poly-confessional II Rzeczpospolita.

The constitution of Poland in the format of the national state was accompanied by a certain paradox. Definitely, the national state envisages monoethnicity, whereas in the newly formed Second Polish Commonwealth Poles made up 69.2% of the total population, Ukrainians -14.25%, Jews - 7.15%, Belarusians and Germans respectively 5.13% and 3.58% [19, p.295]. The presence of national minorities a priori meant polycondensate of Poland. The authors of «The History of the Church in Poland,» referring to A.Suykovsky, submit the following picture of the distribution

of the faithful: the Roman Catholic Church was owned by 63.68%, Greek Catholics, Orthodox Christians and representatives of the Jewish faith were about the same number of believers - 11%, 11, 52% and 10.49%. Representatives of Protestantism - 3.21%, despite a large number of denominations [19, p.295]. The specificity of state-church relations existed in two dimensions: nominally, the Polish governments did not declare too much interest in the support of religion. Instead, a policy of assimilation of national minorities was really a situational alliance with the Roman Catholic Church as a bulwark of «Polishness».

The specificity of Polish nationalism determined the historical context of its formation in the nineteenth century. N. Davis notes that this era for Poles has become a day of defeat, isolation, and humiliation. As a result, the absence of a national state leads to the search for new concepts for the formation of national consciousness. They were the «church, language, history and race» [3, p. 467]. Although the Catholic Church never had a monopoly in the religious affairs of the ancient Commonwealth, in the times of division its influence gradually increased. While it is inappropriate to carry out a generalization of the marking of the «Poles-Catholics» and «non-Catholics identical non-Pole», it is not worth the denial that Catholicism became one of the elements of the national consciousness of the Polish nation.

Another aspect of the religious life of inter-war Poland is the interdependence of identities - religious, national, and linguistic. A typical phenomenon - a Catholic-Pole, a Greek-Catholic-Ukrainian, a German-Protestant-was accompanied by a large number of excellent cases.

Overview of related publications. The analysis of recent studies and publications shows the lack of attempts to comprehensively comprehend the religious situation in interwar Poland. Restoration of nationalist doctrine by the modern political elite caused resistance in the academic environment of modern Poland and led to the emergence of a sufficient number of studies devoted to the previous format of statehood. However, the key issue that focuses on research is national issues, problems of national minorities. The most impartial and systematic research in this area can be called Skrypt - mniejszości narodowe [12] professor of the University of Toruń A. Adamczyk. However, the church-religious aspect of this problem is mentioned in passing, in laconic-descriptive format.

By shifting the emphasis from the national to the religious dimension of the existence of a society in interwar Poland, it is worth recalling the only monograph devoted to religion - in the context of historical and legal - Krasowski K. Związki wyznaniowe w II Rzeczypospolitej. Studium historyczno-prawne [23]. Unfortunately, this is the only attempt of a comprehensive analysis of confessions in Poland by the interwar twenty-year-old Polish scholars. As for Ukrainian researchers, the focus of research focuses on the problems of the Polish-Ukrainian relations, from generalizing publications one can only mention "Problems of Ethnic Confessionality in the Second Polish Commonwealth (1918-1939)" [10] Stokolos N.G., however, the scope of this article does not reveal the whole range of problems of the existence of denominations.

Another area of research can be considered as an alternative option - focusing on individual confessions, determined by the nationality of researchers. Actually, these statements will be analyzed in this study. Thus, we can assert the absence of

a comprehensive study of the religious situation in interwar Poland. Perhaps such a lack of attempts to analyze the mistakes of the past - and to draw the appropriate conclusions for the present - is one of the reasons for the current situation in the Polish-Ukrainian relations.

Purpose. The task of the statement involves a comprehensive historiographical analysis of the corpus of scientific literature, which, in one way or another, highlights the religious life of interwar Poland as a dilemma of confessionalism in a state that has tried to form a mono-national space by means of assimilation, including religious ones.

Materials and methodology. The presentation of the main research material can be structured into two directions. First of all, this is a study of the problem of the national question in the Second Polish Commonwealth, because the religious dimension of this problem is inseparable from its aspect. Separately, it is worth analyzing the discourse of confessional studies, thus combining the field of scientific research into the religious life of interwar Poland.

Results and its discussion. Sufficiently observational, but systematic analysis of the conglomeration of denominations, represented in the social and religious space of interwar Poland, can be tracked in studios devoted to the national question. Mostly it is the works of Polish authors. Most of them fail on one and the same flaw - an analysis of the situation from the positions of the titular nation. The authors of the works published in the previous "historiographical era" - the domination of the so-called liberal direction in Polish historical science - are trying to take an impartial and impartial position - for example, A. Hoinovsky (Chojnowski A. *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921-1939*) [18] or G. Halupchak (Chałupczak H. *Browarek T. Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce 1918-1995*) [17]. Instead, modern Polish historical science functions in line with the policies of the government and the dominant party - and therefore interprets the past of its own state in the categories of glorification and uncriticality. There are no solid scientific researches, and courses that are read to students - for example, "Professor A. Adamchik's History of National and Ethnic Minorities in Poland" - cover the situation with national minorities as "the protection of minorities" [12]. The opinion of the representatives of these smaller about the specifics of "protection" is not taken into account in principle.

In general, the whole discourse of historical-religious studies on interwar Poland is focused on the illumination of the functioning of one denomination. The historiography of the Catholic Church is represented by the most monumental research. Multidimensional publications - *History of the Church in Poland* (Kumor, B., Obertyński, Z., red., 1979. *Historia kościoła w Polsce*) [19], somewhat pathetic (as for scientific publications) titles - "Church in the restored Polish state" (Wyczawski, HE, 1980. *Kościół w odrodzonym państwie polskim*) [29], "The integration role of the church on the threshold of the restored Polish statehood" (Odziemkowski, JO, 1988. *Integracyjna rola kościoła u progu odradzającej si polskiej państwowości*) [26]. Presenters and researches are concentrated on the coverage of the history of the Catholic Church in separate time periods (Zelinski, Z., Wilk, S., red., 1980. *Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej Lublin, Wydawnictwo KUL*) [22].

The phenomenon of imposing religious differences on national identity is Ukrainians in interwar Poland. Presented by Orthodox and Greek-Catholic confessions

as a post-imperial heritage. Volyn, which was part of the Russian Empire, in the vast majority of the Orthodox. Galicia, as the former part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, is the habitat for the spread of the Greek Catholic Church. Each region (each of the denominations) has its own associated problems of existence.

The orthodoxy of Poland was inherited from the Russian Orthodox Church. For Poles, it was a testimony to imperial expansion. Accordingly, this denomination turned into an object of continuous state and church experiments. The proclamation of the autocephaly of the Polish Orthodox Church, the neo-con, the Sokal border, and the revision - and this is not the whole list of transformations through which the Orthodox faith (represented by most Ukrainians, but also Byelorussians) in interwar Poland. Such a colorful religious-political plot has led to numerous attempts to scientifically analyze it. Scientific research was conducted on both sides of the border. In Polish historiography, the most thorough researches belong to Papierzinska-Turek M.: Papierzyńska-Turek, M., 1980. Problem autokefalii Kościoła prawosławnego w Polsce w latach 1918 - 1939 [26] Papierzyńska-Turek, M., 1989. Między tradycją a rzeczywistością. Państwo wobec prawosławia: 1918-1939 [25]. Separately, we should mention the works of Kirillovich V. "Z dziejów prawosławia w II Rzeczypospolitej. Niektóre problemy na polityki wyznaniowej państwa 1918 - 1939" [20] and Vyshomyrsky T. (Wyszomirski T.) "Kościół prawosławny w Polsce w latach 1918-1939" [30]. Ukrainian religious studies are also represented by fundamental intelligence in the context of studies of the religious life of interwar Poland - such as the work of Kuprance O. "The Orthodox Church in the interwar Poland" [5].

One should pay attention to the monograph Stokolos N.G. Confessional-ethnic transformations in Ukraine (XIX - first half of the twentieth century) [9]. Despite a much wider time frame, the author systemically and systematically analyzes ethno-confessional transformations of Orthodoxy in II Rzeczypospolita. It should be noted that the scholarly work of the researcher highlights the vicissitudes of the evolution of the Orthodox Church of Volhynia - Stokolos N. "The Situation of Orthodoxy in the Western Ukrainian lands under the rule of Poland (1918-1939)" [11] - and the peculiarities of the functioning of the Greek Catholic Church in the interwar period: Ethno-confessional and national problems of the Greek Catholic Church (1918-1939) [8].

The official restoration in 1989 of the structures of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church caused an avalanche of scientific research into this denomination. Scientists of different institutions, dissertations, are protected in various Specialist academic councils - both historical and religious studies, different periods of existence of the church as a time frame for research. Very often - the period between the two world wars. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was also explored in the context of the spiritual life of Galicia (Vaskiv A.Yu., the Greek-Catholic Church in the spiritual life of the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia (1919-1939) [1], and in the socio-political life: Kosheter U.P. the Greek Catholic Church in the social and political life of Galicia (1900-1939) [4] - a textbook was issued under this name, or ultimately in society as a whole. Pereverzii V. Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the Eastern Galician Society (20 -30 years of the twentieth century.) [6]. There are countless studies devoted to Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky's life and activity, again, the focus on a separate

denomination mostly left the general context of religious life in Poland between 1918-1939 largely blurred - and accordingly not investigated.

A separate segment of the religious life of inter-war Poland was Protestant denominations. Of the estimated number of 800,000 faithful, 70% were representatives of German nationality. The key features of this Christian direction were: 1) significant geographic dispersion - in spite of dominant residence in the western voivodeships, a large proportion of the Protestants also lived in Warsaw and Lodz, 2) a large number of denominations - the Evangelical-Augsburg and Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Reformist (Warsaw community and Wilenska), the Evangelical Uppsburg-Gelvectic Faith, the Church of the Evangelical Union in Poland, the Evangelical Church of the Uniate in Upper Schloss, 3) also as a special the flickering is the one-dimensional positioning of the national identity: from the active declaration of the German national consciousness (in the former Prussian territories) to non-conflict loyalty to the newly formed II Commonwealth in the territories belonging to the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires).

Such a conglomeration of denominations also provoked a scientific interest in Catholic scholars - for example, an overview of Marian (Foki) "Koscioły protestantskie w Polsce w latach 1918-1972" [24], and representatives of the modern academic community of the West Poles universities. The most famous name in the field of the research of Polish Protestantism of the interwar era - Elzbieta Alabrudzinskaya, the author of many scientific works published in Polish and German - the latter testifies the interest of the western neighbors in the scientific reconstruction of the life of the German-Protestant community of Poland between two world wars. The key monograph of this Polish scholar - "Protestantyzm w Polsce w latach 1918-1939", Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2004 [13], and the same edition in German - "Der Protestantismus in Polen in den Jahren 1918-1939", Toruń : 2010 [14]. In addition, a number of publications focusing on the local dimensions of the development of Protestantism in the 2nd Rzeczypospolitej [15], Der Protestantismus in den Ostgebieten Polens in den Jahren 1921-1939, Toruń: Wydaw. Uniwersytet Mikalojus Kopernika, 2000 [16].

A separate segment of the ethnic-confessional palette of inter-war Poland is the representatives of the Jewish national minority. The Jewish factor is noted by a number of species-specific features. First of all, Jewish religion - Judaism - is ethnonational, not global. Thus, in this case, the national identity with the religious one is identified. The second feature is the very socio-political specificity of the existence of Jews in the Second Polish Commonwealth. Numerous presence, conditioned by the post-imperial situation - forced settlements within the "line of residence", became the reason that Poland at that time was third in the world in the list of countries settling the Jewish diaspora. Unfortunately, the 6 million Jewish population, a significant social presence, did not help to avoid the negative political tendencies of that time. The policy of anti-Semitism was declared at the highest political level - proclaiming even the "parents of the nation", such as R. Dmowski: "... the very fact of their existence among us and their active participation in our lives is superfluous for our society - and necessitating them to get rid of them" 30, c. 304]. Despite the presence in the ethno-religious dimension of the Jewish population of different

positions (and, accordingly, groups) regarding religious identity, scientific research does not distinguish between the national and religious dimension of Jewry. In the end, it was caused by the then socio-political situation in the state - the Pilsudski decree of 1919, the Jewish communes (territorial units) was proclaimed at the same time also by religious communities [12]. Speaking about the historiography of the religious issues of the existence of a national Jewish minority in Poland during the interwar period, we are seeing the inclusion of this issue in a much broader context. Starting from a geopolitical scale - in the work of one of the most authoritative contemporary historians T. Snyder "Black Earth" [7] - and ending with attempts to fit into the synchronous dimension of the existence of the Jewish and Central-Eastern Europe of the interwar period in the work of E. Mendelssohn Mendelssohn E. Żydzi Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym [25] or in the historical development of Poland and its Jewish determinant (Wysocki, S. Żydzi w dziejach Polski) [31].

Conclusion. This study suggests the proportionality of the issues of the functioning of the political and religious dimension of the life of interwar Poland. At that time, the Polish elites failed to cope with the challenge of multi-confessional (ultimately, and multinational) state, which emerged as a national one. The entire spectrum of scientific analysis of the national-religious life of the Second Polish Commonwealth splits into narrowly confessional directions and is not constructed into logical conclusions and prospects of perfection. The lack of comprehension of the defeats of the past predetermines the conflict of the present-from the glorification of xenophobia in modern Polish society and in the Polish-Ukrainian relations.

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РЕЛІГІЙНИЙ ВИМІР НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ У МІЖВОЄННІЙ ПОЛЬЩІ

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У статті проаналізовано особливості дослідження релігійного виміру функціонування національної держави – II Речі Посполитої. Розглянуто специфіку висвітлення церковно-релігійних процесів як частини проблематики національних меншин міжвоєнної Польщі. Встановлено взаємозалежність між національною доктриною та католицизмом як її елементом – та відповідність вектора досліджень католицизму концепції національної польської держави. Визначено відмінності у дискурсі вивчення функціонування українських конфесій у Польщі – православ'я та греко-католицизму. Висвітлено специфіку дослідження конфесій нетитульних націй - та державної політики стосовно національно-релігійних меншин як джерело сучасної національної упередженості.

Ключові слова: поліконфесійність, національна держава, католицизм, національні меншини, релігійна ідентичність.

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