

REVIEW ARTICLES AND REVIEWS

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Between Poland, Germany and Russia. A study in the history of the Masurian Philippons

Grzegorz Krassowski, *Wspomnienia mazurskiego filipona (Memoirs of a Masurian Philippon)*, edition, notes and commentary by Stefan Pastuszewski, Instytut Wydawniczy “Świadectwo”, Bydgoszcz, 2014, 64 pp.

The first instances of Old Ritualists settling in Polish territories date back to the late seventeenth century. They were first recorded in German and Russian sources as early as in the late eighteenth century. Before the mid-nineteenth century references to their presence in Poland, even though ever more frequent, were not scholarly in character. These references discussed the customs of Old Ritualists, their costumes, the reasons for their migration to Poland, or the internal conflicts in the community of Old Ritualists. Studies based on official records or archival data are exceptional; these include the works of M. Giersz, F. Tetzner, and E. Titius.¹

From among the nineteenth-century studies in Polish the following are particularly noteworthy: B. Tykl, “Kilka uwag historyczno-statystycznych o guberni augustowskiej. O tak zwanych Filiponach w guberni augustowskiej zamieszkałych” (Remarks in the history and statistical data of the Augustów Governorate: the so-called Philippons residing in the Augustów Governorate), printed in the periodical *Biblioteka Warszawska* in 1857, as well as the anonymous study titled *Wiadomości o Filiponach (On Philippons)*, published in the yearly of the Imperial-Royal Kraków, Scientific Society in 1861.² One should also note the work by Rev.

¹ E. Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich XVII–XX w.*, Warszawa, 1977, pp. 12–13 (review in: *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 13 [1980], p. 264; I. Grek-Pabisowa, “Kierunki i stan badań nad staroobrzędowcami w Polsce”, in: *Studia językowe z Białostoczczyzny. Onomastyka i historia języka*, part 1, eds. I. Maryniakowa, E. Smułkowa, Białystok, 1989 (Prace Białostockiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, vol. 33), pp. 141–150.

² Grek-Pabisowa, *Kierunki i stan badań*, p. 141. As observed by I. Grek-Pabisowa, according to L. Finkl the author of the work was Karol Mecherzyński; *Bibliografia historii polskiej*, vol. 1, Warszawa, 1955, p. 781.

Karol Dębiński, *Raskoł i sekty Prawosławnej Cerkwi Rosyjskiej (The Raskol and the Sects of the Russian Orthodox Church)* (Warszawa, 1910). It was the first study written in Polish which discussed the origins of the Old Ritualists in general terms (the author considered them to be a sectarian movement), as well as the doctrine of various dissident movements of the Old Ritualists and a detailed account of their daily life. The author of the study argued that Old Ritualists migrated to Poland as well as to Prussia and Wallachia because they were persecuted by the authorities.³

The book by Eugeniusz Iwaniec provides information about publications concerning Old Believers which were fairly numerous in the interwar period. However, the information contained in these was scanty, homogeneous, and often biased, as observed by Iryda Grek-Pabisowa.⁴

This reservation aside, it is worth mentioning the works by Wiktor Piotrowicz, *Z zagadnień wyznaniowych w Polsce (Religious Issues in Poland)*, Vilnius, 1929; “Wyznania religijne w województwie wileńskim” (Religions in Vilnius Voivodeship), in: *Wilno i ziemia wileńska (Vilnius and the Vilnius Region)*, Vilnius, 1930; “Staroobrzędowcy w Polsce” (Old Ritualists in Poland), *Słowo*, 6 (1927); “Uregulowanie położenia prawnego Kościoła staroobrzędowego” (Regulating the legal status of the Old Believers’ Church), *Kurjer Wileński*, 5 (1928), no. 218. Eugeniusz Iwaniec mentions also the work by Jędrzej Giertych published in Warsaw in 1933 and titled *Za północnym kordonem (Prusy Wschodnie) (Across the northern border (East Prussia))*, which included the chapter “Śród Filiponów nad Krutynią” (Among the Philippons along the Krutynia River), and the work by the Rev. Stefan Grelewski, *Wyznania protestanckie i sekty religijne w Polsce współczesnej (Protestant denominations and sectarian groups in contemporary Poland)*, Lublin, 1937. He also takes note of the reportage by Melchior Wańkowicz *Na tropach Smętka (Retracing Smętek)* published in 1937, which included the chapter “On Philippons” where the author described the daily life of Old Ritualists in the village of Wojnowo. Iwaniec was highly critical of that particular reportage and stated that its contents were widely contested by most Old Ritualists.⁵

In many instances of his book, Eugeniusz Iwaniec mentions the articles by Stanisław Srokowski, *Ludność Prus Wschodnich (The Peoples of East Prussia)* (Warszawa, 1937), and by Erwin Koschmieder, “Teoria i praktyka rosyjskiego śpiewu neumatycznego na tle tradycji staroobrzędowców wileńskich” (Theory and practice of Russian neumatic chant against the background of the tradition of Old Believers in Vilnius), *Ateneum Wileńskie*, 10 (1935).

Piotrowicz and Srokowski, whose works have just been mentioned, presented Old Ritualists in a favourable light. The former referred to them as “the most loyal citizens of their adopted homeland” and emphasised the differences in treatment

³ Grek-Pabisowa, *Kierunki i stan badań*, pp. 141–142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁵ Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców*, p. 15.

that Old Ritualists received from the authorities of Tsarist Russia and those of Poland. Srokowski, while discussing national minorities in Poland, noted that Old Ritualists “had never used the protection of Russian society, whereas the German government did whatever it could to Germanise them”. The latter author emphasised that the Old Ritualists resisted the attempts at Germanisation and in this respect were greatly different from Lithuanians, who were quick in becoming Germanised.⁶

In contrast to Iryda Grek-Pabisowa, Iwaniec failed to note two valuable studies from the interwar period by Zofia Licharewa published in the popular scientific magazine *Oriens* in 1938 and 1939. The first of these publications, *U źródeł starowierstwa rosyjskiego* (*The origins of Russian Old Believers*) was penned to celebrate “the anniversary of regulating the legal status of this particular branch of Eastern Christianity”. The author wrote that Old Believers formed a sizeable community in Poland (about 50,000 strong) and she attempted to reach back to the origins of staroverystvo so as to make it possible for the reader better to understand this particular creed. The other text, titled *Dzieje starowierstwa rosyjskiego* (*A history of Russian staroverystvo*), presents an outline of the history of the Old Ritualists in Russia from the origins to the October Revolution, and clearly indicates that the author intended to continue the presentation, including the history of the settlements of the Old Ritualists in Polish territories. Sadly, due to the outbreak of World War II there were no further publications.⁷

The end of the war marked the beginning of the new period of study on the Old Ritualists in Poland. Researchers began with gathering the most basic facts. The earlier literature on the topic presented the history of the schism in the Orthodox Church, the doctrine and theology of the Old Ritualists, the internal conflicts within their community, and the attitudes of the tsars and the Muscovite Orthodox Church. The researchers also knew about the regions where Old Ritualists lived, about their customs and daily life. Much of this information, however, was either outdated or plainly untrue. For this reason, as indicated by Grek-Pabisowa, the first post-war publications on the subject were focused on providing basic information. Among these one should note in particular the article by Grek-Pabisowa “Niektóre wiadomości o starowierach zamieszkałych na terenie Polski” (On the Old Believers living in Poland), *Slavia Orientalis*, 8 (1958), no. 4; the text by Lila Szwengrub, “Z badań terenowych. Filiponi” (A fieldwork report: the Philippons), *Euhemer. Przegląd Religioznawczy*, 2 (1958), nos. 2–3; the study by Wiktor Jakubowski, “Z historii kolonii staroobrzędowców rosyjskich na Mazurach” (On the history of Russian Old Believers in the Masuria region), *Slavia Orientalis*, 10 (1961), no. 1. The years 1964–1965 saw the first publications of Eugeniusz Iwaniec included in the issues of the Russian-language periodical *Russkii Golos*. All these works were

⁶ Grek-Pabisowa, *Kierunki i stan badań*, pp. 142–143.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

dealing with questions of history, culture, religion, linguistics, and ethnography as well as with book production of the Old Ritualists.⁸

Another important work was the long article by Emilia Sukertowa-Biedrawina “Filiponi na ziemi mazurskiej” (The Philippons in the Masurian lands), *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 71 (1961), no. 1. The author discussed such problems as the presence of Philippons in German scholarly literature, the emigration of Philippons from Poland (its causes), Philippon pioneers, the settlement of Old Believers in the Mazury region, their customs and beliefs, religious principles, liturgical and religious books, as well as the contemporary situation of Philippons in Poland.⁹

Eugeniusz Iwaniec wrote some of the most significant works concerning the Old Ritualists in Poland. For many years he was doing historical fieldwork and archival research in Poland and Latvia (then part of the USSR). He got in contact with Old Believers living in Latvia and Russia and collected valuable information on the subject. While studying the history of the Slavic printing house run by Old Ritualists in Pisz, he spared no effort in gathering all the issues of the periodical *Istina* (it was published in 1863–1868) and other publications printed in Pisz. As he wrote: “in this way I became the unique Polish owner of most of the prints issued by this publishing house, rarely listed in the catalogues of Polish, Russian and other libraries”.¹⁰

Other works by Iwaniec include long articles about the Old Ritualists living in the vicinity of Augustów, Sejny and Suwałki: “Osadnictwo staroobrzędowców w powiecie augustowskim” (The settlements of Old Ritualists in the Augustów county), in: *Studia i Materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego (Studies and Materials for the History of the Augustów Lake District)*, Białystok, 1967, pp. 401–428, “Staroobrzędowcy” (Old Ritualists), in: *Mragowo. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu* (Mragowo: a history of the city and the county), Olsztyn, 1975, pp. 217–235; “Staroobrzędowcy i ich tradycje kulturalne w Sejneńskim” (Old Ritualists and their cultural traditions in the Sejny region), in: *Materiały do dziejów ziemi sejneńskiej* (Materials for the history of the Sejny region), vol. 2, Warszawa, 1975, pp. 393–429.¹¹

The material collected for these articles was later used by Iwaniec in his aforementioned work *Z życia staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich XVII–XX w.*

⁸ Ibid., pp. 143–144.

⁹ Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁰ E. Iwaniec, “‘Sławianskaja Tipografija’ w Pisz w dziejach staroobrzędowców, jedynowierców i prawosławnych, in: *Prawosławne oficyny wydawnicze w Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Mironowicz, U. Pawluczuk, P. Chomik, Białystok 2003, p. 165. See also other articles by the same author dealing with the Slavic Printing House: “Kontakty środowiska *Kołokoła* ze staroobrzędowcami na Mazurach”, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego*, series I (1975), no. 111, pp. 199–203; “Wydawnictwa Drukarni Słowiańskiej na Mazurach w latach sześćdziesiątych XIX stulecia”, *Slavia Orientalis*, 225 (1976), no. 2, pp. 229–337. For the Slavic Printing House in Pisz, see also the habilitation thesis of E. Iwaniec, *Droga Konstantyna Gołubowa od starowierstwa do prawosławia. Karty z dziejów duchowości rosyjskiej w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, Białystok, 2001.

¹¹ Grek-Pabisowa, *Kierunki i stan badań*, p. 146.

(*The life of the Old Ritualists in Polish territories 17th–20th cc.*) The publication is composed of seven chapters which combine elements of history, religious studies, and ethnography. The author discussed the formation of the main communities of Old Ritualists and the principles of their faith, the settlements in Polish territories, and the history of Old Ritualists living in the former voivodeships of Białystok and Olsztyn (in Masuria). He also described elements of the traditional culture of the Old Ritualists, its religious aspects (sacred architecture, icons, books, crosses, church furnishings, costumes of nuns) and material conditions (domestic architecture, baths, clothing of children and adults, food, and stimulants). Iryda Grek-Pabisowa pointed out that the author demonstrated a thorough understanding of the subject and knowledge about the problems of Old Ritualists in Poland and abroad, but failed to provide a discussion on the political and socio-economic background of Poland at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which was indeed indispensable in the historical part of the study. A presentation of this situation would have perfectly explained the reasons which had led the persecuted Old Ritualists to flee Russia and settle in Polish territories. One has to bear in mind that right at that time, at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the position of Poland in the international arena was on the wane, while as regards religious affairs, the importance of the Catholic Church was growing and that of all minority churches diminishing.¹²

Other works by Eugeniusz Iwaniec include: “Folklor staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich” (The folklore of the Old Believers in Poland), *Studia Polono-Slavica Orientalia*, 7 (1981), “Wierzenia i obrzędy grzebalne wczoraj i dziś na ziemiach polskich” (Beliefs and burial rituals in Polish territories in history and today), in: *Chrześcijański wschód a kultura polska (The Christian East and Polish culture)*, ed. R. Łużny, Lublin, 1989; “Folklor staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich” (The folklore of the Old Ritualists in Poland), *Studia Polono-Slavica Orientalia. Acta Literaria*, 8 (1984).¹³ Another interesting article, in part dedicated to the history of the Slavic Printing House in Pisz, was written by him in the course of preparing his habilitation thesis: “Paweł Pruski (1821–1895) i jego działalność na Mazurach” (Pawel Pruski (1821–1895) and his activities in Masuria), *Zeszyt Muzeum Warmii i Mazur*, 4 (2000), no. 4, pp. 33–55.

From the research of the post-1950s, and after the 1970s, it is worthwhile to note the works by Russian philologists. This refers in particular to the already mentioned Wiktor Jakubowski and Antoni Mironowicz, the scholar who laid the groundwork for the study of the dialect of the Old Ritualists living in Poland. One of his disciples was Iryda Grek-Pabisowa, who authored several dozen studies

¹² Ibid. See: P. Laval, “Eugeniusz Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich*, Warszawa, 1977”, review in: *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 13 (1980), p. 264.

¹³ S. Pastuszewski, *Literatura naukowa o staroprawosławiu* (5), <http://akant.org/45-dodatki/inflanty/4212-stefan-pastuszewski-literatura-naukowa-o-staroprawoslawiu-5> (access: 8.02.2016).

concerning the Old Ritualists in Poland. A selection of these works was published in the volume *Staroobrzędowcy. Szkice z historii, języka, obyczajów* (*The Old Ritualists: studies in their history, language and customs*), Warszawa, 1999. It contains studies written by her in 1958–1997.¹⁴ This line of research was continued by Irena Maryniakowa, who studied the syntax of the dialect of Old Ritualists, as is documented in her two monographs and numerous articles. In her works she demonstrated the “astonishing conservatism (of Old Ritualists) as regards the preservation of their native language system”.¹⁵

Other noteworthy studies of the subject include several important publications about the Old Ritualists written by Zoja Jaroszewicz-Pieresałwcew. Her studies were focused on the church books of Old Believers; one should note the following articles: “Księgozbiór klasztoru staroobrzędowców w Wojnowie” (The collection of books of the monastery of Old Ritualists in Wojnowo), in: *Z badań nad polskimi księgozbiorami historycznymi* (Studies in Polish historical book collections), vol. 9, ed. B. Bieńkowska, Warszawa, 1986, pp. 158–180; “Księgi liturgiczne staroobrzędowców z klasztoru w Wojnowie w zbiorach Biblioteki Muzeum Warmii i Mazur” (The liturgical books of Old Ritualists from the monastery of Wojnowo in the collection of the Library of the Museum of Warmia and Masuria), *Rocznik Olsztyński*, 16 (1989), pp. 229–254.

Jaroszewicz-Pieresałwcew also published her book titled *Starowiercy w Polsce i ich księgi* (*The Old Believers in Poland and their books*) (Olsztyn, 1995). The book is composed of three chapters dedicated to the history of the Old Believers in Poland, their prints and books from private collections or from the collections of monasteries and molennas. The annexes contain the lists of these collections as well as a list of Old Believers’ prints published in eighteenth-century Poland and in East Prussia in 1860–1867.

The most recent studies of Zoja Jaroszewicz-Pieresałwcew on the Old Believers include: “Starowiercy-bezpopowcy u progu XXI wieku” (The Old Believers-bezpopovtsy at the threshold of the 21st century), in: *Veritas Christi Liberat. Księga*

¹⁴ Ibid. From among the many works by I. Grek-Pabisowa I refer only to a selection of them: *Rosyjska gwara starowierców w województwach olsztyńskim i białostockim*, Wrocław, 1968; *Słownictwo rosyjskiej gwary staroobrzędowców mieszkających w Polsce. Rozwój i stan dzisiejszy*, Wrocław, 1983; “Kształtowanie się leksyki rosyjskiej wyspy gwarowej na tle dziejów grupy społecznej”, *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 13 (1980), pp. 189–212; *Zapożyczenia w rosyjskiej gwarze staroobrzędowców w Polsce*, part 1: *Typy zapożyczeń i sposoby przyswajania wyrazów polskich*, *Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej*, 22 (1983), pp. 47–64, part 2: “Typy zapożyczeń i sposoby przyswajania wyrazów niemieckich”, *Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej*, 23 (1985), pp. 163–174; A complete list of the works by I. Grek-Pabisowa can be found at: http://ispan.waw.pl/default/images/bibliografie_pracownikow/Pabisowa/Pabis%20I%20%20publikacje%202013.pdf (access: 8.02.2016).

¹⁵ I. Maryniakowa, *Imiesłowy w rosyjskiej gwarze starowierców mieszkających w Polsce*, Wrocław, 1976; ead., *Funkcje składniowe bezokolicznika w gwarze pskowskiej i w gwarze Rosjan-starowierców mieszkających w Polsce (Studium porównawcze)*, Wrocław, 1982. Cf. Grek-Pabisowa, *Kierunki i stan badań*, pp. 148–149.

Pamiętkowa ku czci Księdza Biskupa Jacka Jezierskiego w 65. rocznicę urodzin, 40. rocznicę kapłaństwa i 20. rocznicę biskupstwa (A Festschrift in honour of the Rev. Bishop Jacek Jezierski presented to him on the occasion of his 65th birthday, the 40th anniversary of ordination and 20th anniversary of his elevation to episcopacy), ed. K. Parzych-Blakiewicz, Rev. P. Rabczyński, Rev. J. Maciej Wojtkowski, Olsztyn, 2014, pp. 303–313; “Miejsce starowierców w życiu społeczności wiejskiej w Rzeczypospolitej od końca XVII do początku XXI wieku” (*Old Believers and their life in the rural communities of Poland from the late 17th to the beginning of the 21st century*), in: *Rosjanie – historia i kultura* (*The Russians: their history and culture*). Sesja naukowa Szreniawa, 27 czerwca 2014, ed. A. Kijas, Szreniawa, 2014, pp. 45–64; “Kultura religijna i duchowa starowierców okręgu suwalsko-sejneńskiego w drugiej połowie XX wieku” (*The religious and spiritual culture of the Old Believers in the region of Suwałki and Sejny in the second half of the 20th century*), in: *W krainie wielu tradycji. Badania etnograficzne na pograniczu polsko-litewsko-białoruskim w XX i początkach XXI wieku* (*The land of many traditions. Ethnographic research in the Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian borderland in the 20th and 21st centuries*), eds. K. Snarski, A. Żulpa, Warszawa–Suwałki, 2014, pp. 155–166; “Tekstowe i plastyczne wizje czasu Apokalipsy w piśmiennictwie starowierców” (*Textual and figurative visions of apocalyptic times in the writings of Old Believers*), in: *Czas Apokalipsy. Wizje dni ostatecznych w kulturze europejskiej od starożytności do wieku XVII* (*The apocalyptic times. The visions of the end of time in European culture from antiquity to the 17th century*), ed. K. Zalewska-Lorkiewicz, Warszawa, 2013, pp. 120–126; “Edukacja religijna dzieci starowierców w Polsce” (*Religious education of children among the Old Believers in Poland*), in: *Historia i pamięć. Studia z dziejów XX wieku* (*History and Memory: Studies in the history of the 20th century*), eds. W. Gieszczyński, W.B. Łach, K. Sacewicz, Olsztyn, 2011, pp. 459–469.

In the context of research on the books of Old Believers it is important to note the monograph on the Wojnowo Synodicon published in 2012 by Joanna Orzechowska. The synodicon was discovered in 2006 and contained information about the deceased whose names were supposed to be read during services, specifically the names of those who had exceptional merit with regard to the monastery of the Old Ritualists in Wojnowo. In addition to the monograph, Orzechowska authored over a dozen scholarly studies on the history, culture and language of the Old Ritualists in Poland.¹⁶

¹⁶ J. Orzechowska, *Войновский синодик. Лингвокультурологическое описание*, Olsztyn, 2012; ead., “Rosyjscy staroobrzędowcy w Polsce. Stan badań i perspektywy badawcze”, in: *Россия и Польша: Полоника в этнокультурном пространстве. Сборник материалов Международной заочной научно-практической конференции*, Уфа, 2007, pp. 93–95; ead., “Старообрядческий Войновский Синодик”, in: *Семантика. Функционирование. Текст. Межвузовский сборник научных трудов с международным участием*, Киров, 2008, pp. 203–210; ead., “Старообрядческий Войновский Синодик. Время и место издания”, *Slavia Orientalis*, 57

The researchers from the Institute of Slavic Philology of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, have been studying the dialect and the traditions of Old Ritualists for many years. The research conducted by Stefan Grzybowski,¹⁷ Michał

(2008), no. 2, pp. 203–210; ead., “К вопросу о месте и времени издания богослужебных книг старообрядческого монастыря в Войново. Система сигнатур и фолиации”, *Przegląd Rusycystyczny*, 125 (2009), no. 1, pp. 5–12; ead., “Структура Войновского Синодика”, in: *Семантика*, pp. 217–226; ead., “Орнаментика книг Войновского монастыря. К вопросу о времени и месте издания”, *Acta Neophilologica*, 11 (2009), pp. 5–17; ead., “Терменевтическое изучение текста Войновского синодика”, in: *Русский язык и проблемы современного образования. Сборник научных статей*, вып. 2: Архангельск, 2009, pp. 114–124; ead., “Актуализация концепта ‘память’ в старообрядческом Войновском синодике”, *Przegląd Rusycystyczny*, 130 (2010), no. 2, p. 74–88; ead., “Экстралингвистические компоненты поминального дискурса (на материале старообрядческого Войновского синодика)”, *Acta Neophilologica*, 12 (2010), p. 17–25; ead., “Charakterystyka Wojnowskiego Staroobrzędowego Sinodiku”, in: *Staroobrzędowcy za granicą*, Toruń, 2010, pp. 206–221; ead., “Z historii księgozbioru staroobrzędowego klasztoru w Wojnowie”, in: *Słowianie wschodni na emigracji. Literatura, kultura, język*, eds. B. Kodzis, M. Giej, Opole, 2010 (Studia i szkice slawistyczne, vol. 10), pp. 457–464; ead., “Контент-анализ Войновского синодика”, *Acta Neophilologica*, 13 (2011), pp. 113–134; ead., “Поименование как концепт (на материале старообрядческого Войновского синодика)”, *Acta Polono-Ruthenica*, 15 (2010), pp. 233–240; ead., “Analiza zawartości Synodyku Wojnowskiego”, *Zeszyty Naukowe, Wyższa Szkoła Języków Obcych w Świeciu*, 2011, pp. 35–46; ead., “Идеи слов синодик и помянник (на основе лексико-семантической характеристики Войновского синодика)”, in: *Дар слова. Сборник статей к юбилею Аллы Алексеевны Камаловой*, Северодвинск, 2011, pp. 90–104; ead., “Реализация магической функции в Войновском синодике”, *Acta Polono-Ruthenica*, 16 (2011), pp. 393–401; ead., “Metodologia opisu systemowego zabytku kultury religijnego”, in: *Язык и текст в системном и социо-культурном аспекте*, Olsztyn, 2011, pp. 45–78; ead., “Функция конфессиональной дифференциации религиозного дискурса старообрядцев (на материале Войновского синодика)”, *Acta Neophilologica*, 14 (2012), no. 1, pp. 129–137; ead., “Традиции обучения церковнославянскому языку в азбуках из коллекции Войновского монастыря”, *Acta Neophilologica*, 15 (2013), no. 1, pp. 117–124; ead., “Скитские покаяния из коллекции Войновского монастыря (происхождение и структура)”, in: *Staroobrzędowcy za granicą 2, Historia, religia, język, kultura*, eds. D. Paško-Konecniak, M. Ziółkowska, S. Grzybowski, M. Głuszkowski, Toruń, 2014, p. 329–335; ead., “Азбуки в книжных собраниях мазурских старообрядцев”, in: *Православие в славянском мире: история, культура, язык*, eds. H. Pociębna, A. Kravetsky, Olsztyn, 2014, pp. 162–175; ead., “Функциональная специфика старообрядческого Войновского синодика”, in: *Fontes Slavia Orthodoxa. Православная культура вчера и сегодня*, eds. H. Pociębna, A. Kravetsky, Olsztyn, 2015, pp. 303–319; ead., “Milionerzy i filantropi. O sponsorach klasztoru w Wojnowie z dedykacji książkowych”, in: *Rosja w dialogu kultur*, ed. B. Żejmo, Toruń, 2014, pp. 65–74; ead., “Grzeszyć słowem. O fragmencie językowego obrazu świata wartości staroobrzędowców na podstawie ‘Spowiedzi pustelniczej’”, *Prace Językoznawcze*, 17 (2015), no. 2, pp. 67–73.

¹⁷ A selection of the publications of S. Grzybowski about Old Believers: “Русский островной говор в польском языковом окружении”, in: *Русско-польские языковые, литературные и культурные контакты*, eds. С. Гжибовский, В.А. Хорев, М. Волос, Москва, 2011, pp. 45–59 (co-author: M. Głuszkowski); “Социоллингвистическая ситуация старообрядцев в деревнях Габове Гронды и бур (Польша)”, in: *Русские старообрядцы: язык, культура, история. Сборник статей к XIV Международному съезду славистов*, ed. Л.Л. Касаткин, Москва, 2008, pp. 200–214; “Особенности безударного вокализма русского говора старообрядцев дню Габове Гронды и Бур в Польше”, in: *Актуальные проблемы русской диалектологии и исследования*

Głuszkowski¹⁸ and Dorota Paško-Konecniak¹⁹ has produced a number of new observations and conclusions.

This presentation of Polish scholarly studies of the subject would not be complete without mentioning the works of Stefan Pastuszewski. He is known primarily as the author of collections of short stories and poems, but he is also active in the field of scholarship and public outreach. He obtained his doctorate from Casimir the Great University in Bydgoszcz on the basis of his dissertation titled *Polska i Polacy a staroprawosławie w XIX i XX wieku (Poland, Poles and Old Orthodoxy in the 19th and 20th centuries)*. In the monthly magazine on literature *Akant*, of which he is secretary, he has published not only his own texts, but also works by other authors writing about Old Believers.²⁰

старообрядчества. Тезисы докладов международной конференции 19–21 октября 2009 г., Москва, 2009, pp. 52–53; “К вопросу о типе «яканья» в старообрядческом говоре д. Габова Гронды и Бур в Польше”, in: Staroobrzędowcy za granicą. Historia. Religia. Język. Kultura. Międzynarodowa Konferencja. Tezy wystąpień, Toruń, 26–27.06.2008, pp. 23–24.

¹⁸ M. Głuszkowski, *Socjologiczne i psychologiczne uwarunkowania dwujęzyczności staroobrzędowców regionu suwalsko-augustowskiego*, Toruń, 2011; id., “Uwagi teoretyczne na temat zmiany kodu w monogloch staroobrzędowców mieszkających w Polsce”, *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 39 (2015); id., “Прошлое и отношение к истории общины на примере избранных высказываний старообрядцев, проживающих в Польше”, *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Języków Obcych Świecie*, 3 (2014), pp. 71–83; id., “Особенности языка среднего поколения старообрядцев сувальского и августовского регионов”, w: *Staroobrzędowcy za granicą II. Historia, religia, język, kultura*, eds. D. Paško-Konecniak, M. Ziółkowska, S. Grzybowski, M. Głuszkowski, Toruń, 2014, pp. 89–98; id., “Социо- и психолингвистические основы заимствований в русской диалектной лексике старообрядцев, проживающих на территории Польши”, in: *Диалектная лексика*, ed. O.H. Крылова, Санкт Петербург, 2013, pp. 102–107; id., “Idiolektalne zróżnicowanie przelączania kodów w dwujęzyczności staroobrzędowców regionu suwalsko-augustowskiego”, *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 37 (2013), pp. 265–275; id., “Asymilacja wyspy językowo-kulturowej. Przypadek młodego pokolenia polskich staroobrzędowców”, in: *Słowiańskie wyspy językowe i kulturowe*, eds. E. Nowicka, M. Głuszkowski, Toruń, 2013, pp. 271–280.

¹⁹ D. Paško-Konecniak, *Wpływ polszczyzny na zasób leksykalny rosyjskiej gwary staroobrzędowców na Suwalszczyźnie*, Toruń, 2011; ead., “Recollections of the First World War by the Old Believers Living in Poland”, in: *World War I from Local Perspectives: History, Literature and Visual Arts*, eds. M. Buchholtz, G. Konecniak, Frankfurt am Main, 2015, pp. 159–170; ead., “Предварительные замечания об акцентуации существенных в русском говоре старообрядцев, проживающих в сувальско-августовском регионе Польши”, in: *Rosja w dialogu kultur*, eds. K. Dembska M. Głuszkowski, Toruń, 2015, pp. 89–100; ead., “Białoruskie elementy językowe w rosyjskiej gwarze staroobrzędowców mieszkających w regionie suwalsko-augustowskim”, *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 38 (2014), pp. 207–218; ead., “Rola języka jako wskaźnika tożsamości etnicznej staroobrzędowców mieszkających na Suwalszczyźnie”, in: *Narracja i pamięć. Konstrukcje i destrukcje tożsamości III*, eds. E. Golachowska, A. Zielińska, Warszawa, 2014, pp. 367–375; ead., “Wpływ języka polskiego na idiomatykę rosyjskiej gwary staroobrzędowców na Suwalszczyźnie”, in: *Dialog kultur. Języki wschodniosłowiańskie w kontakcie z polszczyzną i innymi językami europejskimi*, eds. J. Mędelska, E. Titarenko, Bydgoszcz, 2013, pp. 49–57; ead., “Problematyka akcentuacji w rosyjskiej gwarze staroobrzędowców (region suwalsko-augustowski)”, *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 37 (2013), pp. 277–286.

²⁰ A selection of works by S. Pastuszewski: “Starowierzy w Polskiej literaturze pięknej”, *Podlaski Kwartalnik Kulturalny*, 4 (2013), pp. 7–29; “Starowiercy polskiej Łatgalii a Powstanie Styczniowe”,

Due to the limited scope of this article, it is not my purpose to describe the circumstances of the schism in the Orthodox Church which led to the emergence of the Old Believers as a religious grouping distinct from the Orthodoxy and with a different religious culture. Nor do I intend to provide a detailed description of their wanderings across the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland. The fact is that the settlements of Old Believers in the territories of the Grand Duchy date back to the seventeenth century and became even more widespread after the partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century. Old Believers could be found in eight out of eleven districts of the Vilna Governorate: Novoalexandrovsk, Kovno, Vilkomir, Sventsyany, Panevezhys, Vilna, Troki, and Oshmiany.²¹

Old Believers who settled in the vicinity of Suwałki and Sejny migrated from Courland, Ukraine, and the lands of Novgorod and Pskov. In 1779 they obtained a document from the Polish authorities which granted them freedom of religious practices. In 1780, Old Believers settled as tenants in the villages of Gausty and Czuwaniszki.²² Subsequently, they were located in new villages situated in the royal demesne. In the Sejny district they built the villages of Głuszyn-Moskale and Budzisko Moskale (today known as Buda Ruska). Most of the settlements of Old Believers were established in the northern part of Puszcza Przełomska, between the

in: *Staroobrzędowcy za granicą II*, pp. 255–269; “Przemiany tożsamości staroobrzędowców w Polsce po II wojnie światowej”, in: *Idea wielokulturowości jako wyzwanie*, eds. H. Czakovska, Rev. M. Kuciński, Bydgoszcz, 2015, pp. 125–150. For the publications in *Akant*, see the website of the periodical: www.akant.org. At this particular instance, I will refer to the titles of only some of his works: “Literatura naukowa o staroprawosławiu”, “Inflancko-polski klin staroobrzędowy”, “Staroprawosławie w Afryce”, “Odkrycia i aktualia ze sfery staroprawosławia”, “Staroprawosławie a Polska i Polacy”, “Po co badać staroprawosławie”.

²¹ Z. Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce i ich księgi*, Olsztyn, 1995, p. 18. For the history of Old Believers in the Great Duchy of Lithuania, see the works of the Lithuanian researcher Grigorijus Potasenko. His works on the subject include in particular: Г. Поташенко, В. Барановский, *Староверие Балтии и Польши: краткий исторический и биографический словарь*, Vilnius, 2005; Г. Поташенко, *Староверие в Литве: вторая половина XVII–начало XIX вв. Исследования, документы и материалы*, Vilnius, 2006; id., *Historic and Cultural Heritage Sites of the Old Believers in Lithuania*, Washington, 2006; id., *История Каунасской старообрядческой общины*, Vilnius, 2008; id., “Хронограф Литовский, сиречь Летописец степенный Древлеправославного Христианства’ как исторический источник и памятник старообрядческой историографической мысли XIX века”, in: *Хронограф Литовский, сиречь Летописец степенный Древлеправославного Христианства*, eds. Н. Морозовой, Г. Поташенко, Вильнюс, 2011, pp. 47–87; id., “Роль и значение Рижской Гребенщиковской старообрядческой общины в истории староверия”, in: *Latvijas vecticībnieki: identitātes saglabāšanas vēsturiskā pieredze. Rakstu krājums*, eds. I. Ivanovs, N. Pazuhina, I. Runce, сост.: И. Иванов, Н. Пазухина, И. Рунце, Rīga, 2014 (*Латвийские староверы: исторический опыт сохранения идентичности. Сборник статей*), pp. 21–53.

²² J. Wiśniewski, “Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie sejneńskim od XV do XIX wieku”, in: *Materiały do dziejów ziemi sejneńskiej*, ed. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok, 1963, p. 153; Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców*, p. 79; Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce*, p. 19.

estates of the Camaldolese monks and former Puszcza Merecka. The Dominican Order also played its role in these settlements: the friars summoned Old Believers to settle in the village of Marynowo after 1795.²³

The settlers in Puszcza Przełomska were exempt from paying taxes for six years and only after that period were they obliged to pay rent for each Lithuanian volok, as well as hearth tax (*podymne*). They were also free to practice their religion. The first services were held in the village of Głębokki Rów near Jeleniewo. The second building was erected in the village of Huta near Filipowo.²⁴

We know little about the first Old Believers who settled in the Augustów district. They arrived there in the eighteenth century, e.g. in the village of Pijawne Moskiewskie (later known as Pijawne Ruskie). Oral tradition has it, among the inhabitants of Gabowe Grądy and Augustów, that the Old Believers who settled in the area came from the village of Pilczyn near Góra Kalwaria. Other traditions say that the Old Believers migrated there from the northern parts of Russia, from the coast of the White Sea, which would explain the affinities with the traditions of the Pomors who lived along the Vyg River.²⁵

Otto Hedemann estimated, citing Henryk Merczyng, that during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski, the Old Believers accounted for 1% of Poland's society. This means that they numbered *ca* 90,000 people. According to the estimates for the same period by Eugeniusz Iwaniec (who followed Tadeusz Korzon) the community of Old Believers in Poland was 100,000 strong. It was very hard to provide any statistical data about them: it was partly due to their frequent relocations (they were trying to avoid being supervised by the authorities), but also to their conviction that statistics, official matters, seals, etc. were all signs of the Antichrist. The first successful attempts to organise and regulate the problems of settlement and registration took place in the Kingdom of Poland – including Augustów – in the years 1817–1820.²⁶

As a result of shifting national borders some families of Old Believers became Prussian subjects in the years 1795–1807.²⁷

The ordinance of King Frederick William III of 5 December 1825 provided legal grounds for Old Believers to settle in the vicinity of Mrągowo; it exempted them from military service in the first generation of the settlers, provided they bought the

²³ Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców*, pp. 80–81; Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce*, p. 19.

²⁴ Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców*, pp. 80, 83, 151; Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce*, p. 19.

²⁵ J. Wiśniewski, "Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim od XV do XVIII wieku", in: *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, Białystok, 1967, pp. 13–294; Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców*, p. 99; Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce*, p. 19.

²⁶ O. Hedemann, *Historia powiatu brasławskiego*, Wilno, 1930, p. 281; Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców*, pp. 69, 86; Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce*, pp. 20–21.

²⁷ Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce*, p. 31.

uncultivated land where they settled. Issuing this ordinance King Frederick hoped that the settlements of Old Believers would have a beneficial effect on the development of certain areas of Prussia. Initially, the Old Believers were allowed to settle in the lands of low value in Puszcza Piska and near the Krutynia river and Mikołajki. Following the negotiations with the Prussian authorities they received Śmietki domain in Mrągowo district, the folwarks of Skomacko and Ogródki and a farm in the village of Ogródek in Elk district. They were also granted folwarks in the districts of Olecko and Pisz. They eventually resigned this allocation and decided, with the consent of the authorities, to settle in the forest districts of Mikołajki and Krutyń.²⁸

The first settler in 1830 was Onuphrius Yakovlev (Smirnov) born in the village of Dollman in Vitebsk Governorate. He settled east of Lake Beldany and northwest of Wejsuny. He lived first in Sejny and later in the village of Pogorzelec. Together with a few other settlers he built the village of Onufryjewo, where he was elected its first *sołtys*.²⁹

The village of Wojnowo was named to commemorate the place of birth of the first settler Sidor Borisov (Slovikov), who was born in Wojnowo in Vitebsk Governorate. The village was also officially called by its Prussian name, Eckertsdorf, from the name of forest superintendent Eckert who liaised between Old Believers and the Prussian authorities in 1825. Before settling in Wojnowo, Sidor Borisov lived in Posejanka in Suwałki region. There were 17 other farmers of the same creed who settled with him in Wojnowo at the time.³⁰

Subsequently, Old Believers settled in seven other villages: Gałkowo, Mościszki (known also as Nikołajewo), Zameczek, Iwanowo (founded in 1840), Ładne Pole (today Śwignajno), Kadzidłowo, and Piotrowo. In the Mrągowo district alone Old Believers built 11 villages. They lived also in other districts, including (as of the year 1837) Pisz, Węgorzewo, Gołdap, Giżycko, Elk, and Olecko.³¹

The Prussian authorities were forced to impose certain restrictions on Old Believers owing to various economic and pecuniary issues such as the fact that the settlers employed undocumented people as farm workers. A particularly difficult problem was the issuing of passports. Old Believers were reluctant to adopt surnames arguing that it was sufficient for them to have a name and an *otchestvo*, and so the authorities were hard put to persuade them to adopt family names. The surnames were derived from nicknames, others were patronymic, and others still referred to the specified occupation. When after some time the surnames were accepted, it turned out that some Old Believers did not remember their adoptive surnames. This problem had to be sorted out together with other issues such as military service, maturity, or child care.³²

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36.

The problem of education and schools was of vital importance. Compulsory education for girls was introduced as early as in 1847. Schools were established in Wojnowo (1876), Ładne Pole (1877), Mościska (1882), and Osiniak (1898). These schools were two-grade; the children of Old Believers also attended the three-grade school in Ukta. In 1878 it became mandatory to attend state schools. Before that date Old Believers employed home teachers, mostly recruited from their communities. Such teachers worked in Wojnowo, Ładne Pole, and Piaski. In the early years the language used in instruction was Polish, since the children did not speak German. The Prussian authorities communicated in Polish also with the adult Old Believers, at least initially.³³

The organisation of the religious life of the Old Believers deserves particular attention, especially as regards the early years of their presence in Masuria. Initially, they prayed in their own homes, and the first place of worship was built in the village of Ładne Pole. The last service was held there in 1915. Later it was used for offering prayers for the dead until it was demolished in 1935.

The first prayer house (molenna) in Wojnowo was built in 1840. After it burned down in 1921, the second molenna was constructed, which from the outside resembled a Protestant church. It was soon followed by the construction of the monastic molenna of Wojnowo. The first monks were already living in the village in c. 1833, but there was no monastery at the time. The first "hermitage" was established near Lake Duś in 1836. It was called *grigoriczeviy skitok*, because it was founded by Lavrentiy Grigoriev Rastropin. Two other hermitages could be found in Stara Ukta (later known as Śwignajno) and in the village of Piaski. Eugeniusz Iwaniec claimed that the skits of Old Ritualists in Masuria functioned before the foundation of the village of Wojnowo. He also distinguished the so-called bohomols (one nun and two monks).³⁴

The surviving evidence documents the existence of seven monasteries. Three of those are marked on the map of Pisz district of 1877: the monasteries of Onufryjewo and Wojnowo and the nunnery of Majdan. There must have been another one situated 10–12 versts from the village of Kulinowo and one verst north of Onufryjewo, but the fact that it burned down is practically the only preserved piece of information. One other monastery was established near Wojnowo on the site of the former *grigoriczeviy skitok*. Eugeniusz Iwaniec wrote extensively about this particular monastery in a number of his publications because of its superior, under whose supervision the monastery flourished: Paweł Pruski (Pyotr Ivanovich Ledniev) who was the initiator of the so-called Slavic Printing House in Pisz. The monastery declined in the wake of dissent among the monks which resulted from the decision of Paweł Pruski and his 15 disciples to embrace yedinoverstvo. The possessions

³³ Ibid., pp. 36–38.

³⁴ Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców*, pp. 120–121; Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowierycy w Polsce*, p. 43.

of the monastery became part of the property of one of the creditors, an Old Believer himself, Ulyan Slavikov. Later on the property was purchased by the prioress of the burned monastery in Majdan, near Wojnowo, who founded there a new nunnery with the help of the community of Old Believers in Moscow. There was one other monastery in Pupy (Spychowo), 15 kilometres from Wojnowo. In the 1870s, 2 kilometres outside of the village of Onufryjewo, Tichon Krimov built two monastic buildings and a molenna (his daughter Agata lived in that monastery).³⁵

The nunnery in Wojnowo developed very rapidly, owing to the fact that it included nuns coming from Moscow in addition to those who were coming from other Masurian nunneries of Old Believers. They would bring in substantial funds which were added to the property of the nunnery. The nunnery flourished particularly in 1914, when there were 24 residents: the nuns, elderly people, orphaned children and one cleric. The monastery was governed by the observance of very strict rules, including the obligation imposed on the nuns of having to work on the 100-morgen farm of the monastery. When World War I broke out, the monastery was home to 65 people. Most of them were then taken to Zinten near Königsberg, while a substantial part of the property of the monastery was robbed. In the monastery in 1925 there were 12 nuns and as many novices. In the winter of 1928/1929 most of the trees in the orchard were damaged by frost. In 1928, prioress Yevpraxiya (Yelena) Dikopolska assigned the property of the monastery to Antonina Kondratyeva and in part to Lidia Polentz. The contacts between the nuns and the locals became markedly limited. The nuns taught them the principles of faith and tried to recruit women to the nunnery. In 1930 the commune of Wojnowo organised the jubilee of the hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Old Believers in the vicinity. The jubilee was celebrated on 13 July 1930 and was widely reported in the German press, the nuns, however, abstained from taking part in these celebrations which included a religious service, a festival, a parade of Old Believers wearing folk costumes, and a sports competition. Participants in the event sang Russian folk songs. It was followed by the unveiling of a stone commemorating the anniversary.³⁶

In the interwar period the ties between the Old Believers from Masuria and those residing in Poland grew stronger, which was a result of the initiative of the communities of Old Believers in Vilnius and Riga. A delegation of Old Believers from Masuria participated (as guests of honour) in the 2nd country-wide congress of Old Ritualists which took place in Vilnius in 1930.³⁷

³⁵ Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców*, pp. 121–137; Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce*, pp. 43–46.

³⁶ Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce*, pp. 46–48. It should be noted that Iwaniec gave a different date of the event, namely 20 July 1930; Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców*, p. 142.

³⁷ Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce*, p. 48.

* * *

The essential part of the publication under review is the memoir of Grigoriy Yakovlevich Krassowski (1895–1975), a member of the community of Old Believers in Gałkowo in Masuria. It is preceded by a short introduction by Stefan Pastuszewski who also wrote the article titled “Świadectwo wyzwolonego staroobrzędowca” (A testimony of a liberated Old Ritualist), which forms the second part of the book and is effectively its epilogue. The text provides a biography of Grigoriy Krassowski set against the background of the daily life of the Masurian Old Ritualists and a comprehensive account of the reasons which had led Pastuszewski to publishing Krassowski’s memoirs.

Grigoriy Yakovlevich Krassowski was born on 27 January 1895. in Schlosschen (today Zameczek) in the commune of Ukta. He died on 2 May 1975 in Mrągowo. He was one of the organisers of the aforementioned anniversary celebrations commemorating the 100-year-long presence of Old Ritualists in Masuria. Pastuszewski reports (following Iwaniec) that these celebrations had Ukrainian elements which was because of Krassowski’s temporary stay in Ukraine.³⁸

During World War II Grigoriy Krassowski was drafted into the Wehrmacht and sent to the front of Livonia, where, as he claimed, he served in the military staff. On 14 November 1944 he got into Soviet custody where he remained until October 1945. The Soviet authorities designated Old Believers as Germans and for this reason Krassowski was deported to the Soviet occupation zone in Germany together with other prisoners of war. There he renewed his earlier membership of the Communist Party of Germany and worked as a teacher of the Russian language. On 19 May 1947 he returned to Poland and settled in Gałkowo. On 29 May 1947 he applied for Polish citizenship declaring that he was born in Masuria and claimed Masurian nationality. He emphasised that he spoke Polish and wished to become a Polish citizen. The District Office of Public Security in Mrągowo had no objection to the granting of Polish citizenship to Krassowski. In 1947 Krassowski joined the Polish Workers’ Party. In 1947–1949 he was the soltys of Gałkowo and the head of the communal Samopomoc Chłopska. For a time he was also the chairman of the parish council in Wojnowo, although he was practically indifferent as regards religious denomination (I will return to this issue later on). On 31 October 1948 he was purged from the party for “holding a superior rank in the Wehrmacht”. On 30 July 1965 the executive committee of the United Polish Workers’ Party in Olsztyn restored his membership rights declaring the continuity of his membership from the moment of expulsion.

The description of Krassowski’s life by Stefan Pastuszewski is incomplete. Apart from the information quoted above we know that in 1914 he was drafted into the army and sent to the 82nd regiment of light artillery in Ostróda (Osterode).

³⁸ S. Pastuszewski, “Świadectwo wyzwolonego staroobrzędowca”, in: id., *Wspomnienia mazurskiego filipona*, Bydgoszcz, 2014, p. 41.

He fought in Courland, Southern Galicia, Bukovina, and France. In the spring of 1918 he was wounded and taken to a hospital, and later to a sanatorium. In November 1918 he returned to Gałkowo and was undergoing medical treatment in the hospital in Mrągowo. In 1920–1930 Krassowski stayed in Ukraine, specifically in Podolia, where he worked as a superintendent. In 1930 he returned to Masuria where he organised a unit of the KPD in Gałkowo, Wojnowo, and Krutyń. Pastuszewski claims that on 18 June 1944, in a civil ceremony, Krassowski married Anna Szczerbakowska (maiden name: Slovikov), who was widowed at the time (died in 1945). In 1956 Krassowski became a collaborator of the Committee of Public Safety, adopting the nickname “Wossark”. The cooperation, however, was soon discontinued as he was deemed “unsuitable”. Probably the reason was that Krassowski was excessively talkative and had a tendency to confabulate, which is often pointed out by Pastuszewski. Krassowski provided a wealth of valuable information for Iwaniec at the time when the latter was working on his monograph *Z życia staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich w XVII–XX w.* He responded in his correspondence to a number of questions, possibly seeking answers on his own beforehand. Together with the Rev. Aleksander Makal, the rector of the Orthodox parish of Wojnowo in 1971–1982, he prepared a list of surnames of Old Ritualists (bezpopyovtsy and yedinovyertsy alike) living in Masuria in 1968. He often helped his co-religionists in writing official letters to various institutions of communist Poland, including applications for German pensions and benefits. According to Pastuszewski, Krassowski was a man of fantasising personality, and “was behaving in an immoral manner” which was the reason why many people stayed away from him. All of this, the author claims, was forgiven, because he died on Good Friday: this Christ-like feature was very important for the particularly pious Old Believers as regards both its religious and... moral meaning.³⁹

The text by Stefan Pastuszewski provides a wealth of valuable information about the daily life of Old Believers and the places in Masuria where they lived, but – a fact which can be hardly overlooked – it gives the impression of being chaotic. It is divided into several parts, which are not arranged chronologically, and the information contained in them is often jumbled. In the short first part the author gives the time frame in which the memoirs of Grigoriy Krassowski were written, refers to the latter’s collaboration with Eugeniusz Iwaniec and Rev. Aleksander Makal, and informs us about the social involvement in the community life of Old Ritualists and the cooperation with the security services of communist Poland. The second part is the most factual of all as regards the life of Krassowski (before 1949) and also seems to be the most coherent one. The short third part gives bibliographic information on the manuscript of Krassowski’s memoirs; Pastuszewski describes there also his own editorial methodology concerning these memoirs. The fourth part present the chronological scope of the memoirs and draws attention to

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 40–42, 46–47, 49, 57.

its features with regard to the daily life of Old Ritualists in Masuria and beyond, their relations with Germans, their contacts with Poles, and the political situation of Masuria at the time. The discourse is interlaced with a few strands of Krassowski's biography. The following part deals with assimilation and disintegration processes among the Old Ritualists in Masuria as well as with their identity and the attitudes of the German state. The sixth part draws attention to the lack of religious topics in Krassowski's memoirs, which is explained as being a result of the impact of German nineteenth-century secularisation in addition to the secular worldview of the author. The following part is dedicated to Krassowski's worldview, his ethno-cultural identity; it also attempts to explain why he referred to himself as a Philippon rather than an Old Ritualist in the denominational sense. The next passage provides a broad explanation of the term "Philippons" based on historical arguments. Later on, in the following part, Pastuszewski returns to providing a description of Krassowski's world view and his left-wing inclinations, which leads him to the conclusion (with reference to the part of the memoirs which deals with the activities of the KPD) that this particular passage was a stylisation prepared for the sake of the readers who were linked to the communist authorities (the memoirs were written at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s). In the next part the author emphasises Krassowski's style of writing, which he associates with his propensity to confabulate and exaggerate certain strands of thought. He also draws attention to the language of the memoirs, at times similar to the Masurian dialect, but also replete with borrowings from Russian and German, which, among other things, leads him to the conclusion that Krassowski was trilingual, much in the same way as most Masurian Old Believers, despite the changes in linguistic preferences and domination, which depended on historical circumstances. It is evident (and Pastuszewski also emphasised this fact) that in Krassowski's generation the first language was Russian, with dialectal influences, while German was the second owing to its position in schools. Pastuszewski also describes the stylistic clumsiness and grammatical slips of the text, although he argues that Krassowski had significant linguistic abilities.

The way in which the text of Pastuszewski is designed seems questionable. In the opinion of the reviewer it would have been more advisable first to describe Krassowski's biography and discuss the relations between the Philippons and the Old Ritualists as well as the identity-related questions pertinent to the Old Ritualists in Masuria. The central part of the text could have dealt with the historical issues related to Krassowski's memoirs, while the final chapters would thus have been devoted to the text of the memoirs. Such a division would have been justified both on chronological and methodological grounds.

The passage of Pastuszewski's text in which the author discusses the origins and use of the term "Philippons" with reference to Old Believers is of particular interest. As he rightly observed, the term "Philippons" was initially referred to all Old Believers, without distinguishing between their various divisions (talk,

soglasye). It was the most common name of the movement used on Polish territories from the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, when it was replaced with the term “Old Believers”, which was preferred by the faithful. The name “Philippons”, however, was still in use in the early twentieth century as can be seen in the work cited above and penned by Rev. Karol Dębiński, a Canon of Lublin Cathedral: *Raskoł i sekty prawosławnej Cerkwi Rosyjskiej* (*The Raskol and the sects of the Russian Orthodox Church*). In the passage concerning the migration of some Old Believers to Poland the author wrote: “The Philippons openly defied the sovereign by refusing to pray for him and it was for this reason that they came to be persecuted; because of that, some of them migrated to Poland, Prussia, and Wallachia”.⁴⁰ According to Pastuszewski this term is still used today with reference to Old Believers in such regions as, among others, Volhynia, Podolia, Bukovina, Moldova, and Budjak.

The author discusses also the origins of the name “Philippons”. In doing so, he is right (as it seems to me) in questioning the legendary stories about the monk Philip who was purported to have been the initiator of this faction and the hegoumenos of the monastery on the Vyg River near the White Sea.⁴¹ In Pastuszewski’s view, the term “Philippons” was popularised by the Uniate monk and researcher Ignacy Kulczycki in his work *Specimen Ecclesiae Rutheniae* published in Rome in 1733. The source base for this was the protocol drawn up in 1690 by Pyotr Poltyev, the commissioner and inquisitor of the assessorial court, on the basis of the replies given by the Old Believers of Vyetka. This means that the term “Philippons”, regardless of its origin, was used by Old Ritualists themselves with reference to their religion as early as in the late seventeenth century.

As it has been pointed out already, the memoirs of Grigoriy Krassowski have been edited with the utmost care, since it is evident that the editor aimed to keep the intrusions in the original text to a minimum. The edited text preserves the original spelling and style of the author of the memoirs, and the page numbers of the original copybook in which the memoir was written are also provided. The footnotes supplied explain some of the expressions used by the author or provide basic information about the people mentioned in the text.

As is characteristic of all memoirs, these writings by Krassowski are also subjective and their matter is filtered through the memory and opinions of the author. They often referred to some local, fragmentary issues, which practically escape all attempts at verification. Nevertheless, in these writings one can observe a miserable picture of Prussian-Polish relations before the outbreak of World War I and, on the other hand, the relatively good relations between the Philippons

⁴⁰ K. Dębiński, *Raskoł i sekty Prawosławnej Cerkwi Rosyjskiej. Szkic historyczny*, Warszawa, 1910, p. 55.

⁴¹ The legend is still alive as can be seen in the descriptions of the origins of the Old Believers in Russia on the website <http://www.philipponia.republika.pl>, quoting the research of Emilia Sukertowa-Biedrawina.

and the representatives of Prussian elites or authorities. These good relations deteriorated considerably soon before the war. As a consequence of the nature of nationality-based relations (of course, apart from citizenship), they fought shoulder to shoulder with the Germans during WWI and, during the plebiscite of 1920, voted almost unanimously to remain under German rule. At this instance it is worth noticing that Old Believers, or at least some of them, were reluctant to join the military, which may be explained by religious reasons. Another important part of the memoir covers the time of Krassowski's military service during WWI and the injury he incurred at the time. The author nearly always portrays Poles in a positive light and mentions the assistance provided by some locals (Mazurs) for the monastery of the Old Believers. He also calls himself a friend of Poles. He also wrote that after the plebiscite he wanted to emigrate to Poland, but the authorities quashed those plans.

Religious considerations are given little attention in Krassowski's memoir. The author mentions the internment of the nuns together with prioress Yevpraxiya (Yelena) Dikopolska in Korsze as well as the inspection carried out by the Germans after that. On that occasion he also mentions a German soldier who shot at an icon of the Saviour and pierced a hole in it; for this act he was supposedly punished soon after that, as he was killed in the very first skirmish. During the inspection the monastery was robbed of a number of icons, while the remaining ones were damaged. Krassowski describes the circumstances of the death of two Old Believers killed by gendarmes in 1919 as well as the funeral in Wojnowo of one of them, Timofey Makarovsky, which was attended by numerous Old Believers as well as Protestants. Krassowski wrote: "And there came the day of Timofey's funeral; it was beautiful and sunny, it came to this people, regardless of their age, faith and nationality [...] The cemetery was too small to hold all the participants [...] As I remember it today, I say that no one had such a splendid funeral in our parish".⁴² These fragments may illustrate that despite his declared religious indifference Krassowski felt connected to his religious community and remained open to some manifestations of religious exaltation and mysticism.

The memoirs of Grigoriy Krassowski represent a unique document on the history of the Masurian Old Believers. Even though the style of the text, scattered with numerous Russian or German phrases, is at times chaotic, the memoir is nevertheless a piece of valuable historical material, which presents the attitudes of the Old Believers towards the turbulent social and political changes in the first decades of the twentieth century. The accompanying text penned by Stefan Pastuszewski perfectly complements these writings, not only by advancing knowledge about the Old Believers, but also by giving a broader picture of contemporary events. As a result, the reader can better understand the polarised

⁴² G. Krassowski, *Wspomnienia mazurskiego filipona*, edition, notes and commentary by S. Pastuszewski, Instytut Wydawniczy Świadectwo, Bydgoszcz, 2014, p. 29.

attitudes of Old Believers during World War I (especially of the younger generation) and their getting closer to their social environment, which in turn resulted in the successive waves of migration or the growing religious indifference, facts from which the author of the memoirs and his family were not immune. Such attitudes were still vividly held by Masurian Philippons in the 1980s, as I could observe myself during my several stays in Wojnowo and the vicinity. For this reason, as Pastuszewski has rightly pointed out, “today the presence of Philippons in this region is more than symbolic”.⁴³

⁴³ S. Pastuszewski, Wstęp, in: *ibid.*, p. 5.