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RESEARCH ON ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE

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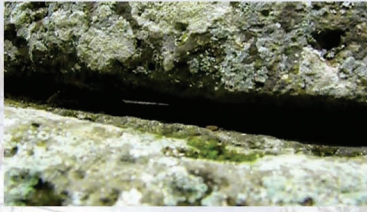
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ԽՄԲԱԳԻՐ

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THE STRUCTURE OF THE PENDULOUS COLUMN OF TATEV MONASTERY

by Samvel Ayvazian and Amiran Badishian

An abridged version of this article was published in «Ճարտարապետություն և շինարարություն» [*Architecture and Construction*], nos. 3-4 (Yerevan, 2016), pp. 32-39.

The Armenian Highland abounds in upright stone slabs or columns some of which are memorial monuments, while others are connected with the faith and beliefs of the native inhabitants. Among such monuments part of which were also erected for some other purposes are: menhirs (5th to 4th millennia B.C.); dragon-stones (called *vishapakar* in Armenian, *vishap* being the equivalent of *dragon*) which particularly date from the 2nd millennium B.C.; Urartian steles of the 9th to the 7th centuries B.C. with cuneiform inscriptions; boundary stones of the 2nd century B.C. (placed by the Armenian Artashessid king Artashes I to separate different plots of peasant land) which are engraved with Aramaic inscriptions, etc.

Memorial monuments played a very important role in the formation and development of Christian Armenian architecture. Actually, they became the prototypes of the sculptured quadrilateral pillars (Karmrakar, Garnahovit, Talin, Harij, etc.) which were erected between the 4th and 7th centuries. Besides, from these monuments originated the quadrilateral or polygonal columns standing on stepped pedestals (Dsegh, Angeghakot, Yerevan /Avan/, Oshakan, Arinj, Vorotnavank, etc.). These columns also have capitals and are crowned with free-standing crosses. Specimens showing the development of the volumetric-spatial composition of memorial monuments, including commemorative pillars, are found in Odzun, Aghitu and Tatev. With this regard, mention should also be made of the funerary memorials at Tsaghats Kar and at the monastery near Handaberd Fortress.

The development of upright stone slabs or columns led to the formation of the art of *khachkars* (cross-stones) in the 9th century. Armenian khachkars, which stand out for a wide variety of reliefs and composition-al themes, came to enrich the treasury of Armenian art and world heritage.

The so-called Gavazan (meaning *Sceptre*) Column of Tatev Monastery, a unique pendulous structure dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in Syunik Region of Armenia, has a special place in the history of the memorial architecture of medieval Armenia and in world cultural heritage.¹

The only available written record regarding the construction of this pillar is provided by Bishop of Syunik Stepanos Orbelian: “When this [the construction of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in 895] was done, after eleven years [Lord Yovhannes] erected a marvellous pillar in the name of the Holy Trinity, close to the church, opposite to it on the south side. It was built of small and large stones and reached a height of 30 cubits.”²



The pendulous column of Tatev Monastery from the north-west, 2012

¹ There are only very few such structures in world architecture. Among the best-known specimens are the minarets (1315) of the

mosque in Harladan Village, near Isfahan, Iran: here the swinging of one minaret causes the tilting of the second one.

² Stepannos Orbelian's *History of the State of Sisakan*, p. 119. Translated from Classical Armenian by Robert Bedrosian. Available at: http://rbedrosian.com/Downloads/Orbelean_History.pdf

Judging from this record, the Gavazan Pillar was erected in 906 (895+11), but in another chapter of his work, speaking about the Ishmaelites' invasion of Tatev Monastery, Orbelian writes something that comes to contradict this: "They [the Ishmaelites] also wanted to destroy the marvellous column which had been erected at the great church two years earlier by the great Lord Yovhanné's. However, by some miracle, they did not dare to touch it. This was also true for the large church."³

This passage suggests that the column was built in 904 (906-2=904); so we can trace its construction back to the period between 904 and 906. We hold that the year 906 is more reliable as the building of such a peculiar column could have hardly been completed during the construction of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul. Besides, the pillar may have been erected in commemoration of the solemn opening of the main church of the monastery.

A comparison of the pendulous pillar of Tatev with other specimens reveals the following peculiarities:

1 The height of all the similar columns erected earlier does not exceed 6 metres, and they stand on broad, stepped bases.

2 The shaft of almost every such pillar is made of a single block of massive stone.

3 These columns have mostly reached our days in a semi-ruined state.

In contrast to them, the pendulous column of Tatev 1 has the greatest height (8.3 metres) and rises on the smallest double-step base.

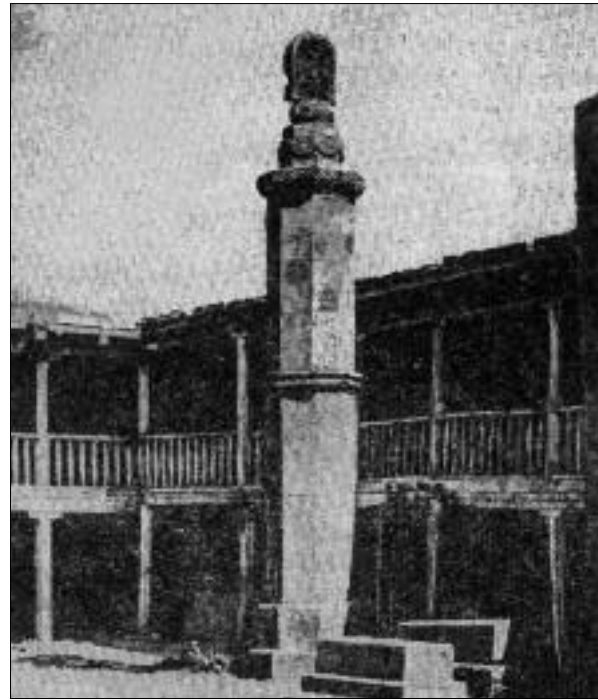
2 The shaft of the pillar is laid in a traditional type of Armenian masonry called *midis* (with mortar).

3 Throughout its existence of over 1,000 years, the pillar has seen a lot of natural disasters and has suffered much damage, but it has never collapsed, coming down to our days almost intact.

4 Unlike all other memorial monuments erected before and after its construction and having a static state, the pillar of Tatev was initially built on a hinged base, planned to be a dynamic structure; hence its name, Pendulous or Swinging Column or Sceptre.

A wide variety of functions have traditionally been ascribed to the pillar: testing of the spiritual power of certain clergymen, prediction of earthquakes, notification of an approaching enemy cavalry, etc. This article is going to enlarge not on the functions but on the structure of this pillar.

The double-step base of the pillar consists of two large monolithic blocks of basalt: the lower one has a square foundation, while its upper section has been worked into an octagon by truncation of its four angles. On this octagon, the second, smaller octahedral block



The pendulous column of Tatev Monastery from the north-west (photo taken before the late 19th century)

Reprinted from: H. Khalpakhchian, "The Pendulous Pillar of Tatev," *Echmiatzin*, no. 9 (1962), pp. 45-57.

of basalt rests. A twisted band, running around the middle of the octahedral shaft of the pillar, divides it in two vertical parts (dimensions: 2.66 metres and 2.13 metres). The pillar is crowned with a sculptured octahedral capital which is surmounted by a winged cross. This cross, both faces of which are finished, rests on a sculptured pedestal and is enclosed within a frame. The back part of the pillar shows some rosettes and crosses engraved in different times, and its southern facet is decorated with a sundial beneath a bird.

In the late 19th century, the pillar was enclosed within a fence of stone and metal, which was the echo of the taste and style of those times, its large size distorting the right perception of the original form of the monument.

The earthquake which struck Syunik in 1931 seriously damaged almost the entire monastic complex of Tatev, some buildings being reduced to ruins. As for the pillar, only the part below the dividing band was damaged. This section was fastened with metallic hoops, thanks to which, it has reached our days as standing. The pillar has been able to resist seismic forces thanks to its tilting ability, although the outstanding Armenian architect Toros Toramanian thinks that its traditional stonework (*midis*) and the backfill of mortar have played a great role in preserving it.⁴

3 Stepannos Orbelean's History, p. 164.

4 թրամանյան Թ., Հայկական ճարտարապետություն [T. Toramanian, Armenian Architecture] (Yerevan, 2013), pp. 183-184.



The pendulous column of Tatev Monastery from the north-west (photo by Guros, 19th to 20th centuries)

The pillar of Tatev has always attracted attention thanks to its peculiar features, and particularly, its inconceivable ability of shaking. However, all the researchers just confined themselves to describing it and highlighting its ability to tilt.

According to S. Jalalian, the pillar is able to tilt thanks to the presence of mercury in its foundations.⁵ This viewpoint was later shared by Emir (Simon Gulamirian)⁶ and Yervand Lalayan.⁷

V. Harutiunian and S. Safarian describe the pillar as a structure swinging on a hinge, but they do not offer any interpretation or analysis of this hypothesis.⁸

The subsequent researchers, A. Yeritsian and Gr. Kochoyan, carried out a theoretical analysis of the tilting of the pillar and found out the degrees of the angles of its swinging, but they did not study the hinged structure of shaking.⁹

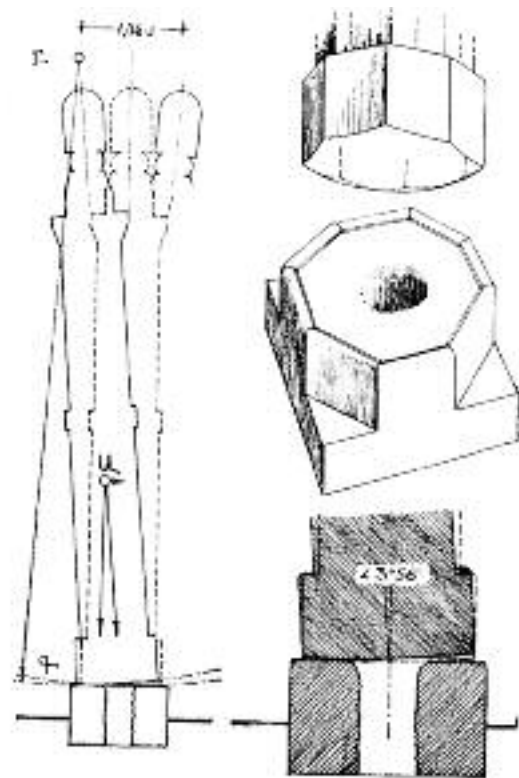
5 Ջալալեան Ս., Ծանապարհորդութիւն ի Մեծն Հայաստան, մասն Բ [S. Jalalians, A Journey to Greater Armenia, vol. 2] (Treghis, 1858), p. 268.

6 Էմիր, Տաթևի վանքը [Emir, "Tatev Monastery"], «Արար» [Arax], no. 2 (1892), p. 29.

7 Լալայեան Ե., Սիսիան [Yer. Lalayan, "Sisian"], «Ազգագրական հանդէս» [Azgagakan Handes /Ethnographical Journal/], book 3, no. 1 (1898), p. 139.

8 Арутюнян В., Сафарян С., Памятники армянского зодчества [V. Harutiunian, S. Safarian, Monuments of Armenian Architecture] (Moscow, 1951), p. 49.

9 Ерицов А., Татевский монастырь [A. Yeritsov, "Tatev Monastery"], in: Пятый Археологический съезд в Тифлисе. Протоколы подготовительной комиссии этого съезда [The Fifth Archaeological Conference in Tiflis. Proceedings of the Organizing Committee of the Conference] (Moscow, 1882), pp. 408-412, 420.



A theoretical deviation of the pendulous column of Tatev Monastery; its axonometric view and a section of its conjunctive structure according to H. Khalpakhchian

According to Yeritsian's analysis, when shaking, the pillar formed an angle of $16^{\circ}19'$ with its vertical axis and made a rotational movement within a circle of a radius of 2.13 metres (a *sazhen**). Almost the same data are offered by Gr. Kochoyan: an angle of slope of 15° and a rotational movement of a radius of 1.96 metres.

It should be noted that if the pillar shook forming the angles offered and making the aforementioned circles, its centre of gravity would reach beyond what is permissible, according to the laws of physics (indeed, if its lower parts do not have an extremely heavy filling material), and it would simply collapse.

A much more detailed analysis of the pillar was offered by H. Khalpakhchian in 1961.¹⁰ On the basis of measurements and calculations, he found out the approximate position of the pillar's centre of gravity and the angle of slope ($3^{\circ}56'$). Also, he described the spherical surfaces of the base blocks as having different centres of curvature: according to him, these spherical surfaces bring about the circular motion of the top of the pillar within a radius of 0.53 metres. Khalpakhchian

* A *sazhen* is a unit of length formerly used in Russia, equal to seven feet.

10 Խալփախչյան Հ., Տաթևի երեքացող սյունը [H. Khalpakhchian, "The Pendulous Pillar of Tatev"], «Էջմիածին» [Echmiatzin], no. 9 (1962), pp. 45-57.



After the displaced stone was taken away, the small opening in the centre of the dividing band became visible, 1987

further states that the static (vertical) position of the pillar is attained by an opening of a diameter of 35 to 38 cm in the centre of the lower block, and the upper block (which has a rounded surface) rests on the lower one. In this context, Khalpakhchian compares the pillar, with its hinged structure, with a popular Russian toy called Vanka-Vstanka. As compared to his predecessors, this scholar offers an analysis with more reliable results, but he shares the common viewpoint that the pillar oscillated in all directions.

In the 1980s Yerevan Project Institute of the Main Board for the Preservation and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments, at the Council of Ministers of Soviet Armenia, started studies and project development for the restoration of the monastic complex of Tatev. Within this work, in 1987 we studied the Gavazan pendulous pillar, among other monastic buildings, and in 2015 we carried out further field research.

* In order to find out the possibility of oscillation, we cleaned the areas of contact between the two blocks of the pillar base of the soil and plants that had accumulated there. Then we started shaking the pillar, using only our physical strength. At the top of the pillar, the oscillation formed about 30 to 35 cm in bare eye perception.

* We studied the space inside the slit in the area of contact between the two blocks of the pillar base with the help of a metallic ruler (a metre long), by moving it horizontally in different angles. This helped us reveal that the octahedral blocks of the base touch each other only in two (south-western and north-eastern) angles, while their other parts have no contact with one another. We also found out that this slit was about 1.3 cm at the northern angle of the western facet. This came to



The ruler inserted in the area of contact between the two blocks of the pillar base, 2014

refute the main viewpoint of the former researchers according to which, the pillar wobbled in all directions. It oscillated only in a single direction, along the axis, through the south-eastern and north-western angles of the base (leaning on the two small, opposite surfaces lying in a vertical direction from this axis).

* In order to find out how the upper and lower parts of the pillar were connected, we dismantled one of the metallic hoops and removed the loose stone (originally part of the mortar) below the dividing band of the pillar. This helped us reveal an opening of a diameter of 12 to 14 cm in the central part of the band: it became clear that the mortar passing through this opening connected the two parts of the pillar.

As already stated above, unlike all the other monastic buildings which were usually reduced to ruins by earthquakes and enemy armies, the pillar of Tatev remained standing throughout the centuries of its existence. This shows that its builders, realising that an upright and lofty column like that could be prone to collapse, erected it with a special technique that would enable it to successfully resist all kinds of danger and risks. In fact, the architects and builders have succeeded in their conception: throughout its existence of more than 11 centuries, no earthquake was able to overthrow the pillar, as its oscillation nullified the shaking of the earth. As for enemies, they were simply horrified to see the mysterious wobbling of the pillar.

Now let us find the clue to the oscillation of the pillar. We do not agree with the results of the previous studies regarding the wobbling scheme; so we are offering our own viewpoint based on research and calculations.

The upper block of the pillar base (consisting of two monolithic blocks of basalt, as already said), which organically merges into the basalt stonework of the shaft, freely rests on the lower block. When the pillar is in a static position, the areas of contact between the blocks, which are two detached sections, are located in the western angle of the southern facet of the base and



The slit between the north-western facets of the blocks of the pillar base, 2014



The light opposite the slit between the blocks of the pillar base, 2014

in the eastern angle of its northern facet. These areas of contact stretch in a single direction, to put it conventionally, from the south-west to the north-east. In a perpendicular position, at both ends of the oscillation direction, the tops of the two polyhedral blocks of the base are separated from each other by 1.3 cm. We can state that this is the only direction in which the wobbling of the pillar deviates from the east-west axis by $22^{\circ}30'$ and we can conventionally consider that the direction is from the south-east to the north-west.

The areas of contact between the two blocks of the base and their extreme ends, which are separated from each other, can be seen even by naked eye. If we look at the hinged joint very closely from the south-east or north-west (as conventionally chosen), focusing into the slit in the area of contact between the two blocks, we can see some light opposite.

For the pillar to be able to oscillate, the lower surface of the monolithic stone of the upper block of the base should be slightly convex and cylindrical in form, and the upper part of the monolithic stone of the lower block can have a horizontal or concave surface, but its curvature should be considerably smaller as compared to the convexity of the upper block (for this reason, in calculations, we generally assume that the upper surface of the lower block is horizontal). The centre of curvature of the foundation of the upper block, which secures the wobbling of the pillar, should be on the vertical axis of the pillar and should necessarily be higher than the centre of gravity. Minimal height between the centre of curvature and the centre of gravity will secure the possibility of the oscillation of the pillar and will prevent its collapse (if, indeed, the force exerted on it is not so powerful as to take the vertical projection of the centre of gravity beyond the bearing area). This is substantiated by physics: if the pillar is oscillated with the exertion of a horizontal force, the projection of its centre of gravity should always be between its vertical axis and fulcrum in the given position. Consequently,

under the impact of the force of gravity, the pillar will resume its former vertical position, then it will tilt to the opposite side by inertia and will again come to the centre. Swinging like this, it will stop under the impact of the friction forces.

Now let us dwell on the nature of tilting, on the structure of the hinged joint and its dimensions.

First of all, let us find out the distance between the centre of gravity of the tilting pillar and the centre of the foundation of the upper block of its base, considering that the pillar is composed of materials having the same specific weight (including its basalt masonry and the mortar backfill containing small pieces of basalt). It should be noted that so far we have not been able to find out the exact composition of the mortar of the backfill. It is not excluded that the builders used lead in the lower parts of the pillar in order to make the centre of gravity closer to the pillar foundations, although this is less probable. In our opinion, the aforementioned supposition regarding the use of mercury is not realistic as the application of this element is full of risks and it is not easy to work with. Further studies should be carried out for the substantiation of this hypothesis, but anyway, the results of such research cannot change the scheme and structure of tilting; only the tilting amplitude and angle can vary.

Our calculations and analysis are as follows:

The horizontal coordinate of the centre of gravity, $X = 0$, as the pillar is built symmetric to its vertical axis.

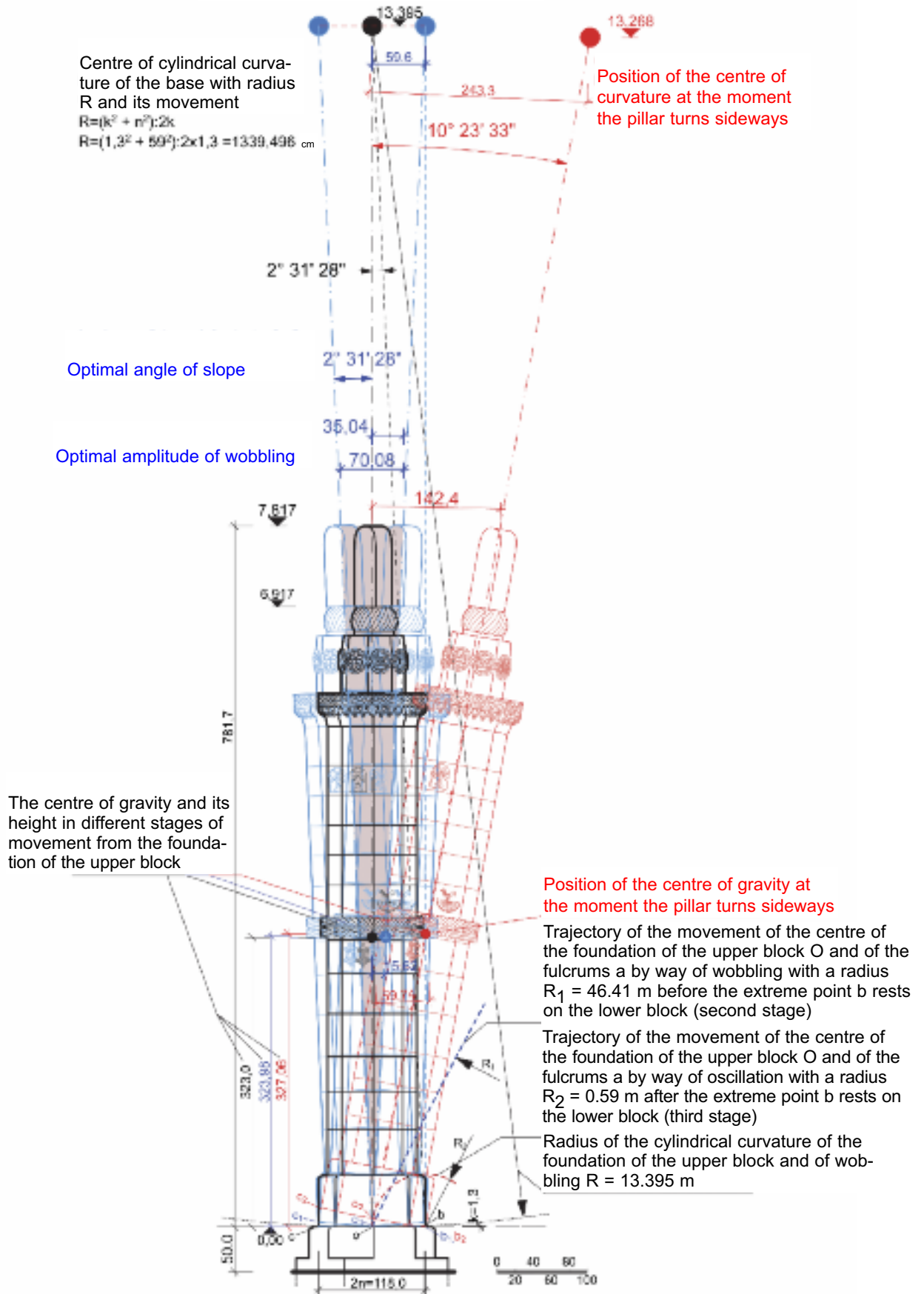
The vertical coordinate is determined according to the following formula:

$$Y = \left(\sum M_K \times Y_K \right) : M, \text{ in which:}$$

- M_K stands for the masses of different parts of the pillar which have varying geometrical forms and are located on a single vertical axis.

- Y_K stands for the coordinates of the centres of gravity of the abovementioned parts (the coordinates show their position with regard to the foundation or the

Wobbling Scheme of the Pillar





Fragment of the winged cross of the 5th to 7th centuries (photo by S. Karapetian, 2012) and its reconstruction by S. Ayzazian and A. Badishian, 2016

point of tilting). The centre of gravity is located in the geometrical centre of the given part.

- M stands for the total sum of the masses of all the parts of the pillar.

Considering that the pillar is composed of materials having the same specific weight, in the aforementioned formula, we can replace masses with volumes, and inserting the corresponding values, we shall get $15.36 : 4.758 = 3.2282$ metres.

Therefore, the coordinates of the pillar's centre of gravity are as follows: $X = 0$, $Y = 3.23$ metres.

So we have found out that the pillar's centre of gravity is located beneath the dividing band running around the middle part of the shaft.

The winged cross surmounting the pillar was erected in the 15th century. Another winged cross (its fragment is still preserved in the monastery) which can be traced back to the period between the 5th and 7th centuries (its lower part is engraved with the name *Յովսէփ /Hovsep/*) might have been the original one on top of the pillar. The present-day cross is one of those rare ones in which the leaves of the decorative plant originating from the bottom of the cross do not stretch towards its centre but are directed sideways.

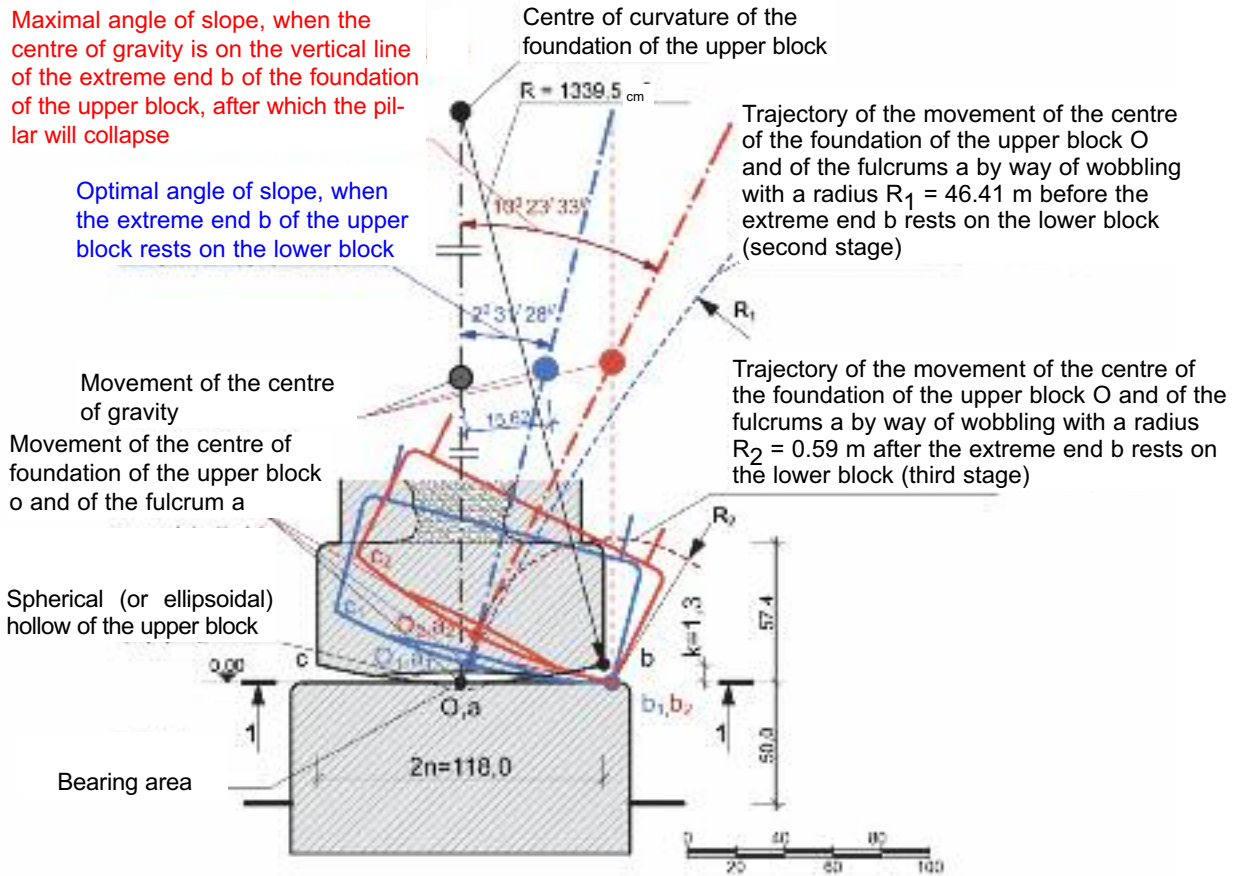
This peculiar style of decorative palm branches can also be seen in the composition of the winged cross

which surmounts the pillar at present, being enclosed within a frame. The third specimen of this kind of cross is found on one of the facets of the cube-shaped pedestal of a stele located in Talin, Shirak Region, Armenia.¹¹

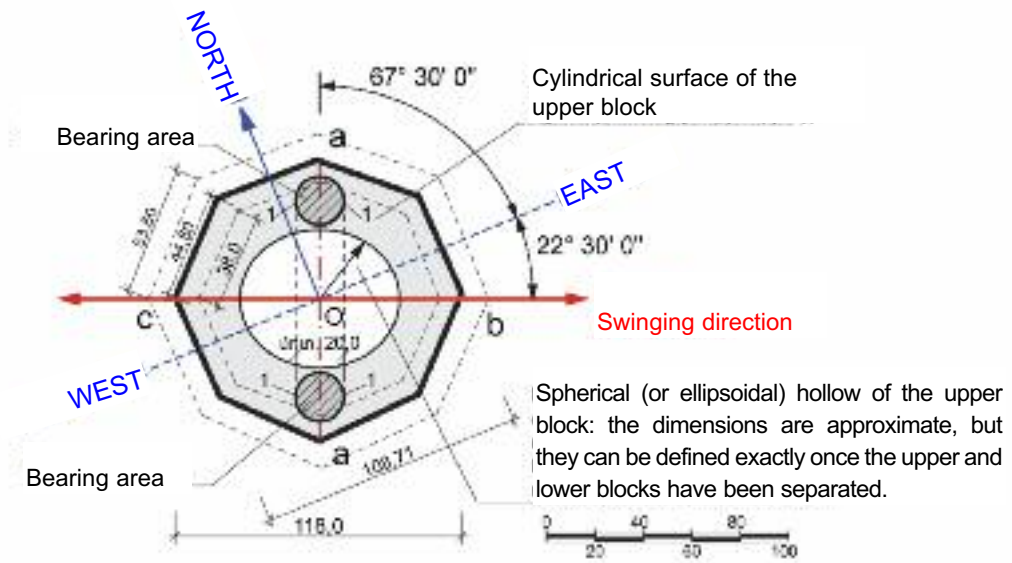
If the original cross was larger and heavier, the pillar's centre of gravity could have been initially located right on the horizontal axis of the aforementioned band. Anyway, it is beyond doubt that this band, apart from its decorative purpose, also had the function of highlighting the pillar's centre of gravity, and for this reason, it was placed on the level of the centre of gravity.

Now that we have found out the height of the pillar's centre of gravity, let us also determine the centre of the cylindrical curvature of the foundation of the upper block of the pillar base; in other words, let us find out within what radius the oscillation of the pillar takes place. The radius depends on the width of the foundation of the upper block ($2n = 118.0$ cm) and on the rise of the curvature (k). In this case, it depends on the space between the end points of the two blocks of the pillar base, and this space is about 1.3 cm according to our calculations (the accuracy of these calculations

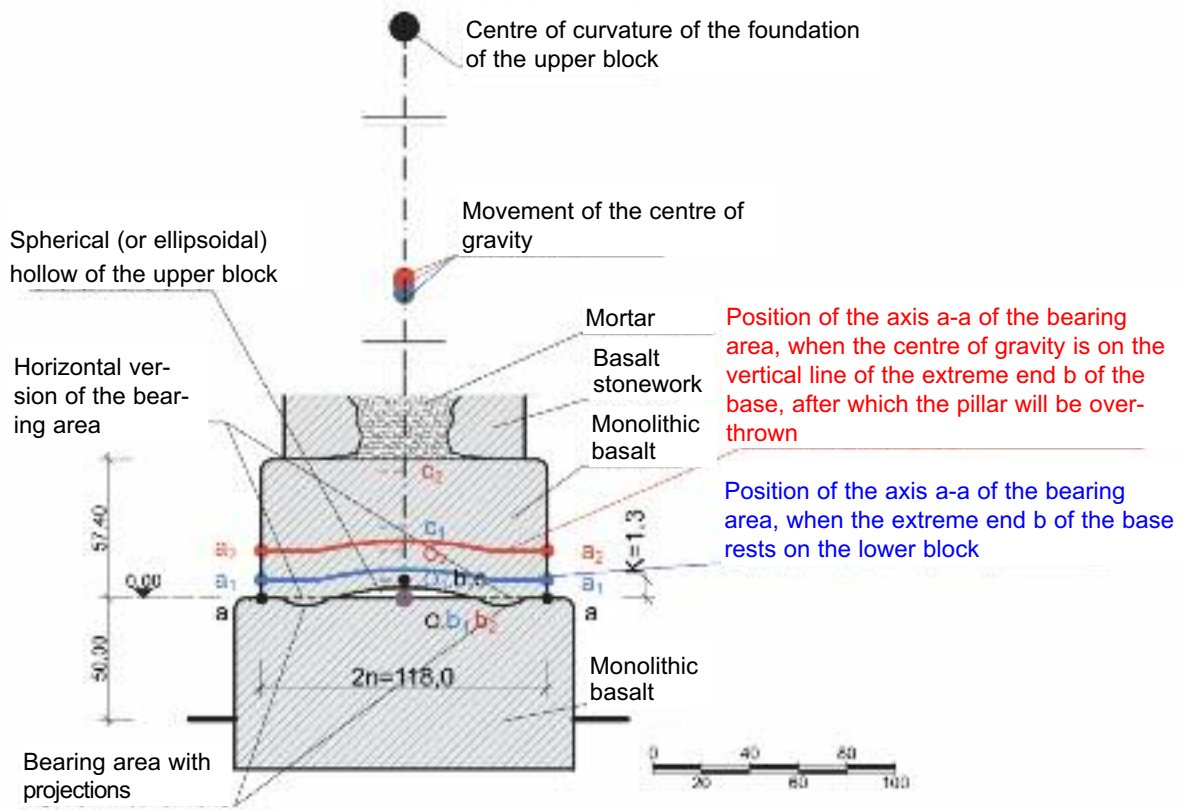
¹¹ For the photo, see Մնացականյան Մ., Հայկական վաղմիջնադարյան մեմորիալ հուշարձանները [S. Mnatsakanian, Early Medieval Armenian Memorial Monuments] (Yerevan, 1982), p. 9.



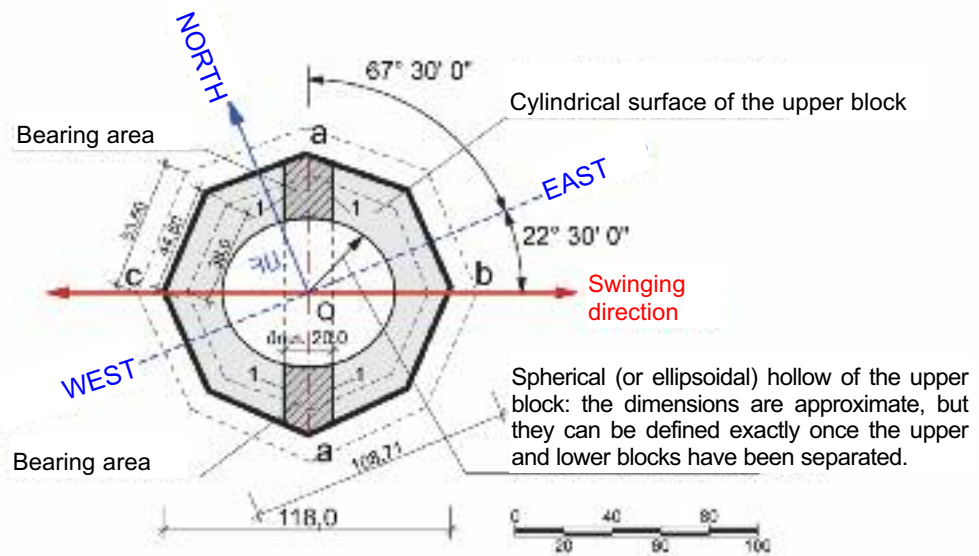
a. Section of the swinging junction along the axis b-c
 (For clarity, the actual dimension of the wobbling radius, $R = 13.395 \text{ m}$, has been reduced).



b. Section 1-1 with bearing surface
 (Version of the bearing surface with spherical projections)



Section of the swinging junction along the axis of the fulcrums a-a
(To show the structure with clarity, the actual dimension of the swinging radius, $R = 13.395$ m, has been reduced).



Section 1-1, with the bearing area upwards
(Horizontal version of the bearing area)

may vary from 1 to 3 mm depending on the high porosity of the basalt used). Now let us calculate the radius (R) on the basis of the following formula: $R = (k^2 + n^2) : 2k$

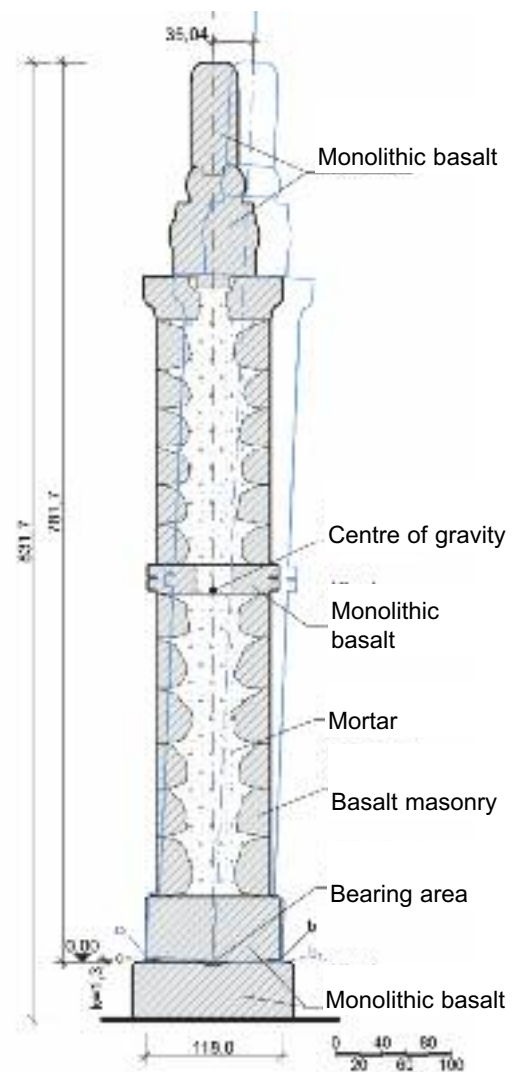
$$R = (1.3^2 + 59^2) : 2 \times 1.3 = 1339.496 \text{ cm} = 13.395 \text{ m}$$

The results show that the curvature of the foundation of the upper base block is hewn in such a way that its centre is a little more than 4 times higher than the pillar's centre of gravity, and this very fact makes the oscillation of the pillar possible according to the laws of physics.

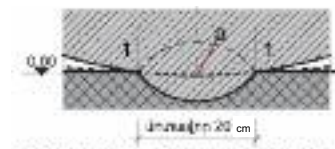
Now let us proceed to the description of the area of contact between the two blocks of the pillar base, which are two identical detached parts. Their primary function is to secure the stability of the static condition of the pillar. Theoretically, the pillar could be stable and could wobble even if it rested on the generator of the cylindrical surface passing along the axis a-a of the scheme offered. However, taking into account the fact that bases of monuments were actually hewn with hand tools (this making the presence of uneven parts inevitable), and also considering that wobbling could create certain rubbed sections, in addition to undesirable cases of light oscillation (with the application of insignificant force), that generator of fulcrum had to be replaced by a slightly wider surface which would also secure a more stable condition, while the wobbling of the pillar would require greater force. Moving the metallic ruler inside the slit between the two blocks of the pillar base in different directions, we got the approximate width of the area of contact between them, about 20 cm. After finding out the bearing surface, we also had to answer the question why it did not stretch all along the axis a-a; instead, in the central part, the surfaces of the two blocks were separated from each other, this being also proved by the unimpeded penetration of light from the opposite side. The bearing surface, stretching along the axis a-a, is broken by a spherical (or ellipsoidal) hollow in the central part of the cylindrical foundation of the upper block. It will be possible to find out the exact structure of this hollow, and therefore, also of the bearing surface only after the two blocks of the base are completely separated from each other, or an examination is carried out with special devices. However, we can form an idea about this structure taking into account the functional significance of the bearing surface: the securing of stability and softness of swinging; and the purpose of wobbling (resistance to seismic forces, wobbling through human force, etc.).

In the drawings attached to this article, we are presenting the bearing surfaces of the base blocks in two versions:

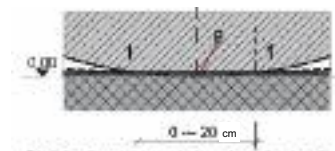
a When each of the base blocks has a horizontal surface;



Section in the direction of swinging



Section: version of the bearing surface with spherical projections



Section: horizontal version of the bearing area

b When there are small projections with a spherical segment on the surface of one of the blocks, while that of the other has hollows with a similar spherical segment. It should be noted that the projections can be only on one of the base blocks. We are inclined to think that these projections are located in the foundation of the upper block, in which case, during the swinging of the pillar in the opposite direction (after first wob-

bling), the upper spherical projections will more softly resume their primary position. As compared to the first version, when the fulcrum is just a horizontal surface, in this second one, with the fulcrum being a small projection, the pillar has a greater ability to resist any possible dangerous rotatory movement in its horizontal surface (so far the pillar has shown no deviations that could be the result of such a movement).¹²

Once the structure of the swinging junction has been clarified, we can also find out the nature and dimensions of the wobbling of the pillar. Naturally, it will be easier to swing the pillar by applying a horizontal force above the dividing decorative band, which is the pillar's centre of gravity (the higher the horizontal force is applied, the greater the arm of force, and correspondingly, the greater the moment of rotation. However, human height does not allow the application of any dangerous force higher than the level specified. The application of the corresponding push force at a certain height accessible for a human, causes the swinging of the pillar at the fulcrum, if resonance is brought about.

In the first stage of swinging, a rotational movement takes place around the axis passing along the points 1-1 (see the drawing: the extreme section of the immediate bearing surface of the block) until the centre of the cylindrical curvature of the foundation of the upper block, which is at a height of 13.395 metres, comes onto the vertical line of that axis. In this position, the shift of the centre of curvature is equal to the distance between the axis and the centre of the bearing surface: ca. $20 : 2 = 10$ cm; also, the top of the cross-stone will move by 5.84 cm, and the centre of gravity by 2.41 cm. The deviation of the pillar's axis from the vertical line will make up $0^{\circ} 25' 40''$. The swinging of

this stage is too insignificant to be shown in the drawings, and the bearing surface has been only approximately calculated to be 20 cm.

In the second stage, the pillar swings within a circumference of a radius of 13.395 metres. The movement continues until the aforementioned centre of cylindrical curvature appears on the vertical line of the extreme point b (c during the returning movement) of the foundation of the upper block. In this position, the centre of curvature moves by 59.6 cm; the top of the cross-stone by 35.04 cm, and the centre of gravity by 14.86 cm. The deviation of the pillar's axis from the vertical line will make up $2^{\circ} 31' 28''$. Actually, in this stage the pillar has the best (optimal) amplitude of wobbling for in the third phase, as described below, it will be in great danger of collapse.

In the third stage, the angle of swinging is enlarged, the pillar again makes a rotational movement, this time leaning on the extreme point b. The rotation continues until the centre of gravity appears onto the vertical line of the extreme point b (marginal position), after which, if the application of force continues, it will fall beyond the vertical line and the pillar will be overthrown. The movement of this stage is dangerous: the pillar leans only on a single point, due to which, it can also rotate in the horizontal space, and this can lead to its collapse. In this stage, the centre of curvature in the marginal position shifts by 243.3 cm; the top of the cross-stone by 142.4 cm, and the centre of gravity by 59.74 cm; the deviation of the pillar's axis makes up $10^{\circ} 23' 33''$. In fact, the swinging of the pillar never reached this critical position, (namely the third stage): otherwise, it could have hardly reached our days.

To summarise, we can state the following: under the influence of a certain force, the pillar's wobbling takes place at the point of junction of the two blocks of the double-step base of the pillar: at this junction, the bearing surface is formed by two distinct parts lying opposite each other, each of them having its own structure. Therefore, the pillar wobbles in one axial direction which is deviated from the east-west axis by $22^{\circ} 30'$ (the conventional direction from the south-east to the north-west). Sloping sideways during wobbling, the pillar first makes a rotational movement, then rolls away and, repeating these movements, goes back to its vertical position, after which it makes the same movements in the opposite direction by inertia, this continuing until it finally stops under the influence of the friction forces. In the best (optimal) period of wobbling, the main parameters of the movement of the pillar to one side are as follows: the centre of curvature of the foundation of the upper block shifts by 59.6 cm; the top of the cross-stone by 35.04 cm, and the centre of gravity by 15.62 cm. The deviation of the pillar axis from the vertical line is: $2^{\circ} 31' 28''$.

¹² In order to wobble the pillar weighing 11.4 tons (with its bearing surface being 20 cm wide) from the average height of a human being, 150 cm (without using the phenomenon of resonance), the necessary force, $F = 0.76$ ton: $F = F_{\text{counteracting}} \times L_{\text{arm}}$ of counteracting force : L_{arm} of human force = $11.4 \text{ tons} \times 0.1 \text{ m} : 1.5 \text{ m} = 0.76$ tons. A human being cannot apply such a force; therefore, the bearing surface should be smaller than 20 cm. When using 60 kg of human force, we get 1.58 cm (L_{arm} of counteracting force = $F_{\text{human force}} \times L_{\text{arm}}$ of human force : $F_{\text{counteracting}} = 0.06 \text{ ton} \times 1.5 \text{ m} : 11.4 \text{ tons} = 0.0079 \text{ m} = 0.79$ cm arm of force: that is to say, $2 \times 0.79 \text{ cm} = 1.58$ cm of bearing surface. In both cases (when $F = 0.76$ ton and the fulcrum = 1.58 cm), the values we get are not realistic perhaps because the dimensions of the bearing surface are approximate, and it is not taken into account that we can apply a small force at a certain frequency, which can stir up resonance and swing the pillar. We were able to wobble the pillar through such an application of force.

In any case, it is necessary to use special devices to find out the exact dimensions of the bearing surfaces of the pillar base blocks in order to substantiate one of the two versions we have put forward. Once this is done, we can even find out one of the goals of the construction of the pillar—the possibility of its swinging with the application of human force during certain religious ceremonies. By using the wobbling scheme offered, it is also possible to determine the seismic stability of the pillar and find out the earthquake magnitude that can overthrow it.

TRIN MONASTERY

by Samvel Karapetian

A monastic complex is situated in the area between the towns of Sarighamish (present-day Sarikamish) and Karakurt (9.8 km south of the former and 9.4 km north-west of the latter), in Abeghiank District, Ayrarat Province, Armenia Maior (nowadays in Kars Region, Turkey). The monastery stands in an isolated, wooded site on a slanting mountain slope (geographical coordinates: 040°14'48.85"E, 42°34'10.77"N) that faces southward and rises at an altitude of 2,062 metres. In the 19th century, the monastery was known to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood as *Kyup Kilise* (meaning Jug-shaped church).

The first topographer to speak about this cluster of monuments was Ghukas Injijian, who wrote the following in 1806: "A little far [from Mount Sourb Khach /Holy Cross] ...there is a small circular church or chapel called Kyup Kilise. It is domed and entirely built of stone, with several adjacent rooms, similarly of stone, which are not inhabited."¹ This record is of great importance not only because it is the earliest one to speak about the existence of the monastery, but also because it states that there were no monks there. Judging from this information, the monastery was abandoned before the great emigration that started after the Russian-Turkish war of 1828 to 1829.

Chronologically speaking, the next visitor was the Prelate of Kars, Archimandrite Kyuregh Srapian, who provided a brief description of the complex and was also able to correctly guess the historical name of the monastery. After his visit to the site in 1878, he wrote the following: "In a forest located north-west of [Mount] Sourb Khach,² at a distance of about four hours, there are two cave churches (looking like the cave church of Geghard Monastery) in one of which you can still see the chain of the chandellier once hanging from the dome. East of the church, a large cemetery of khachkars [cross-stones] extends. Also, ruins of cells can still be seen, showing that once monks lived in this monastery. Certainly, this is the monastery of Trin mentioned by [Stepanos] Taronetsy [the Asoghik] as it answers his description: it is cut out of rock and is

situated south of Kars City. In these areas, there is no other rock-hewn monastery³ except some caves which the locals say used to be abodes for hermits."⁴

So, Stepanos Taronetsy the Asoghik writes in his *Universal History* that the monastery called Kyup Kilise is undoubtedly Trin Monastery. He particularly writes: "And the mother of King Abas,⁵ the pious daughter of pious parents, the sister of the kings of Parisos, Senekerim and Grigor, abandoned earthly life, and attaching absolutely no importance to passing glory, started looking for heavenly bliss. She went to live in a monastery called Trin: its churches were cut out of the white rock and faced southward. There she devoted herself to prayers and charitable acts, living in spiritual virtue."⁶

Yes, that monastery cut out of the white rocks of a south-facing mountain slope is undoubtedly Trin.⁷ Now that more than a thousand years have passed since the times of the historian, we can just confirm his information regarding the location of the monastery and the colour of the rock.

So, the monastery accurately matches the available descriptions; besides, another important factor to iden-

3 The closest is the monastery of Tzarakar, which is 29.2 km west of this place in a straight line.

4 **Կ. Վ. Մ.**, Ճանապարհորդութիւն ի նահանգն Կարուց [Archimandrite K. S., "A Journey to Karin Province"], «Արարատ» [Ararat], no. 9 (1879), p. 383. Taking into account this information, Gh. Alishan wrote the following: "And it consists of two churches carved out of a white stone mass, like the churches of Ayrvank [Geghard]. The chain of a chandelier is said to have been preserved in one of the churches. Nearby there are also some ruined abodes as well as a large graveyard and cross-stones" (**Ալիշան Վ.**, Այրարատ [Gh. Alishan, Ayrarat] (Venice, 1890), p. 38). In 1878, in his "Book on the Villages and Monasteries in the Neighbourhood of Kars," Archimandrite Kyuregh Srapian wrote the following: "Kyup Kilise Monastery, which [stands] down Iznots, to the east, in a gorge, is hewn out of rock—three churches leading into one another" (*Banber Hayastani Arkhivneri* [*Herald of the Archives of Armenia*], no. 2 (1970), p. 92).

5 The historian means Abas I, the king of Kars and the son of Smbat I Bagratuni (890 to 914), who reigned from 928 to 953.

6 **Ստեփանոսի Տարոնցոյ Ասողկան** Պատմութիւն տիեզերական [Universal History by Stepanos Taronetsy the Asoghik] (St. Petersburg, 1885), p. 198.

7 Referring to the previous researchers' viewpoints concerning the location of Trin Monastery, the meritorious topographer G. Ter-Hovhannissian writes that it could be identified to the village site of Tunguli situated on the bank of the stream Dzgav (**Քայբերունցի**, Յիշողութիւններ [Kajberuny, "Memories"], «Լումա» [Luma], no. 2 (1904), pp. 62-63).

1 **Ինճիճեան Վ.**, Աշխարհագրութիւն չորից մասանց աշխարհի, հ. Ա [Gh. Injijian, Geography of the Four Parts of the World, vol. 1] (Venice, 1806), p. 91.

2 In fact, the monastic complex is located 6.9 km north-east of the peak of Sourb Khach (Holy Cross) in a straight line.



Trin Monastery from the south-east (photo by S. Karapetian, 2014)

tify it to Trin is the central structure of the complex, its eight-apse church. It was built no later than the mid-10th century: this can be substantiated by the plan and composition peculiarities of the church. Also important are its elements of decoration which eloquently point to the time of its construction, and which are absolutely typical of the period from which the aforementioned written record dates.

It is common knowledge that the composition of the churches that inwardly have eight apses and are outwardly almost circular (being actually polygonal) traces back to the 7th century. The last specimens of this composition date from the 11th century. The number of such churches that have come down to our days is not large. The earliest examples of this composition are the 7th-century churches of Yeghvard (Zoravar), Irind, Tayots Kar and Tbet Villages. Another specimen, Sourb Prkich (Holy Saviour) Church of Ani, was built from 1035 to 1036.

So, the church of Trin, which has been unknown to the scientific world so far, is the sixth among these eight-apse churches sharing the same composition, but it is the only rock-cut one among them. It should be noted that it particularly shares some similarities with the church of Irind, which was built earlier: more specifically, in both these churches, all the eight semi-circular apses look the same and have the same dimensions.⁸

⁸ Indeed, the apses of the church of Tayots Kar Village have the same dimensions, too, but they do not look identical as seven of them are quadrangular in plan, while the main one is semi-circular.

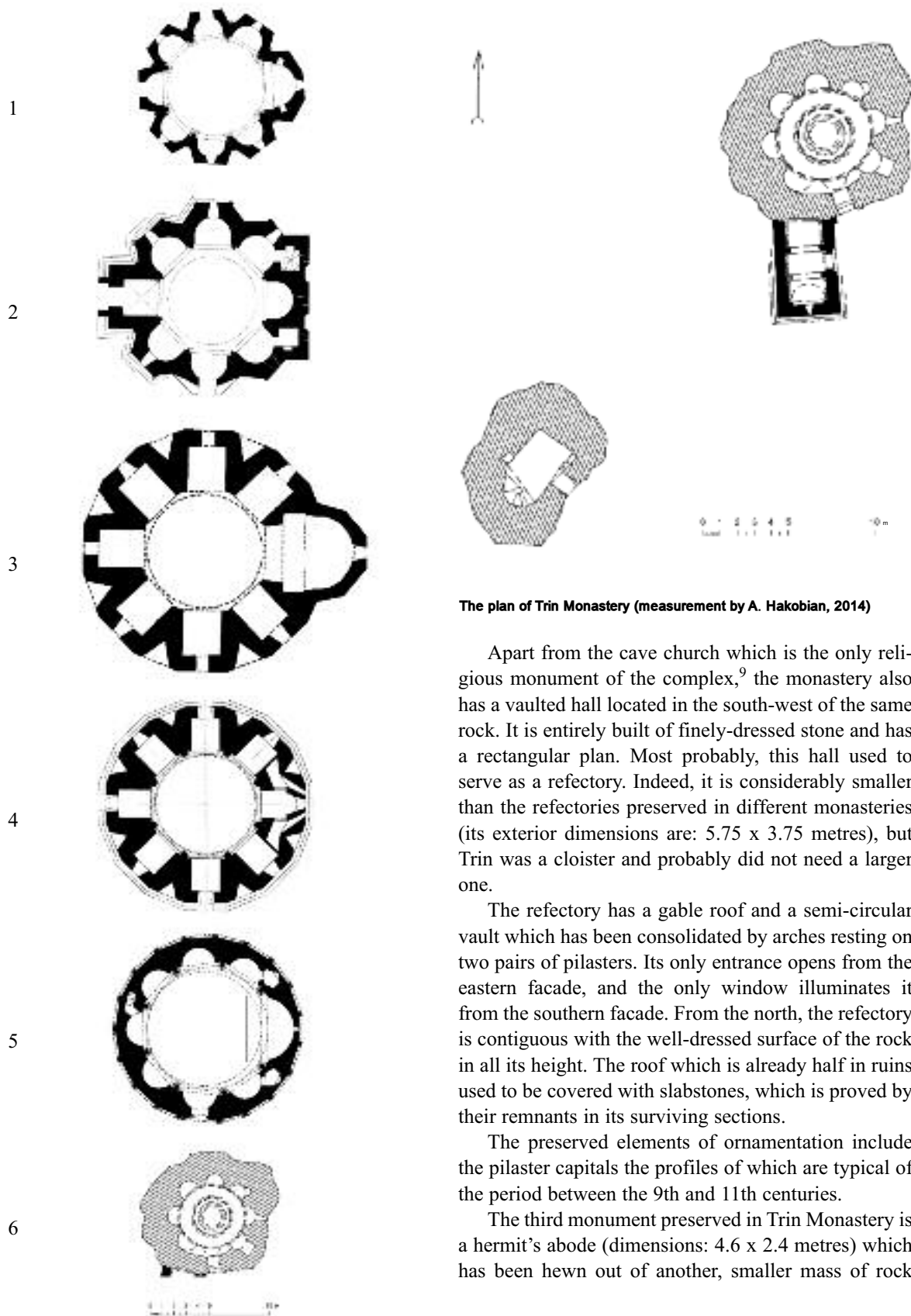
The eight-apse church of Trin is smaller than all the other churches. To substantiate this, let us look at the interior diameters of all these churches: Zoravar: 12.5 metres; Irind: 13.6 metres; Tbet: 17.7 metres; Tayots Kar: 14.6 metres; Sourb Prkich of Ani: 14.1 metres, and Trin: only 7.4 metres.

The church of Trin has only one entrance opening from the south. Its only window, which is tall and narrow, opens from its main apse, thus making it different from the other apses.

As far as the elements of decoration are concerned, unfortunately, they have been mostly damaged or completely annihilated—evidently, deliberately—only some remnants being preserved on the rock-cut capitals of the pilasters of the apses. These are simple profiles edged with circular or semi-circular patterns. The entrance tympanum used to be engraved with an equal-winged cross within a circular frame which has been deliberately scraped away just like the entire part left of the entrance (perhaps, there was also an inscription here).

Each of the apses flanking the main one has a niche.

Among the elements of decoration, mention can also be made of the cornices that highlight the beginning and end of the tambour of the church dome (in fact, it looks like a pseudo-dome as the semi-circular concha rests on a tambour which is not very short). The last of these cornices—the one from which the curve of the concha starts—ends in a twisted band.



The plan of Trin Monastery (measurement by A. Hakobian, 2014)

Apart from the cave church which is the only religious monument of the complex,⁹ the monastery also has a vaulted hall located in the south-west of the same rock. It is entirely built of finely-dressed stone and has a rectangular plan. Most probably, this hall used to serve as a refectory. Indeed, it is considerably smaller than the refectories preserved in different monasteries (its exterior dimensions are: 5.75 x 3.75 metres), but Trin was a cloister and probably did not need a larger one.

The refectory has a gable roof and a semi-circular vault which has been consolidated by arches resting on two pairs of pilasters. Its only entrance opens from the eastern facade, and the only window illuminates it from the southern facade. From the north, the refectory is contiguous with the well-dressed surface of the rock in all its height. The roof which is already half in ruins used to be covered with slabstones, which is proved by their remnants in its surviving sections.

The preserved elements of ornamentation include the pilaster capitals the profiles of which are typical of the period between the 9th and 11th centuries.

The third monument preserved in Trin Monastery is a hermit's abode (dimensions: 4.6 x 2.4 metres) which has been hewn out of another, smaller mass of rock

The plans of the church of Trin Monastery and the other churches having the same composition: 1) Zoravar Church, 2) church of Irind Village, 3) church of Tbet Village, 4) church of Tayots Kar (now: Tavuskyar) Village, 5) Sourb Prkich Church of Ani, 6) rock-cut church of Trin Monastery

⁹ As stated further in this article, the second rock-cut structure is not a church, as supposed by K. Srapian ("there are two cave churches"), but simply an abode; therefore, the eight-apsed church is the only religious structure of the monastery.



The rock-cut church of Trin Monastery towards the north-east, and its dome (photos by S. Karapetian, 2014)

about 20 metres south-west of the aforementioned structures, which are next to each other. It has an entrance opening from the south-east, two small niches

and no window: it is only faintly illuminated through a circular opening at the top which was probably made as a “chimney.” The abode does not have any decoration.



The dome of the rock-cut church of Trin Monastery (photos by S. Karapetian, 2014); the church entrance, and the southern pilaster of the main apse (photos by P. Tonapetian, 2013)



A sculpted pilaster capital next to the main apse of the rock-cut church of Trin Monastery (photo by J-C. and Ch. Hotellier, 2012); the refectory from the north-west (photo by P. Tonapetian, 2013), and its interior to the north (photo by S. Karapetian, 2014)



The rock-cut hermit's abode in Trin Monastery (photos by S. Karapetian, 2014)

In 1878 the ruins of the monks' cells could still be seen in the monastery to the east of which, a cemetery of cross-stones extended. At present even their vestiges cannot be found.

THE ORTHODOX ARMENIANS (ARMENIAN HOROMS) OF AKN

by Gevorg Kazaryan

Orthodox Armenians or so-called Armenian Horoms,¹ who represent an important religious group, have played a significant role in Armenian religious and cultural legacy.

Until the early 20th century, the Orthodox Armenians of Western Armenia mostly lived in four villages of Akn District: Vank, Dzorak, Sherzu and Mushghka.

The available records do not report exactly when and under what circumstances the Armenian inhabitants of these villages became adherents of the Orthodox Church. According to the Ecumenical Patriarch Constantine I (1830 to 1834), this denomination traces back to the 7th century, when, in the days of Catholicos Yezr (630 to 641), “thousands of Armenians who lived in the Roman Empire adopted the ritual, traditions, feasts and fasts of the Orthodox Church.... And the descendants of these Orthodox Armenians still live in the East, in more than twelve villages in the neighbourhood of the satrapy of Sebastia (Sivas).² The central town of these Armenians is called Egin [Akn - G. K.], their villages being situated not far from the [river] Euphrates, to the west. These Orthodox people who are known as Armenian Horoms³ are within the spiritual jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Theodosiopolis,⁴

who recognises the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioch.”⁵

According to Professor H. Bartikian, the Armenian Horoms of Akn are the descendants of those Armenians who converted to the Orthodox faith in the 9th century, in the days of Patriarch of Constantinople Photius (858 to 867, 877 to 886). Among them are also the offsprings of those Armenians who converted to Orthodoxy in the 10th century.⁶

We think that the viewpoint that the denomination of Armenian Horoms was established either in the 7th or 9th centuries should be well substantiated. On the other hand, indeed, it is beyond doubt that during the period specified, part of the population of Armenia *did* really adhere to the Orthodox Church. The hypothesis that the Orthodox Armenian denomination of Akn was established in a later period was probably erroneously based on the fact that in 1021 the Armenians of Vaspu-rakan immigrated into Sebastia. However, it should be noted that there was an Armenian presence in this region before this year, and Akn can presumably be identified with the town of Akina mentioned in the Byzantine-Armenian epic of Digenes Akritas.⁷

In the 10th century, when the Byzantine troops, led by Commander Hovhannes Kurkuas (John Kourkouas, also called Gurgen), liberated part of Western Armenia

1 Archimandrite Ghukas Injijian was the first scholar to write about Armenian Horoms: “Called Armenian Horoms, they are adherents of the Greek Church, but their language, customs and everything else are Armenian” (Ինձիճեան Ղ., Աշխարհագրութիւն չորից մասսնց աշխարհի, հ. Ա [Gh. Injijian, Geography of the Four Parts of the World, vol. 1] (Venice, 1806), p. 303).

2 Most presumably, the information provided by the Patriarch is based on old sources, as in the 19th century, the district of Akn had only four villages inhabited by Armenian Horoms.

3 In the Armenian language, the ethnonym *Horom* was initially used with reference to the Romans, but during the Byzantine period, it acquired the meaning of Orthodox. Armenian Horoms or Orthodox Armenians should not be confused with Catholic Armenians who are followers of the Roman Church.

4 The See of Theodosiopolis (Karin) was always an important centre of Orthodox Armenians: it is a well-known fact that one of the participants of the fourth Ecumenical Council held in Chalcedon in 451 was Bishop Manase of Theodosiopolis. The diocese of Karin, the prelates of which were usually Pontic Greeks in the modern times, was within the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Antioch. This Patriarchate also held ecclesiastical authority over the Metropolitanate of Amid (now: Diyarbakir). The Armenian Horoms of Akn were initially within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitanate of Karin, but from the late 19th century onwards, they recognised the ecclesiastical authority of Amid. In 1900 the Metropolitan

See of Karin was dissolved due to the small number of believers still within its jurisdiction. It was nominally restored in 2014, when Bishop Kayish Sadek from the diocese of Damascus (within the Patriarchate of Antioch) was ordained as Prelate of Theodosiopolis. As for the Metropolitanate of Amid, it is still vacant.

5 Κωνσταντίου Α΄ του από Σιναίου αοιδίμου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως του Βυζαντίου, Βιογραφία... [Constantius I Vizantius, from Sinai, Patriarch of Constantinople of Blessed Memory, Biography...] (Constantinople, 1866), pp. 87-88. This opinion is also shared by Archimandrite Vasilios Stefanidis, Professor of the Faculty of Theology at Athens University (see Στεφανίδης Βασίλειος, αρχιμ., Εκκλησιαστική ιστορία απ' αρχής μέχρι σήμερον, εκδ. «Αστήρ» [Archimandrite Stephanidis Vasilios, Ecclesiastical History from the Beginning till Our Days] (Athens, Astir Publishing House, 1978), p. 413.

6 Бартикян Р., О Византийской аристократической семье Гаврас [R. Bartikian, “About the Byzantine Noble Family of the Gabras”], in: «ՊԲՀ» [Patma-Banasirakan Handes /Historico-Philological Journal], no. 4 (1987), pp. 192-193.

7 Մյն և ակնցիք, նախածեղնեց և հալաբեց Ա. Քէչեան, աշխ. և խմբ. Մ. Պարսամեան [Akn and Its Inhabitants. Initiated and compiled by A. Kechian, edited by M. Parsamian] (Paris, 1952), pp. 615, 621.



The town of Akn, the village of Vank and Kuysi (Virgin's) Fortress (photos by S. Karapetian, 2008)

from the Arabs, a number of sees were established for the religious guidance of the local followers of Orthodoxy. During the same century, one of the largest sees of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople was the Metropolitanate of Khordzian and Taron, which included over 20 bishoprics.⁸ Among them was the so-called bishopric of St. George, which, in our opinion, was named after the village of St. Gevorg Vank (Vank, for short) located in Akn. Consequently,

we can trace the formation of the Armenian Horoms' community of Akn back to the 10th century.

We can state that Akn's communities of Armenian Horoms particularly flourished during the period between the 18th and early 19th centuries, as apart from church building activities, efforts were also made for spiritual and intellectual development. Thus, for instance, in 1800 the Armenian translation of the *Horologion of the Orthodox Church* was published in Constantinople: it had been translated from 1749 to 1757 by the famous translator from Constantinople, the church reader Hakob Jamjioghli (an Armenian Horom?), at the request of Hajji Murad Lazaris from Vank. In 1762 to 1767, this translation was copied by

⁸ Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae episcopatum. Accedunt Nili Doxapatrii Notitia Patriarchatum et Locorum nomina immutata. Ex recognitione Gustavi Parthey. Verlag Adolf M. (Hakkert-Amsterdam, 1967), p. 127.



Part of the walls enclosing the drowned church of St. Gevorg (Vank Village); the construction inscription of the fountain, 1810s (photos by S. Karapetian, 2008)

Arsen, an Armenian Horom monk of the monastery of St. Dionisius on Mount Athos (Greece), who was the son of Priest Markos of Vank Village. While fulfilling this work, he was financially supported and morally encouraged by a monk named Margar, the son of a certain Aslan who was probably from the same village. It was this manuscript that became the basis for the 1800 publication of the *Horologion of the Orthodox Church* in Constantinople.⁹

In 1831 the Armenian translation of another work, *Euchologion of the Orthodox Church*, saw the light in Constantinople with the approval and blessing of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Agathangelos (1826 to 1830) and with the financial assistance of Agha Anastas.¹⁰ The translation had been done by a Greek teacher named Anastas and the church reader Grigor Peshtimaljian.¹¹

Bishop Garegin Srvandztiants (1840 to 1892), who travelled in Western Armenia in 1878, wrote the following about the Orthodox Armenians of Akn: “There are several villages of Armenian Horoms, Dzorak, Mushheghka, Vank and Sherzu, the inhabitants of which almost do not differ from the [Apostolic] Armenians: they speak Armenian in their families; they use the Armenian letters and the Armenian calendar, and their teachers are Armenians. Their priests who cannot even speak Greek always keep contact with the Armenian councils and the Prelacy. Only the priests’ vestments, including their overhead coverings, are Greek-style, and their churches follow the Greek ritual. Part of the church books, such as the Gospel, Lectionary and Horologion, are in Armenian, but during the Divine Liturgy, the texts are translated from Greek into Armenian. The Creed and Trisagion are in Greek. Both Armenian and Greek names are used among them. Very few people know the Greek language or letters.”¹²

Vank. Undoubtedly, this is the oldest village in the region and the most famous among the villages inhabited by Armenian Horoms.¹³ Originally, it was located on an immense cliff on which the ruins of the ancient Virgin’s (Kuysi) Fortress are still preserved.¹⁴

As legend has it, in the 14th century, the Turks forced the inhabitants of Vank to come down from the rock and

9 Ալիհնեան Ն., Սիմեոն Պղնձահանեցի եւ իր թարգմանութիւնները վրացերէնէ [N. Akinian, Simeon Peghendzahanetsi and His Translations from Georgian] (Vienna, 1951), pp. 249-251.

10 Agha Anastas, the manager of the Village Bank of Constantinople, descended from an Armenian Horom family from Vank and was one of the most influential Armenians in Constantinople in the 18th to the 19th centuries. He was well-known for his charitable activities aimed at improving the conditions of his compatriots. In the 1830s, he was among those wealthy people who sponsored the construction of the Armenian hospital of Sourb Prkich (Holy Saviour) in Constantinople. He also made donations for the main Armenian Apostolic church of the city (see Ազատեան Թ., Ակն եւ ակնցիք. Ազգագրական ու կենսագրական յիշատակարան [T. Azatian, Akn and Its Inhabitants. A Collection of Ethnographical and Biographical Materials] (Istanbul, 1943), p. 50). In 1779 Agha Anastas financially supported the famous translator Gevorg Palatetsi (1737 to 1812) for the translation of the work of Metropolitan Neophytos of Aetolia, entitled *Christian Faith Anthology*, from Greek into Armenian (it is kept in the library of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Vienna, no. 731).

11 Church reader Grigor Peshtimaljian (1774 to 1837) was a pedagogue, lexicographer, grammarian, philosopher and translator. In the early 19th century, he was very active in Constantinople as a teacher and a worker of culture. One of his pupils was Catholicos of All Armenians Gevorg IV (1866 to 1882).

12 Մրուանձտեանց Գ., Թորոս աղբար. Հայաստանի ճամբորդ, մասն առաջին [G. Srvandztiants, Brother Toros, a Traveller in Armenia, part 1] (Constantinople, 1879), pp. 252-253.

13 Akn and Its Inhabitants, p. 609. Also see Ճանկեան Զ., Հնութիւնք Ակնայ [H. Janikian, The Antiquities of Akn] (Tiflis, 1895), p. 58.

14 The Greek epitaph of a tombstone preserved in one of the chapels of the fortress says that a certain Atenayis, either a queen or a princess, is buried here. Supposedly, she lived around the 2nd century and descended from a princely family of Pontus-Armenia Minor (see Akn and Its Inhabitants, pp. 603-608). Indeed, the archaeological studies of Kuysi (Virgin’s) Fortress will reveal a lot of valuable information about the ancient history of Akn.



Partial view of the image of St. Gevorg adorning the church of Vank Village (Constantinople (?), 1735); the Transfiguration of Christ: from the Armenian Horoms of Akn, 1895 (donated by Isahak H. Aydinian)

found a new village at its foot, on the left bank of the river Euphrates.¹⁵ Later the church of St. Gevorg (George) was built in the forest. Also, in 1722 another church was erected outside the village, on the rocks rising close to the river bank. As stated in the same legend, once, when the river had fiercely outflowed its banks, an iron door, with a cross on it, came floating in the flood water.... The villagers thought that it was a sign of St. Gevorg and decided to build a church there. According to the available records, when the Orthodox Armenians applied to the Turkish authorities for permission to start



St. Nikoghayos (Nicholas) Church of Dzorak Village (photo by S. Sim, 1999); an inscription commemorating its repairs in 1794; partial view of the image of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker adorning the same church (Constantinople (?), 18th century)

Photos of the holy images by M. Chilingarian, 2014

¹⁵ Բարթիկյան Հ., Հայ-հուռոմները (քաղկեդոնիկ հայերը) հունական պարբերականներում [H. Bartikian, "The Armenian Horoms (Chalcedonian Armenians) in the Greek Periodicals," in: «ՊԲՀ» [Patma-Banasirakan Handes /Historico-Philological Journal], no. 3 (2008), pp. 256-257.



The village of Sherzu; the local church of St. Hovhan Voskeberan (John Chrysostom) and its weathered construction inscription (photos by S. Karapetian, 2008)

the construction of the church, their request was rejected under the excuse that the Ottoman Empire did not recognise any ethno-religious community called Armenian Horoms. All the efforts to gain this permission, including the mediation of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, turned out to be fruitless, and the Armenian Horoms had to turn to the Armenian emirs of the city. Thanks to the clever advice of Archimandrite Minas of Akn (Catholicos of All Armenians from 1751 until 1753) and the help of the emirs Seghbos Yerevanian and Misak Misakian, the Armenians were finally permitted to construct an Armenian Apostolic church. In fact, however, they erected an Orthodox one with an adjacent small Apostolic chapel on condition that the Divine Liturgy should be served there once a year and pilgrims should be free to visit it anytime they wanted.¹⁶ In this

way, the Armenian Apostolic chapel of St. Sargis was built in the yard of the church of Vank.

The newly-built church of St. Gevorg was blessed on 27 May 1723 by Archbishop Ignatios (1717 to 1734) of Chaldea (Khaghtik) and Cherian. The spiritual leader of this archbishopric, who had jurisdiction over the communities of the Greek metal-workers from Pontus, also gave a gift to the church, a Greek Gospel (printed) in silver binding, leaving a record about this donation in its colophon.¹⁷

St. Gevorg Church was repaired in 1823 under the patronage of Agha Anastas.

¹⁶ Akn and Its Inhabitants, p. 128.

¹⁷ A. Ballian, Argana on the Tigris and Vank on the Euphrates: Pontic Mining Expansion and Church Silver from Argyroupolis-



The colophon of the Gospel of Sherzu (Greece, private collection of Despina Papandreou)



The title page of an Horologion of 1800 (Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Vienna, no. 70)

One of the Armenian Horoms of Vank Village was *Mahtesi** Nikol Palian (Balian), a man of fortune who was also known for his charitable activities. In 1787, thanks to the financial support of Nikol and his wife, Mahtesi Balasan, the Armenian Apostolic priest of Kamarakap Village of Akn, Hovhannes, copied a splendid manuscript Gospel for the church of Vank with the help of the Armenian Orthodox clergy. The Gospel was enriched with a magnificent gilded binding that had been made by the Greek masters of Argirupolis (Gyumushkhana).¹⁸

Nikol Palian's name has been perpetuated in one of the two inscriptions of the fountain of Vank:

Շնորհիւն Տ(եառ)ն եւ բարեխօսութ(իւն) ս(ուր)բ վկայի՝ Կեօրկիոսի, յայսմ գիղի եղբարքս բազում աշխատութեամբ հնարեցաք զաղբիւրս զայս եւ

Gumushane, in: “Μουσείο Μπενάκη. Θυσίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα,” τ. 1, Κείμενα, Αθήνα [Benaki Museum. In Memory of Laskarina Boura, vol. 1: Texts] (1994), p. 20.

* A Christian believer known to have gone to Jerusalem on pilgrimage.

18 Janikian, p. 101; Ballian, p. 21. For detailed information about this Gospel, see Գ. Ղազարյան, «Ակնի Վանք գյուղի 1787 թ. հայ հոռոմների Ավետարանը» [G. Kazaryan, “The 1787 Gospel of the Armenian Horoms of Vank Village of Akn District”], «Բանբեր Մատենադարանի» [Banber Matenadaran] (Herald of the Matenadaran (Mesrop Mashtots Institute and Museum of Ancient Manuscripts)), no. 24 (2017), pp. 221-232. Read the article at: <https://www.academia.edu/38619503/>

ըստ կարողութեան մերոյ տուաք զկէս խարճն, իսկ զմնացեալ կէս խարճն հանդերձ կամարովն մահտեսի Պալիենց լուսահոգի մ(ա)հ(տես)ի Նիգոլայէն առեալ լրացուցաք, արդ խնդրի հանդիպողացդ եւ ընպողացդ ջրոյս յիշել զհոգիս նորա եւ զծնօղս նորին՝ զՍոփսէսն եւ զմահտեսի Սօֆիայն, եւ զկողակիցն, եւ մահտեսի Պալասանն հանդերձ գիղացի եղբարքս կենդանեօք եւ ննջեցելովք միով Հայր մեղայի եւ ...քր...¹⁹:

Transl.: *By the grace of the Lord and with the mercy of the holy martyr Keorkios [Gevorg or George], the brethren of this village built this fountain with strenuous efforts, covering half of the expenses, as much as we could afford, the remaining costs, also for the arch [of the fountain] being met by the late Mahtesi Nigolai [Nikol] of blessed memory from the Mahtesies' family of the Palians. May those who will come across this*

19 The second inscription of the fountain reads: «Վերստին նորոգեալ կախարս եւ ի մեծուն սմս | նորաշէն զանձարան | ջրոյս այսմիկ մշտալբոխոյ աղբիւրի եւ զանխր եւ աշխատութեամբ ի գիղոյս զտնրվօղ քահանայից եւ եղբարք զարդիւր եւ | ծախիւր մեծ հասարակաց զանձսն Ա(ստուած) բարի | վայելում ստաց... | թվ... 1817, օգոստոսի (?) մին (?)» (transl.: *The arch [of the fountain] and its newly-built treasury of ever-flowing water were again repaired thanks to the efforts of the priests and brethren of the village, the heavy expenses being covered by the [local] community. May they enjoy it with God's mercy... 1 (?) August (?) 1817 (decipherments by Samvel Karapetian).*



A page from an 1831 Armenian Orthodox book of ritual called Mashtots (National Library of Armenia)



St. Gevorg Church of Musheghka Village as turned into a mosque (photo by S. Karapetian, 2008)

fountain and drink its water rememeber about his soul and his parents, Movses and Mahtesi Sofia, and his spouse, Mahtesi Palasan [Balasan], as well as the brethren of this village, both the alive and the dead...

The inhabitants of Vank were distinguished for their noble behaviour and hospitality. It is interesting to note that the lullabies and *Antunies** of Akn, put down by Archimandrite Komitas (1869 to 1935), the renowned Armenian composer, ethnographer and musicologist, were immaculately preserved especially in Vank and Dzorak Villages of the district.²⁰

Dzorak. The village is located north-east of the town of Akn. The local church, which was dedicated to St. Nikoghayos (Nicholas), was a domed structure, but its dome could be seen only from inside, while outwardly, it was hidden beneath the roof, namely it was a pseudo-dome. The church was renovated in 1794, the following inscription commemorating this event:

Ս(ուր)ք եկեղեցիս սր(քո)յն Նիգօլային ... քվի(ն) 1794:

* The name *Antuni* is used with reference to a type of old Armenian folk songs about love, anguish for one's home and homeland, etc. The Antunies of the Armenian Horoms were collected and handed to Archimandrite Komitas by Hovsep Janikian, an expert in Studies of Akn. According to him, these songs were composed and performed by a minstrel called Antun or Anton; hence their name. Note by G. Kazaryan.

20 Akn and Its Inhabitants, pp. 122-123.

Transl.: *The holy church of St. Nigola [Nicholas], in the year 1794.*

The Armenian Apostolic chapel of St. Gevorg stood in the church yard.²¹

Sherzu. The village is situated south of the town of Akn. The local church, dedicated to St. Hovhannes Voskeberan (John Chrysostom), was reconstructed in 1831 under the patronage of Agha Anastas. The following inscription, which is now unfortunately weathered, commemorates this act:

Տնօրնութեամբն Աստուծոյ վերստին նորոգեցաւ Ս. Յովհաննու Ոսկերերանի եկեղեցիս, քաջ ջանասիրութեամբ Ակնայ Վանք գիւղին հանգուցեալ միտ. Ստեֆան ամիրայի որդի Անաստաս աղային յիշատակ ծնողացն իւրոց միտ. ամիրային եւ տիկնոջ իր եւ Մելինին եւ գործ նոցին մշտահաստատ եղիցի. ամէն. ... (1246), յամին Բու. ի 1831 կատար ունի ի մարտ ամսոյն²²:

Transl.: *By the will of God, this church of St. Hovhan Voskeberan [John Chrysostom] was again repaired thanks to the great assistance of Agha Anastas, the son of the late Mahtesi, Amira Stefan from Vank Village of Akn, in memory of his parents, Mahtesi Amira and his wife Meline. May it always be*

21 Ibid., p. 125.

22 Ibid.

standing. Amen. ... (1246), 1831 A.D., completed in March.

The church of St. Hovhan Voskeberan is a cruciform structure of four pillars. As is typical of Orthodox churches, access to the pastophorions is from entrances opening from the altar (this structural peculiarity is due to the Orthodox ritual). The church has quite a large narthex.

A Greek Gospel published in Venice in 1785 was kept in this church. As stated in the colophon of the Gospel, in 1787 it was embellished with a silver binding by a certain Poghos Papazoghli (Papazian): "This holy Gospel is for the church of Sherzu Village of Akn Town that is dedicated to St. Hovhan Voskeberan [John Chrysostom], the blessed Church Father. It was bound in silver thanks to the support of the Christians, the brethren and women, the old and the young who equally donated for this. The Lord will forgive them their sins. Amen. May you, wise priests and kind brothers, those who will see, look at, read and listen to [readings from] this Gospel, say three times, "Lord, have mercy." And this work was initiated and carried out by the worthless sinner Papaz oghli Poghos.... May you say the Lord's Prayer for him and pray that God have mercy upon him. On 1 March, Monday, 1787 A.D. and ... [22] Jemzil ... [1201] of the Turkish calendar [12 March 1787 according to the new calendar]."²³

Musheghka (Musheghkan or Mushaghka). The village is located north-east of the town of Akn. The local Orthodox church of St. Gevorg, which was quite a simple structure, was completely rebuilt from 1892 until 1893. During this reconstruction, a small open-air altar was erected close to the church for the Apostolic Armenians of the village who were not large in number.²⁴

In the late 19th century, the Armenian Horoms of Akn made up about 90 families.²⁵ Their number had decreased due to the large-scale emigration, which was one of the greatest problems facing Western Armenians. Parallel with this emigration, the district also saw the immigration of Greek men who got married to the local Armenian Horoms and took up residence in their villages.²⁶ The mixed Armenian-Greek marriages and some other factors gave rise to certain confusion regarding the ethnic identity of the Armenian Horoms, due to which, during the specified

period, they were considered not as Orthodox Armenians but as Armenian-speaking Greeks.²⁷ Thanks to this misunderstanding, the Armenian Horoms were not subjected to the massacres of 1915, but after the Genocide, the teaching of the Armenian language was forever banned in their schools.²⁸

As part of the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on 24 July 1923, Greece and Turkey agreed to exchange their Muslim and Orthodox populations respectively. The Armenian Horoms of Akn, led by the last priest of Dzorak Village, Grigor Papazian (Papazoghli, 1866 to 1951), were forced into emigration.

In 1924 25 Armenian Horom families from Vank, 35 from Musheghka, and 10 from each of the villages of Sherzu and Dzorak reached Greece. They decided to take up residence in the neighbourhood of Kastaniotisa Village, on the island of Evia, as that place reminded them of their homeland. They founded the village of Nea Egin (New Akn), which later merged into Kastaniotisa.

After the Christians of Turkey had been uprooted, the names of the places where they once lived were Turkified: thus, for instance, Akn changed into Kemalie; Vank into Yakakyoy; Sherzu into Esertepe, and Musheghka into Kojachimen.

In the mid-20th century, St. Gevorg Church of Vank was drowned under the water of the river Euphrates.

St. Gevorg Church of Musheghka turned into a mosque, with a minaret built next to it.

The church of Sherzu is in quite a good state of preservation.

Dzorak has been reduced to a village site where only the four walls of St. Nikoghayos Church are preserved.

²³ In the private collection of Despina Papandreu.

²⁴ Janikian, p. 60.

²⁵ Janikian, pp. 57-60. It is hard to find out the exact number of the Armenian Horoms: as a rule, each of their families consisted of 10 or 12 members, from which we can suppose that 90 families made up a population of about 800 to 900.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 56.

²⁷ G. Kazaryan enlarges on this confusion in the following article: **Գ. Ղազարյան**, «Հայ հոռոմների ազգային ինքնության խնդրի շուրջ», Լևոն Խաչիկյան. Հարյուրամյակ: Նյութեր ակադեմիկոս Լևոն Խաչիկյանի ծննդյան հարյուրամյակին նվիրված հայագիտական միջազգային գիտաժողովի (28-29 հունիսի 2018 թ.) [G. Kazaryan, "The Ethnic Identity of Armenian Horoms," in: Levon Khachikian: Centenary. Proceedings of the International Armenological Conference Dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of Academician Levon Khachikian's Birth (28-30 June, 2018)] (Yerevan, 2019), pp. 180-204. Read the article at: <https://www.academia.edu/40875070/>

²⁸ The district of Akn and its Armenian villages were mostly destroyed during the massacres organised by sultan Hamid in 1896. In September of the same year, the Greek paper Estia wrote the following: "According to the latest information we have got from Constantinople regarding the recent unrest in Asia Minor, 800 Armenian Horoms, namely Orthodox Armenians who lived in the vicinity of Egin [Akn] have been massacred. Also, 1,500 pure [Apostolic] Armenians have been slaughtered" («Եστία» [Estia], 3 Sept. 1896, p. 3). Most probably, the general number of the Armenian Horoms is erroneously mentioned in this article instead of the number of the killed ones.

THE STORY OF AN ARMENIAN

by Ashot Ohanian

For the first time, the full text of this story saw the light in the periodical *Irates* (no. 27, 2015), and its abridged version was published in the book entitled *Armenian Genocide* by V. Svazlian (in Armenian, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 410-411).

How long has passed since that notorious year 1915! A whole century... They say time heals all wounds, but no: time is not able to cure what is incurable. This pain will never be soothed; the history of this tragedy has been written in blood...

Recently I have read the story of an Armenian who survived the Genocide, a story every line of which imbued me with unspeakable pain, although at the same time, I was overwhelmed with admiration: how can one remain human after becoming an eye-witness to, and going through, all the tragedies marking the 20th-century history of the Armenian nation—the Genocide (he lost his parents during the deportation), exile after repatriation, the earthquake of 1988, and as if all this was not enough, the loss of a young son? There is so much kindness, patriotism, devotion, endurance, optimism and love in this person, whose name is Ashot Hovhannes Ohanian.

I was born in Metz Norgyugh Village,¹ Bursa Province, Turkey, in 1905. Our family consisted of seven members, Father, Mother, my three sisters, brother and me. I remember our village very well: the extensive orchards of mulberry- and olive-trees that surrounded it; the everyday life of its inhabitants; the church where the holy mass was celebrated every Sunday; the school, and our house, which stood near a fountain called *Anham* (*Tasteless*). A road extending close to this fountain led to the village of Ortagyugh and then continued as far as Chengiler. These were Armenian villages the inhabitants of which had close ties. Father, who was engaged in silkworm breeding and cultivation of olive-trees (we had an oil mill adjacent to our garden), was a very generous and lavish person: whenever any of our fellow villagers came to ask him for a cup of oil, he would say to Mother: ‘Give him (or her) a full bottle of oil. They’re needy.’ I was a small boy and life in our village seemed so happy and carefree to me... as if nothing could disturb it, but...

¹ Metz Norgyugh (now: Yenikyoy) is located 45 km north-east of the city of Nikomedia—(at present: Bursa), the administrative centre of the historical province of Nikomedia—in a straight line, 62 km south-east of Constantinople.

That sinister year—1914—turned the lives of thousands of Armenian families upside down. The day when the Armenian men were “recruited to the army” on the order of the Turkish Government, that carefree life turned into a nightmare even for us, the young children. That merciless order was followed by another one: deportation...



Ashot Hovhannes Ohanian
(1905 to 2000)

Some time after the men, including my father, had been “recruited,” their families were ordered to hire carriages allegedly to move to a nearby place. Those who had money could afford this, while the others had to set out on foot. We, the children, walked clinging to our mothers’ clothes. For a long time, for days and nights, we were endlessly driven from one town to another, from one village to another. Our first stop was at Konia, but we did not enter the city: hungry and thirsty, we had to spend the night in the mountains, under police watch. There being missionaries in the cities, the Turks tried to keep the death marches away from their eyes. The following morning we continued our way towards Bozgurt.² We kept walking for weeks; my feet were all in blood. The policemen endlessly whipped us, shouting that we should walk faster. Many people were simply unable to endure and died on the way, their lifeless bodies becoming prey for wolves (sometimes such people fell prey to the beasts even before breathing their last). Among these victims were my mother and youngest sister. As for the other members of our family, my eldest sister, who was very beautiful, was taken to America by an American soldier. Later, when she found me, I learnt that they had got married, but that harrowing death march had irreversibly affected her fate, for ever stripping her of the blessing of maternity. As for my middle sister, at first I knew absolutely nothing about her, and it was only some years later that I learnt that she had somehow reached Beirut. Before the deportation, my brother, hearing about the “mobilization,” ran away with several young men from our village. Only God knows how he had a miraculous escape from the Turkish yataghan and reached Greece.

² Bozgurt Village is situated 61 km south-west of Sebastia.

At last we, to be more exact, those very few refugees who had survived that endless march, reached a village called Ide,³ and the plunder and massacre started in broad daylight. Our emaciated caravan stopped in Shirk to have some rest at night. In the morning we learnt that the war had come to an end; so we did not get to Deir ez Zor.

The American Near East Relief Committee gathered the orphans and women who were scattered here and there and took them to Constantinople. The children, including me, were sent into different local Armenian families. For several weeks, I lived in the Boyajians' house together with four other boys of my age. I will never forget Mrs. Boyajian's careful and affectionate attitude: although she had maids, she herself bathed, dressed and fed us. She also taught us to write and read in the Armenian language. In 1918, when the first Republic of Armenia was founded, the Dashnaktsutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) Party bought Kemal Pasha's barracks, located in Chengelkyoy Kuleli, Constantinople, in the Asian part of the Bosphorus, and gathered the Armenian orphans there. As long as the first Republic of Armenia existed, we could freely walk in the streets of Constantinople. Our orphanage even had the Armenian tricolor, a large flag which we kissed every time before entering the classroom. Most of the children who lived in this orphanage, including me, did not know their family names so that they were given new ones based on their fathers' names: thus, for instance, I was Ohan's son, and therefore, my new family name was Ohanian. Later, when I found my relatives in Armenia, I learnt that our true family name was Rubinian.

The orphanage provided us with quite good education; we were even visited by such prominent Armenian intellectuals as Hovhannes Tumanian, Avetis Aharonian, Levon Shant and others. All of them urged us to work hard, saying: "You are the future of Armenia."

After the loss of independence [the fall of the First Republic of Armenia in 1920], the situation drastically changed and the Turks started troubling us. At that time, there were some ten to fifteen Armenian orphanages in Turkey. The merciless Turks would periodically enter these establishments, select the most beautiful children and take them away, declaring that they were Turks. The children cried and shouted that their parents were Armenians and they had Armenian names and surnames, but alas...

Then the Turks started attacking the orphanage. In order to protect us, the members of Dashnaktsutiun brought some soldiers from Andranik's⁴ troops, but this did not prevent the danger. We were afraid of going out of the orphanage. For several times, at nights the

Turkish bandits attempted to set fire to the building: they threw bales of hay, previously soaked with oil, over its walls, while we kept throwing stones at them.

To save the children from this danger, the Americans sent them to several Armenian churches at night. We were hidden in a basement. Then, one day, as the night came on, we were counted one by one and taken aboard the Romanian steamship *Datsia* that transported coal: we were leaving Constantinople for Greece. Before crossing the Strait of Bosphorus, we, the poor orphans who had huddled together on the coals, did not have any idea of the danger threatening us: the Turkish ships were chasing us. It was only many years later that I realized why the captain of our steamship and our American supervisor warmly hugged each other and started crying happily: we had been saved! In the open sea, we came across a ship that could hardly move because of the unusually large number of the passengers on board: they were Armenian refugees on their way to Egypt. In Greece our destination was the island of Sera, where a large orphanage had been built.

We lived in the Greek orphanage for several years until we were told one day that we had to move to Egypt. Some of the orphans, including me, were taken to Alexandria and accommodated in the workshops of the local Armenian craftsmen, in accordance with our craft preferences, for us to master a craft to be able to earn our living in the future.

Working hard day and night, I mastered the craft of auto mechanic, acquired a house and set up my own business, establishing a park of taxis, both for cargo and passenger transportation. Gradually I became well-off. We often saw Sose Mayrik⁵ in Alexandria: seeing that beautiful, tall woman who was always in black, many people would come up and kiss her hand.

In Egypt I carried out the mandatory military service in the English army and afterwards also participated in World War II as a mechanic in an anti-tank column.

In 1940 I got married, and just 18 days after my marriage, during the defence of Mersa Matruh [a port in Egypt], I was heavily wounded. Having had a miraculous escape from death, I realised that the salty water of the sea could stop my haemorrhage; so I somehow crept towards the seaside, my body all sieved with bullets... I was found at sunrise lying without consciousness. Later I learnt that I had been the only survivor of the bombardment of our military unit.⁶ The doctors were sure that I would succumb in less than a week; that is why they made an exception for my wife and gave her permit for free entry into the hospital.

³ Ide Village is located 48.5 km west of Tocat City, Sebastia Province, and 9 km north-east of Zile.

⁴ Andranik Ozanian, commonly known as Andranik (25 February 1865 to 31 August 1927), was an Armenian military commander and statesman, a key figure of the Armenian national liberation movement.

⁵ Sose Mayrik (1868 to 1953), born Sose Vardanian, was an Armenian female *fidayi*, the wife of the famous *hayduk* leader Serob Aghbyur. She was surnamed "Mayrik" (Mother) by Serob's *hayduks* for her bravery and maternal concern for the Armenian youth.

⁶ Most probably, Ashot was heavily wounded somewhere in the middle of the road stretching from Sidi to Barrani and Mersa Matruh on the night of 13 September 1940, when the air force of Italy started bombarding the 11th hussar regiment.

My struggle for life continued for a long time: I went through several serious operations and recovered thanks to the patience and good care of my 16-year-old wife. However, I had for ever lost my left eye and right hand, becoming an invalid of the second group. While I was in hospital, King Farouk [I] visited it to see the injured servicemen.

Later I continued my service at the Suez canal for some time, after which I moved to Cairo with my family.

Two remarkable occurrences took place while we lived in Cairo. Soviet Armenia had sent three large ships of wheat to Egypt as a donation, without any previous arrangement with the Egyptian authorities. The latter did not accept the wheat, declaring that the country did not need it. Truly, despite being an English colony, Egypt was a wealthy country and the people were well-off. The Soviet ships stood at the port for a week, after which they left, having thrown all the wheat into the sea: it was inexpedient to carry it back. The wheat seeds kept floating on the sea waves for days, while the local Armenians, including me, looked at them and said to each other: “How rich our homeland is...!”

The second noteworthy occurrence took place before my repatriation. Learning that I was on my way to my homeland, the Most Reverend Mambre⁷ invited me to his place at night, just on the eve of my departure by ship, and begged me to step back from my decision. He told me about some incidents that had taken place during his visit to [Soviet] Armenia and said: “Ashot, don’t go, please. You’re a disabled person with two small children and a pregnant wife. That is not your place.” He even knelt before me as we were on close terms, but I pushed him back, calling him a traitor of his homeland and a Dashnaksakan [member of Dashnaksutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) Party]... Later I often recalled this incident, apologizing to His Eminence in my mind.

In 1947 we repatriated, imbued with deep nostalgia. *Pobeda (Victory)*, the ship that was taking us to our homeland, also picked up a number of Armenian repatriates from Syria, Lebanon and Bulgaria. What happiness reigned on board the ship! We rejoiced at the idea that we would soon set foot on our native soil and see the biblical mountain, Ararat. Before entering the port of Batum, we were made to throw all the food we had into the sea: you could see everything floating on the waves, apples, oranges, bananas, etc. When we reached the port, we were given tiny pieces of black bread that was as wet as mud: at this point we realized that our prosperous lives had come to an end. We comforted ourselves only with the thought that we were not in Armenia yet. We were almost reaching Yerevan by train when we suddenly saw Ararat from the midst of the white clouds. That was an incredible sight! For a

moment, there was absolute silence which was followed by cries of admiration, tears and rejoicement.

All of us were sure that our future in our homeland was going to be as bright as the snow-white peak of Ararat, but® we were greatly, totally disappointed. To our amazement, instead of being warmly welcomed into our homeland, we were received with enmity. We would often hear: “Why on earth have you come? Did you expect us to roll out the red carpet for you?”

As soon as we arrived in Armenia, we were sent to the vicinity of Artik⁸ and spent the winter in one of the nearby villages, Vardakar. Only wheat grew in that village where the houses were earthen. The only “luxury” was the view of Mount Aragatz; also, there was a small bubbling river flowing next to the village. After the first snow, all the roads became inaccessible; the village was buried in snow and lost all communication with the outside world. We lived in the cattle-house, side by side with the cattle. My daughter was born on the soot of the *tonir*.⁹

In the spring, we returned to Yerevan after overcoming a lot of hardships. The Committee on Repatriation decided to send us to Ghapan,¹⁰ convincing us that it was a major industrial city. However, as soon as we reached that place, it turned out that our family was not on the corresponding list and we had been sent there by mistake. Throughout three days and nights, my family—my wife, two small sons and my newly-born daughter—was exposed to the open air and rain right at the railway station before we realized that we should bribe those people if we wanted to be sent to a proper place of residence. Finally, a plot of land was allocated to us in Vardashen Quarter of Yerevan and we began the construction of our house there. This was a desolate area with no drinking water. There was nothing to eat. Truly, the repatriates were like homeless refugees in their motherland. And although we spent the whole day building our houses, without anything to eat or drink, we did not feel any dissatisfaction. We were happy to live in our homeland, but that happiness did not last long...

On 16 June 1949, I was working on my house when the black car (people called it “the black thief”) of the Committee for State Security was seen in the distance. I was arrested on charge of high treason and sentenced to a term of 10 years. The hearing of this “case” lasted only three minutes. Many years have passed, but I can still feel the blows that the investigator gave me with his shoes. Those were harrowing days... My young wife was left all by herself with our three small children. Now she was the wife of a political prisoner; therefore, nobody wanted to give her any employment. Moreover, almost everybody avoided meeting or just

7 Ashot Ohanian means Archbishop Mambre Sirunian (Karin, 1889 - Cairo, 1966), the vicar and afterwards the prelate of the Armenian diocese of Egypt.

8 A town and urban municipal community in the region of Shirak in Armenia.

9 An underground oven made of clay which is primarily used for bread baking.

10 Ghapan (now: Kapan) is the capital of Syunik Region located in the southeast of Armenia.

greeting her. In order to somehow sustain the children, she had to do a worker's job at a construction site.

What was most regrettable, the charges brought against me were absolutely groundless, even funny. We had arrived from Egypt, which was an English colony, and naturally, we knew English (besides, I also had command of several other languages such as Armenian, Greek, Turkish, Arabic and French); we had attended an Armenian club in Cairo, where we had had chats and had played football. But we did not know that we had "committed a crime" while doing so...

While in prison, I became witness to harrowing scenes. I am still horrified to recall the slaughter that was perpetrated in the gaol of Yerevan by the merciless headsmen, Atarbekian, Nurijanian and Khasab Hasan. Seventy-three patriotic intellectuals—including three women and mostly the participants of the heroic battles of Sardarapat¹¹—were hacked to death with axes. Among them was also Hamazasp Srvandzian, the commander of the Third Volunteer Regiment.

In this notorious prison, I also met Aram Chavush. That strong, stout man had languished away and become feeble. I found him lying helpless in a car, hugged him and took him out, shouting with indignation: "You have no mercy! This man is a hero!" "What a hero! He is a Dashnak,¹² a thief, a bandit!" I heard in answer. Aram Chavush was moved to the prison of Dilijan [to the north-east of the country] and some time later, we followed him. Then he fell ill, and although he would often repeat that he was not going to die, once we woke up in the morning to find him dead, miserably cowering beneath the cover. We buried him under an apple-tree.

There were some rumours that we were going to be released, but on the contrary, in 1950 we were exiled from Armenia to Baku [Azerbaijan]. The Turkish gaol keeper was amazed to see us in that miserable condition: "How could an Armenian treat an Armenian prisoner in this way? These people are almost dead!" He ordered the cook to rehabilitate us within 20 to 25 days. Then we were taken to Rostov [Russia]. Then... Then my odyssey started from one prison to another. I was moved to Nizhni Tagil [Russia] and afterwards to two other gaols. I changed prisons every five or six months. It was only thanks to God's mercy that during those harsh years, I did not become prey to wild beasts in the forests and did not fall victim to the starvation and epidemics reigning in the prisons. Generally speaking, the criminals were treated better in prisons than the political prisoners. In the gaols of Siberia, I met numerous

Armenian and foreign intellectuals, scientists and high-ranking servicemen who had served their homeland with devotion and were now "enjoying" the "reward."

In the prison of Vladimir City [Russia], I shared an abominable cell with Garegin Nzhdeh¹³ for three days. We were not alone in that cell: we were with three criminals from Yerevan who endlessly played cards for money. Nzhdeh was already seriously ill: with his legs swollen, he was lying on the wooden bed of the second tier. He gave his piece of black bread to one of the prisoners so as the latter would help him satisfy his natural needs. Once, being no longer able to tolerate the noise the quarrelling criminals made while playing cards, he shouted, "Rascals! Should I see my people in this degraded state?"

In 1955 my case was discontinued for lack of any facts or evidence; I was found not guilty and was released from prison.

I returned to my homeland. My wife and children were unspeakably happy to welcome me back home, but it took me a long time to forget the nightmares of the exile and imprisonment and rehabilitate my mental health. The investigator of the Committee for State Security had burnt all the documents relating to my family and me, being sure that I would not survive in their prisons.

The years went by and my children grew up. My elder son Aram became one of the best mountain climbers of Armenia. In 1983 he discovered a pass in the Pamir Mountains and had to make strenuous efforts before those in Moscow permitted him to give it the name he desired, Sasun.¹⁴ Unfortunately, later he lost his life in Pamir.

In December 1988 I went to Kirovakan [now: Vanadzor in Lori Region] to see my friend who had arrived from Egypt. While there, I became eye-witness to another great tragedy of my nation, the harrowing earthquake.¹⁵

In 1996 my wife, my faithful companion during all the happy and sad moments of my life, departed this world.

Now... I am still alive. I have no intention to leave Armenia. Did I go through all that imprisonment and exile to abandon my country now? Of course, no.

I think we can learn a lot from the life experience of this 95-year-old man, who is such a great patriot.

Text prepared by Lyusia Arakelian

11 These battles took place near Sardarapat, Armenia from 21 to 29 May 1918, between the regular Armenian military units and militia on one side and the Ottoman army that had invaded Eastern Armenia on the other. As Sardarapat is approximately 40 km west of the capital of Yerevan, the battle not only halted the Ottoman advance into the rest of Armenia, but also prevented the complete destruction of the Armenian nation.

12 Member of Hay Heghapokhakan Dashnaktsutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) Party.

13 Garegin Ter-Harutiunian, better known as Garegin Nzhdeh (1 January 1886 to 21 December 1955), was an Armenian statesman and military strategist. As a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party, he was involved in national liberation struggle and revolutionary activities during the First Balkan War and World War I. Garegin Nzhdeh was one of the key political and military leaders of the First Republic of Armenia (1918 to 1921), and is widely admired as a charismatic national hero by Armenians.

14 One of the districts of Western Armenia.

15 The author means the tragic earthquake of Spitak, which struck Armenia, especially the north of the country on 7 December 1988.

A NEW REVELATION REGARDING THE ARTISTIC DECORATION OF THE DOME OF THE CHURCH OF SOURB AMENAPRKICH (HOLY ALL-SAVIOUR) MONASTERY OF NEW JUGHA

by Ani Babayan

The Armenians of Old Jugha [a village in the region of Nakhijevan] who were deported by Shah Abas I in 1604 founded the quarter of New Jugha in a suburb of Isfahan and built a simple monastery there named Sourb Amenaprkich (Holy Saviour) in memory of a monastery of the same name that had been left behind in their birthplace.¹

Almost half a century later, in the 1650s, the Prelate of New Jugha, David I,² initiated the complete reconstruction of the monastery and the Prelate's residence that was within the monastic complex. He pulled down the "uncomfortable and plain" church and founded a new one.³ These reconstruction activities started in 1655 and were completed in 1664, in accordance with the aesthetic perceptions of those times.

The period mentioned above covers the years of the reign of Shah Abas II from the Safavid dynasty of Persia. Cultural life thrived in Isfahan. The Armenian merchants of New Jugha who played an important role in the development of the economic and foreign relations of the country also used their financial means for showing their aesthetic taste in their new place of residence. One of them, for instance, Khoja [*merchant*] Avetik, gave money for the painting of frescoes in the church of Sourb Amenaprkich Monastery in memory of his dear ones and his soul.⁴

This church, which is also called Church of St. Joseph of Arimathea as the saint's right hand is kept there, is inwardly entirely embellished with frescoes, motifs and tiles.⁵ The frescoes show biblical scenes, the sacraments of the Armenian Church, the Heavenly Kingdom and the sufferings of St. Gregory the Enlightener.

The artistic decoration of the entire church is implemented in different styles and techniques although at first sight it looks quite harmonious.

The frescoes are painted on the plaster layer with the application of dyes that are soluble in both oil and water. There are also oil paintings on canvas which have been attached onto the walls in accordance with the general background.

In 2008, thanks to Isfahan Centre for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage, the interior decoration of the main dome of the church was repaired for the first time, and in the course of this work, the year of the embellishment of the dome with frescoes and the names of the painters were revealed.⁶

The main dome of the church, which is two-layer (like the domes of Persian mosques), is 19 metres high. Inwardly, it is entirely enriched with gilded frescoes with white doves interspersed in the pattern against a sky-blue background. The tambour has eight windows; the walls separating them are painted with pictures from the Book of Genesis. Below the windows, some figures are depicted within eight circular frames: as is traditionally considered, one of them shows the aforementioned Prelate, David I.

All the frescoes decorating the dome were painted with the application of the technique of *pastiglia*, which was widely used during the Safavid period. Every motif was depicted in red clay, which was also called *gel armani* or Armenian clay, then it was repeated in layers until it finally came jutting out of the background. Once this desirable effect was achieved, the motif was covered

1 Տէր Զովհանէան Զ., Պատմութիւն Նոր Ջուղայի, հ. Բ [H. Ter-Hovhanean, History of New Jugha, vol. 2] (New Jugha, 2008), p. 408.

2 After the death of his teacher Khachatur Kesaratsi (1620 to 1646), David I became head of the trustees of the monastery, being afterwards appointed as prior (1652 to 1683).

3 Ter-Hovhanean, pp. 408-409.

4 "Khoja [merchant] Avetik, who embellished the holy church in memory of his soul and his dead relatives, died on 5 February 1118 (1669)" (*ibid.*, p. 411).

5 The church was covered with tiles later, in 1716. In 1857, when the prior of the monastery was Bishop Tadevos, the gavit (narthex) was repaired for the first time and "the church frescoes were cleaned."

6 The Armenian churches of New Jugha saw their first professional renovation in the 1970s thanks to the Italian company Izmeo, but this work stopped because of the Iranian revolution. In 2001 Isfahan Centre for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage and the Armenian Eparchial Council of Isfahan entered into collaboration, within which a plan was worked out for the repairs of Sourb Amenaprkich Monastery. It was decided to start the work with the renovation of the damaged frescoes decorating the monastic gavit (narthex). In the meantime, the Eparchial Council also committed itself to cleaning the murals of the church. The Armenian churches of Iran were (and are) considered an important part of the cultural heritage of the country; that is why the churches of Isfahan were included in the list of those historical monuments of the province which needed repairs. Financial means were allocated for the implementation of this work, thanks to which, the central dome of Sourb Amenaprkich Monastery as well as the churches of Sourb Betghehem (Holy Bethlehem) and St. Stepanos (Stephen) underwent professional restoration.



The frescoes adorning the concha of the church of Sourb Amenaprkich (Holy Saviour) Monastery of New Jugha (photo by Yaser Hamzavi, 2008)



The figure traditionally believed to depict David I, one of the priors of the monastery (photo by Yaser Hamzavi, 2008)

with gilded paper. This was time-consuming work requiring a lot of patience. The decorative patterns were accentuated with the help of a brush, and as a final action, the background was painted: the general colour was black, but sky-blue was more often used.

The repairs of the dome revealed the following inscriptions which marked a true discovery:

S(t)ր Յովանէտու՛ն ծառայ Յ(իս)ս Զ(ր)իստու(հ):

Transl.: *Priest Hovanes, servant of Jesus Christ.*



Partial view of the frescoes of the concha (photo by Yaser Hamzavi, 2008)



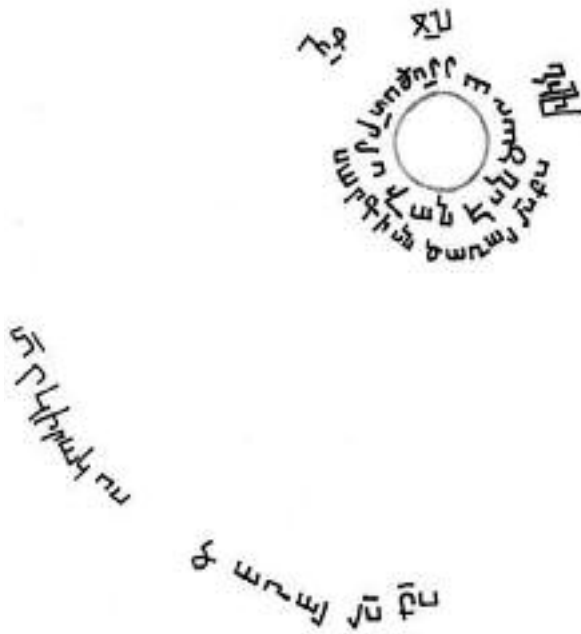
Partial views of the inscriptions of the concha (photos by Yaser Hamzavi, 2008)

Սարքիսի ծառայ Յ(իսուս)ու Բ(րիստոս)ու(ի), բվիմ
Ռ-ՃԺԶ (1667):

Transl.: Sarkis, servant of Jesus Christ, in the year
1116 (1667).

Տ(է)ր Կիրակոսի ծառայ Յ(իսուս)ու Բ(րիստոս)ու(ի):

Transl.: Priest Kirakos, servant of Jesus Christ.



A tracing of the inscriptions of the concha (by Ani Babayan)

These inscriptions mostly go around the edges of the central part of the keystone, from which the chain of the chandelier hangs. Similarly, the technique of pastiglia has been used here.

A little far from these inscriptions, one more line can be seen against the golden background, but here the letters are not accentuated by brush.

The inscriptions reveal the names of three painters two of whom, Hovhannes and Kirakos, were clergymen, while Sargis (Sarkis) was a secular person. Also, the inscriptions report the year of the completion of the dome frescoes, 1667.

As the technique described above required several stages of work, it seems probable that the preliminary

phase was completed before the blessing of the church in 1664.

According to some other records, the following painters worked in the church of Sourb Amenaprkich Monastery: Stepanos and Simon, who were clergymen, Kirakos (undated) and Tatos (1784).

Khachatur Jughayetsi⁷ and the periodical *Azgaser* published in Madras mention Archimandrite Hovhannes Jughayetsi of blessed memory who “embellished the church of [Sourb] Amenaprkich Monastery with splendid motifs.”⁸

Arakel Davrizhetsi⁹ mentions the illustrator Minas and Hakobjan as the best painters of the period in question, but the available records do not contain any reference to find out if they also worked for the decoration of Sourb Amenaprkich Monastery or not.

The skilful painters who had good knowledge of traditional Armenian painting and were also acquainted with Persian art created an independent style in the art of fresco painting which reflected the peculiar national spirit of those times.

To summarise, let us point out that in the mid-17th century, thanks to the favourable conditions, New Jugha grew into a centre where the old traditions of fresco painting continued and this art flourished. The artistic decoration of the church of Sourb Amenaprkich Monastery is a synthesis of the arts of those times: also, it mirrors the scope of the knowledge and artistic perceptions of the contemporary clergymen, who were generally the so-called customers of the painters, the merchants, the common people and the workers of art. This type of art cannot be called European, Iranian or Armenian: the best designation is *the school of New Jugha*. In Armenian art, it reflects the first step of shifting from the medieval period into a new one, and therefore, its significance should be properly highlighted. The specimens of this art should be preserved, restored and studied as something unique in the history of Armenian, Iranian and, why not, also world painting of the 17th century.¹⁰

7 Խաչատուր արեղայի Ջուղայեցու Պատմութիւն Պարսից [History of Persians by Hieromonk Khachatur Jughayetsi] (Vagharshapat, 1905), p. 156.

8 «Ազգասէր» [*Azgaser*], no. 12 (1845), p. 96.

9 Առաքել Դավրիժեցի, Պատմութիւն [Arakel Davrizhetsi, History] (Yerevan, 1988), p. 321.

10 The author of the photos illustrating this article is Yaser Hamzavi, a restorer of monuments who was the contractor of Isfahan Centre for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage during the restoration of the ornamentation of the dome of the church of Sourb Amenaprkich (Holy Saviour) Monastery. Dr. Hesam Aslani was the chief responsible for the work.

ZAMOSC AND THE ARMENIANS

by Sahak Vardanian

Location. Zamosc (Zamoscia) City is situated in the south-east of Poland, in the region (voivodeship) of Lublin (geographical coordinates: 50°43'14 E, 23°15'31 N), 247 km of Warsaw, the capital of the country, and about 90 km of Lublin, the regional capital. Zamosc, which lies at an altitude of 212 metres, covers an area of about 30.34 sq. km.¹

History. Zamosc was founded in 1580 by the Lord Chancellor of the Crown and Hetman (head of the army of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) Jan Zamoyski (1542 to 1605). Until 1820 it belonged to the Zamoyski noble family, being the centre of Zamosc Ordinatsia. In 1772, following the first partition of Rzeczpospolita (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), Zamosc became part of the Austrian Empire. Later, in 1809, Napoleon Bonaparte incorporated it into the Duchy of Warsaw. From 1815 onwards, for more than a century, Zamosc was within the borders of the Russian Empire. Since 1918 it has been part of the Republic of Poland.²

Construction Activities. “It is a strong fortress town built by Jan Zamoyski, the Lord Chancellor of the Poles. It is also a bishop’s residence, its main church being beautifully built and boasting large dimensions. It also has a university.”³

Built according to the plan of the Italian architect Bernardo Morando (1540 to 1600), Zamosc is a unique example of a Renaissance town in Eastern Europe. Thanks to its ideal plan and the preservation of old buildings, the historical centre of Zamosc was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1992 (no. 564). The architectural peculiarities of the city have earned it names like North Padua, Pearl of Renaissance and City of Arcades.⁴

Fortifications. The brick walls of the city, which were erected between 1579 and 1618, were about 12 metres high, around 2.4 km long and 2.5 metres thick. Outwardly, they were surrounded by a ditch that was about 7 metres deep. Initially, the city had three gates, the Lublin (northern) Gate, the Lviv (south-eastern) Gate and the Szczebrzeszyn (Shebzhechin, south-west-

ern) Gate; in the 19th century, two more were added, the New Lviv and New Lublin Gates. Zamosc was a strongly fortified impregnable city: in 1648 it repelled the attack of the united Cossack-Tatar army led by Bogdan Khmelnitski, and in 1656 it successfully resisted the siege of the troops of the Swedish king Charles X Gustav. In the ‘20s of the 19th century, the Russian authorities carried out large-scale activities to further strengthen the fortress, but despite this, it had already lost its significance by the second half of the same century. In 1866, on the order of the Russian emperor Alexandre II, the fortress walls were blown up. At present the five gates of the city, the sixth and seventh towers and the wall that connects them are well preserved.⁵

Squares. Rynek Wielki (translated as Great Market) Square is the heart of the historical city. Thanks to its square plan (dimensions: 100 x 100 metres) and arcaded houses that are regularly built around it, this square is one of the most beautiful ones in Eastern Europe. To the north and south, Rynek Solni (Market of Salt) and Rynek Vodni (Market of Water) are located.

Secular Buildings. Special mention should be made of the Zamoyski Residence, Ratusz (Rathaus, the Town Hall) and the Academy.

The Zamoyski Residence is situated in the west of the historical city. It was built by Jan Zamoyski from 1579 until 1586 according to the project of the architect B. Morando. Originally, it was a two-floor rectangular building with a square tower in the centre and stairs leading to the second floor on both sides. The residence was enclosed within inner walls. In the course of centuries, it underwent some modifications: the third floor was added, and some outhouses, either one- or two-storey, were erected to the north and south, as a result of which, its modern plan is Π-shaped.

In 1821 the residence was sold to the state and started serving as a military hospital in 1831, due to which, it gradually lost its former splendour. Since 1918 it has housed the regional and municipal courts.⁶

The monument to the founder of the residence, Jan Zamoyski (2005, sculptor: Marian Konechni), rises in front of the edifice.

1 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zamość>

2 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historia_Zamościa

3 Ագոնց Ս., Աշխարհագրութիւն չորից մասանց աշխարհի, մասն երկրորդ. Երկրաչա, հ. Բ [S. Agonts, Geography of the Four Parts of the World, part 2: Europe, vol. 2] (Venice, 1802), p. 138.

4 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zamość>

5 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Twierdza_Zamość

6 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pałac_Zamoyskich_w_Zamościu



The plan of Zamosc City based on Jan Brown's illustrated map (1617) and a general view of the city in a painting by Y. F. Bruder (1820)



Partial views of the city walls; the Old Lublin and Old Lviv Gates; Rynek Wielki Square in the north of which, Ratusz is located (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)

Ratusz (Town Hall) is located in the north of Rynek Wielki Square. The old building, which dated from 1591, was completely reconstructed in the mid-17th century by the architects Jan Jaroszewicz and Jan Wolff. In the second half of the 18th century, a series of broad steps were built in its southern part, and in the

north, a two-floor II-shaped outbuilding was added, thus creating a courtyard.

In the second half of the 19th century, *Ratusz* started serving as a municipal prison. During the 20th century, it repeatedly underwent repairs to re-gain its original Baroque style of the 17th century. At present the

edifice is home to the Town Hall, Municipal Police and Tourist Information Centre.⁷

The main building is three-storey with a beautiful attic and arches typical of the Baroque style. The portal is on the second floor, from which the six-storey Clock Tower, 52 metres high, rises, decorated with a rotunda. There are smaller rotundas on the four corners of the building.

The *academy* is located in the north-west of the Old Town, being next to Rynek Solni Square in the east. The academy was founded in 1594 thanks to the efforts of Jan Zamoyski and Shimon Shimonovich (1558 to 1629), an outstanding Armenian scholar and poet. The third scientific establishment in Poland after the universities of Kraków (1364) and Wilnews (1578), it earned Zamosc great fame.⁸

In 1784 the Austrian authorities closed the academy and turned it into an imperial lyceum; under the Russian rule, it served as barracks (1813 to 1866). At present the academy building is home to Jan Zamoyski lyceum and a college after Sh. Shimonovich.⁹

Originally, the building plan was L-shaped. In 1627 it was greatly damaged by a fire, after which, between 1639 and 1648, it was reconstructed in the Baroque style and got its present-day rectangular plan. It is a two-floor structure that used to have open porticoes, the arches overlooking its courtyard.

The reconstruction carried out in the 18th and 19th centuries turned the magnificent edifice into a simple building: it was stripped of many elements of decoration such as the attic, ornamented cornices and the decorative frames of the doors and windows.

Religious Buildings. From a historical and architectural standpoint, particularly noteworthy are the Catholic cathedral of the Holy Resurrection and St. Thomas, the Franciscan church of the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin, the Greek church of St. Nicholas and the synagogue.

The *Catholic cathedral of the Holy Resurrection and St. Thomas* stands in the south-west of Zamosc, south-east of the Zamoyski Residence. Since 1992 it has been the seat of the Prelate of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Zamosc-Lubaczow.

The construction of the cathedral started in the late 16th century by Jan Zamoyski (according to the plan of B. Morando), but it was accomplished and blessed only in 1637, in the days of his son, Tomasz Zamoyski.¹⁰ In the 1820s, the cathedral was entirely reconstructed, losing the original features of its inner and outer ornamentation, which were partly restored in 2010.

The cathedral is a three-nave basilica with four pairs of pylons and an eastern apse which is accentuated outwardly (on the whole, there are nine apses). The structure is 30 metres wide, 45 metres long and 20 metres high. The central nave is considerably higher than the aisles, and there is a small rotunda on the roof. The main apse, which is horseshoe-shaped, is flanked by vestries; the southern one is the crypt of the Zamoyski family. The cathedral has three entrances opening from its northern, southern and western facades. In the north, it has a four-floor quadrangular bell tower which was built between 1760 and 1775. In the south stands the two-floor residence of the infulates (Catholic clergymen entitled, for their particularly earnest service, to wear a special mitre called *infula* during divine service), which is especially remarkable for its portal made in the Baroque style. Inside the cathedral, there are numerous epitaphs, including that of Shimon Shimonovich, who was of Armenian origin, as already stated above.

The *Franciscan church of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary* is situated in the south-east of the Old Town. It was built between 1637 and 1662 by the architect Jan Yaroshevich. In the 19th century, the Russian authorities used the building as an arms depot: the pediments that were in the Baroque style were destroyed, and the central nave was essentially lowered. Moreover, the north-eastern bell tower and the monastic building were levelled to the ground.¹¹

In the 20th century, the church building was home to a cinema, then to a theatre, a museum and an art school. It was only in 1994 that it was returned to the Catholic Franciscan congregation.¹²

This largest church in Zamosc (29 metres wide and 56 metres long) is a three-nave basilica, with the central nave and transept being considerably higher than the aisles. The transept ends in projections that outwardly jut out of the main building. The church used to have splendid outer decoration from which only the pilasters have been preserved.

The *Greek church of St. Nicholas*, which stands in the south-east of the Old Town, was built from 1618 until 1631 in the site of a wooden church. When Zamosc no longer had a Greek community, it shifted into the possession of the Orthodox Rusyns; then it passed to the congregation of St. Basil, and finally, to the Greek Catholics. In 1720 a Greek Catholic ecclesiastical council was held in Zamosc. Between 1809 and 1918, during the Russian domination, the church of St. Nicholas belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church. Since the proclamation of Poland's independence, it has been functioning for Catholics.¹³

7 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ratusz_w_Zamościu

8 A. Kędzióra, Encyklopedia Miasta Zamościa [Encyclopedia of the City of Zamosc], <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>

9 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akademia_Zamojska

10 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Katedra_Zmartwychwstania_Pańskiego_i_ów_Tomasza_Apostoła_w_Zamościu

11 <http://www.zamosc.franciszkanie.pl>

12 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kościół_Zwiastowania_Najświętszej_Maryi_Panny_w_Zamościu

13 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kościół_św._Mikołaja_w_Zamościu



Outer and inner views of the cathedral of the Holy Resurrection and St. Thomas the Apostle; the Franciscan church of the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin; the synagogue and the Greek church of St. Nicholas

The church is a uni-nave basilica with a pentahedral apse which is accentuated outwardly. The sacristies flanking the altar are considerably lower than the main building. In the west, the church has an adjacent three-floor bell tower and a narthex that is rectangular in plan. Both the church and the bell tower are surmounted by beautiful rotundas each of which has a spire in the Baroque style.

The *synagogue* is located in the north of the Old Town, east of Rynek Solni Square. It was constructed from 1610 until 1618 by some Sephardi Jews who were assimilated into the Ashkenazi Jews in the second half of the same century. Interestingly enough, in the early 20th century, the latter already constituted about 43 % (around 12,500 people) of the city population.¹⁴

Before the German occupation of Zamosc, the synagogue was the main religious centre of the local Jewish community. From 1958 until 2005, the building housed a municipal library.¹⁵ At present it again belongs to the Jews: it has been completely repaired to regain its former look and is home to a Jewish cultural centre and a museum.

The main building, which is square in plan, is inwardly embellished with floral patterns and rosettes. Outwardly, it is enriched with an attic, pilasters and cornices in the Baroque style. In the second half of the 17th century, entrance halls were added to the northern and southern parts of the structure; they are considerably lower than the main building.

The Armenians in Zamosc. The Armenians were invited to Zamosc by Jan Zamoyski. The decree he signed in the city of Belzi on 4 April 1585 particularly stated: “May it be known to those present, to all of them and to each of them, that some Armenians, and particularly, the Most Reverend Kshishtof Calouste, the clergyman who officiated at that ceremony, and the honourable Murad Yakubovich came to my city from the Turkish lands and expressed willingness to carry out their trade and exercise their crafts here. Wishing that the city I have founded should flourish rapidly thanks to trade, I willingly decided that they and their descendants should be granted all the rights and liberties that have been conferred on this city by the consent of His Royal Majesty and me.”¹⁶

In the same decree, Jan Zamoyski also committed himself to protecting the Armenians against all kinds of injustice and outrages.

Zamosc received Armenians from the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Crimea, as well as Lviv, Yazlovets, Kamenets-Podolsk and other cities of Rzeczpospolita.

In his work entitled *Kamenits*, Gh. Alishan writes that the first Armenians arrived in Zamosc in 1586: “In 1035 [1586] a certain great prince who was the king’s Chancellor ... founded a city and named it Zamosc after himself as he was called Zamoyski. And he urged the Armenians to take up residence in that city, which was within 15 miles of Lviv. And a number of Armenians who had been deported from their homeland accepted the invitation and went there. The prince did a great favour for them as he granted liberty to all of them and provided them with a place of residence. He also built a nice church for the Armenians so that they would live there from generation to generation. This much about this philanthropic person. May he be ever glorified. Amen.”¹⁷

Later Jan Zamoyski also issued special decrees inviting Sephardic Jews (1588) and Greeks (1589) to Zamosc. In this way, the city gradually grew into a major commercial centre which was inhabited not only by the aforementioned nations but also by Germans, Rusyns, Scots, Italians, Spaniards, etc.

In 1591 Zamosc had 44 houses of foreigners, including 19 Armenian ones.¹⁸ In 1669 the number of the Armenian houses had grown to 29.¹⁹

During the first half of the 17th century, the Armenians of Zamosc amounted to about 300.²⁰ Actually, this was the most prosperous period in the history of the local Armenian community; however, starting from the second half of the same century, their number gradually decreased: in 1678 Zamosc had only 90 Armenian inhabitants among its population of 1,257,²¹ while in 1738 the Armenians hardly totaled 10.

The Armenians of Zamosc were mostly engaged in commerce and crafts.

The founder of the city granted a number of privileges to the Armenians and exempted them from taxes for a period of 20 years.²² The monopoly of the trade in

14 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zamość>

15 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Synagoga_w_Zamościu

16 **P. Kondraciuk**, Sztuka ormiańska w Zamościu, “Ars Armeniaca: Sztuka ormiańska ze zbiorów polskich i ukraińskich, Zamość” [“Armenian Art in Zamosc,” in: *Ars Armeniaca: Armenian Art from the Polish and Ukrainian Collections*] (Zamosc, 2010), p. 11.

17 **Աղիշան Ղ.**, Կամենից. տարեգիրք հայոց Լեհաստանի եւ Ռումինիոյ [Gh. Alishan, *Kamenits: Yearbook of the Armenians of Poland and Romania*] (Venice - St. Lazarus Island, 1896), pp. 54-55.

18 **B. Szyszka**, Zamojscy Ormianie, “Zamojski Kwartalnik Kulturowy” [“The Armenians of Zamosc,” in: *Zamosc Cultural Quarterly*], no. 1 (1998), p. 60.

19 **M. Zakrzewska-Dubasowa**, Organizacja gminy ormiańskiej w Zamościu w XVI-XVII wieku, “Rocznik Lubelski”, t. 3 [“The Organization of the Armenian Community in Zamosc in the 16th to 17th Centuries,” *Yearbook of Lublin*, vol. 3] (1960), p. 67.

20 **Szyszka**, “The Armenians of Zamosc,” p. 60.

21 **Zakrzewska-Dubasowa**, “The Organization of the Armenian Community in Zamosc,” p. 80.

22 **S. Barącz**, Rys dziejów ormiańskich [An Outline of Armenian History] (Tarnopol, 1869), p. 177.

oriental rugs, carpets as well as sheepskin and goatskin leather (Morocco leather) belonged to Murad Yakubovich. The commerce with Moldova, the Ottoman Empire and Persia was in the hands of the Armenian merchants, but indeed, their activities were not confined to only these countries and extended up to Portugal to the west and China to the east. From the East, the Armenian tradesmen imported rugs and carpets, jewellery and leatherware, expensive textiles, belts, metallic weapons, precious stones, spices, etc.

In 1651 the tribute the Armenian merchants paid to Zamosc amounted to 1,700 in Polish gold coins—the amount that the Germans and Scots paid together—while the Poles and Greeks together paid only 1,000 in gold coins.²³

In 1669 the Armenians who made up 29 houses paid about 20 % of the municipal taxes.²⁴ The wealthiest Armenian merchant of the place, Abraham Kirkorovich, bequeathed a property that cost 900,000 in Polish gold coins.²⁵

The Armenians played a great role in the development of crafts in Zamosc. In a 1589 decree, Jan Zamoyski allowed them to produce and sell wine, honey, vodka and beer.²⁶ In the late 16th century, Murad Yakubovich started the production of oriental carpets in the city, while Eliash Kistesterovich embarked on beer production. It is written in the latter's autobiography that in Zamosc he married Yeva, the daughter of Zakhariash Brovari, who was a member of the Council of Elders of the local Armenian community.²⁷ As translated from Polish, *brovar* (browar) means a *brewery*, which leads us to the conclusion that Zakhariash was a leading brewer in Zamosc. It is interesting to note that in 1766 the priest of Zamosc, Kayetan Kossa, sold the brewery belonging to the Armenian church at 720 in Polish gold coins.²⁸

Also reputable were the Armenian goldsmiths of Zamosc. In the early 17th century, jewellery making was in the hands of three Armenians, Yakub, Stanislav and Kshishtof.²⁹ At the end of the same century, the Armenian goldsmith Yatulovich was mentioned.³⁰

Thanks to their knowledge of oriental languages, the Armenians were also known as skilfull translators and worked as diplomats for the Polish authorities. Jan Ivashkevich, a professor at the academy of Zamosc, taught Turkish to the prince of the city, Tomasz Zamoyski.³¹ Mikolai Hajjiyevovich, Bogdan Varteresovich and Kasper Sinanovich-Shimanski held negotiations with the Tatars and Kalmiks of the Crimea on behalf of the Polish authorities.³² For the services rendered to the state, in 1654 Mikolai Hajjiyevovich, who was a voivode (community leader), was granted a noble title by the Seim.³³ In order to confer the same title on Kasper Sinanovich-Shimanski, the Grand Vizier of the Crimea, Sefer Ghazi Agha, applied to the Polish king with a written petition.³⁴

Below follow the names of a number of influential Armenian families of Zamosc: the Kirkorovich, Kshishtofovich, Arevovich, Baleyovich, Arakelovich, Tatulovich, Bartoshevich, Altunovich, Ovanishovich, Tobiashovich, Sakhvelovich, Yakubovich, Derbedrosovich, Ivashkevich, Kistesterovich, Tumanovich, Farukhovich, Torosevich, Yatulovich, Grehorovich, Buniatovich, Seferovich, Sinanovich, Skinderovich, Asvadurovich, Serhiovich, Megerdichovich, Dolvatovich, Hetumovich, Paziunovich, etc.

The gradual decrease in the number of the Armenians of Zamosc was first of all due to assimilation, which assumed a larger scale in the second half of the 17th century, when many of them became followers of the Armenian Catholic Church. In the 18th century, the Armenian elite of Zamosc gradually adhered to the Latin Catholic Church. Some of the converts even became high-ranking clergymen such as Yakub Arakelovich and Kayetan Derbedrosovich, whose senior family members had been leaders of the Armenian community and members of its Council of Elders. Some reputable families, such as the Hajjiyevovich, Arakelovich and Ovanishovich, joined the ranks of the Polish nobility,³⁵ gradually getting estranged from their Armenian roots.

From an economic standpoint, the Armenians of Zamosc especially suffered in the 18th century, when the local Jewish community grew stronger and the Jewish merchants ousted their Armenian counterparts from trade.

23 **Zakrzewska-Dubasowa**, "The Organization of the Armenian Community in Zamosc," p. 67.

24 *Ibid.*

25 **Закревска-Дубасова М.**, Из истории армянской общины в Замостье (Ormianie w dawnej Polsce) [M. **Zakrzewska-Dubasowa**, "From the History of the Armenian Community of Zamosc" (Armenians in Old Poland)], "АНИВ" [Aniv], no. 6 (33) (2010), p. 63.

26 **К. Sochaniewicz**, Trybunał Zamojski [Zamosc Tribunal] (Zamosc, 1929), p. 24.

27 **Zakrzewska-Dubasowa**, "From the History of the Armenian Community of Zamosc," Aniv, no. 34, pp. 13-14.

28 **В. Janusz**, "Mons Pius" Ormian lwowskich [Mons Pius, of Armenians of Lviv] (Lviv, 1928), p. 36.

29 **Kondraciuk**, "Armenian Art in Zamosc," pp. 13-14.

30 **Zakrzewska-Dubasowa**, "From the History of the Armenian Community of Zamosc," Aniv, no. 34, p. 8.

31 **Szyszk**, "The Armenians of Zamosc," p. 62.

32 **К. Wróbel-Lipowa**, Działalność dyplomatyczna Ormian polskich w XVI-XVII w., Studia z dziejów kontaktów polsko-ormiańskich [The Diplomatic Activities of Polish Armenians in the 16th to 17th Centuries. Studies on the History of Polish-Armenian Relations] (Lublin, 1983), p. 112.

33 **L. Korwin**, Ormiańskie rody szlacheckie [Armenian Noble Families] (Kraków, 1934), p. 85.

34 **Дашкевич Я.**, Вірмени в Україні: дорогами тисячоліть. [Yar. **Dashkevich**, Armenians in Ukraine: through the Routes of Millennia] (Lviv, 2012), p. 247.

35 **Korwin**, pp. 85, 61, 139.

In 1760 the eighth ordynat of Zamosc, Clemens Zamoyski, attempted to restore the Armenian community: he issued a decree stating that the Armenians who had a church and a clergyman in the city would in the future enjoy the same rights and privileges granted to them by its founder; moreover, these rights and privileges were going to remain unchanged for any new Armenian immigrants. Clemens Zamoyski also promised to exempt the Armenians from all kinds of taxes for a period of two years, granting them a priority right to occupy places in the squares and purchase houses from the Jews. Also, the Jewish tradesmen who had a predominant position in Zamosc would be banned from dealing in those goods which would be sold by the Armenians.³⁶

However, Clemens Zamoyski's efforts were fruitless; by the late 18th century, the Armenians of Zamosc had almost entirely got assimilated.

According to Sadok Baronch, a well-known researcher into the history of the Polish Armenian community, in 1784 there were almost no Armenians in Zamosc.³⁷

Priest Minas Bezsheshkiant writes the following in his *Journey to Poland*: "Formerly, there were a great number of major Armenian merchants here who enjoyed the monopoly of the trade in sheepskin and goatskin leather (Morocco leather) granted by the Polish king. ... However, now there are no Armenians here."³⁸

Later Arshak Altunian wrote the following: "If a genealogical study is carried out here, perhaps, about 100 Armenian families will be revealed, but they are all in mixed marriages, and therefore, are lost for the nation. Even a casual traveller can immediately guess from their facial features that they are Armenians."³⁹

During the most prosperous period in the history of the Armenian community of Zamosc, the famous scribe Simeon Zamostatsi (of Zamosc) wrote his well-known *Lamentation* over the decline of the Armenian communities of Poland, without knowing that a century later, his native city was going to share that fate: "There are also other old cities such as Pelza, Wilna, Volotimir and others where once the Armenians lived. However, they can no longer be found in any of these

places, and there are only some vestiges to remind of them. And I do not know why this happened: maybe, due to their sins or the curses of the holy fathers, as every nation keeps growing, while we are decreasing further and further. Woe betide me."⁴⁰

Autonomy. Like the other Polish cities with large Armenian populations, Zamosc granted the Armenians a wide autonomy based on Magdeburg Law. This was ratified in a decree signed by Jan Zamoyski on 9 January 1589. The autonomy of Zamosc Armenians was based on the model of autonomy of the Armenian community of Kamenets-Podolsk,⁴¹ which granted wider rights than the Lviv one.

The community had an Armenian leader (voivode) and a Council of Elders (*Lavniks*) whose number ranged between 3 and 10. Unlike Kamenets and Lviv, there were no unions of young men representing the merchants and craftsmen of Zamosc, and the voivode was elected by the common people in the presence of the representatives of the local prince. The election of the voivode was held every year, on the first Friday of the Lent, in the house of the acting voivode.⁴² In accordance with the Armenian Statutes, the newly-elected voivode solemnly swore, in the name of the Almighty God the Father, God the Son, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Virgin, and in the name of St. Gregory the Enlightener and the other saints, to be obedient to the prince of the city, his descendants, as well as to the local bishop or the religious leader. He also pledged himself to be faithful to his community, preserving and developing it, and swore to issue orders and act according to his conscience. Also, the newly-elected voivode promised not to take bribes and believe in the supreme worth of every individual. If he broke his oath, he would be subjected to the same torture as Christ in this life and in the afterlife.⁴³

The name of the first Armenian voivode (judge) of Zamosc has come down to us thanks to the colophon of a manuscript kept in the library of the Cathedral of St. James in Jerusalem. The colophon, written in 1600 by the Armenian priest of Zamosc, Hakob, states the following: "So we are praying the Creator to make him [Jan Zamoyski] stronger and stronger and grant him longevity as he is very favourably inclined towards the Armenian nation and has appointed a judge from among the Armenians. That first judge was Mr. Aghe-xandros, Mr. Khacheres' son, a wise and talented per-

36 **Zakrzewska-Dubasowa**, "From the History of the Armenian Community of Zamosc," *Aniv*, no. 32, p. 15.

37 **Barącz**, 1869, p. 178.

38 **Բժշկեանց Ա.**, Ծանապարհորդութիւն ի Լեհաստան և յայլ կողմանս բնակեալս ի Հայկազանց սերելոց ի նախնեաց Անի քաղաքին [**M. Bezsheshkiant**, *A Journey to Poland and Other Places Inhabited by Hayk's Nation whose Ancestors Came from Ani City*] (Venice - St. Lazarus, 1830), pp. 126-127.

39 **Արմունեան Ա.**, Տեղեկագրութիւն հայոց գաղթականութեան, որք ի Մոլտո-Վալաքիա, Հունգարիա եւ ի Լեհաստան [**A. Altunian**, *Information on the Armenian Immigrants of Molto-Wallachia, Hungary and Poland*] (Focsani, 1877), p. 135.

40 **Միմոն Լեհացի**, Ուղեգրութիւն [**Simeon Lehatsi /Simon of Poland/**, *Travel Accounts* (manuscript)], National Library of Warsaw, <https://polona.pl/item/13306353/0/>. Also see **Միմոն Դպրի Լեհացոյ** Ուղեգրութիւն [**The Travel Accounts of Simeon Dpir Lehatsi /Scribe Simon of Poland/**] (Vienna, 1936), p. 348.

41 **Zakrzewska-Dubasowa**, "The Organization of the Armenian Community in Zamosc," p. 67.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

43 **Barącz**, 1869, p. 261.

son, fair and far-sighted towards prisoners, for which may God grant him longevity. Amen.”⁴⁴

The colophon of a Book of Canons penned by the same priest (and copied by deacon Zakhno in 1602) mentions the judge of Zamosc, Esan Bey, while stating that the book was written “in the year 1051 (1602) of the Armenian calendar, in the times of Catholicos of All Armenians Davit, who is blessed and gifted with apostle-endowed virtues; in the days of King Sigismund III; the commander-in-chief of the Ilakhats kingdom, Mr. Hovhannes, who is a brave and pious person, ... and in the days of the judge, Mr. Esan Bey, the receiver of this.”⁴⁵

We think that *Esan* is simply short for *Aghexandros*; therefore, the aforementioned colophons refer to the same person who was the leader of the community in the first years of the establishment of autonomy. The colophon of the Book of Canons also mentions Mr. Esan Bey's family members: his father, Mr. Khacheres, his mother Melikkhatun, his brother, Mr. Stepanos, his sisters Kulaf Khatun and Yaghud Khatun, his wife, Pani (a formal form of addressing women in Poland) Olukha (or Heghine), and his only daughter, the young lady Panna Milusha. From 1626 until 1629, the same judge was mentioned as Alexandre Kshishtofovich in the journal of the Armenian court: he was a deputy of the tribunal of Zamosc and a member of the Council of Elders.⁴⁶

The next Armenian voivode of Zamosc was Tobiash Bogdanovich, who led the community in 1608.⁴⁷ Among the best known voivodes were: Gabriel Arevovich, who was repeatedly elected to that post; Varteres Kirkorovich; Kshishtof and Varteres Baleyovich; Mikolai Hajjiyevovich; Oksenti Ovanishevich; Stefan Altunovich, and Zakhariash Arakelovich.⁴⁸

The Armenian community of Zamosc had its own emblem and seal on which St. John the Baptist was depicted, with a shield on his right side, and a lamb with its head turned to the right, on the left side. The following Armenian inscription ran on the seal in a circular form: “This is the seal of the Armenian court of Zamosca.”⁴⁹

First and foremost, both the voivode and the Council of Elders had a judiciary function. The court acted in accordance with the Armenian Statutes⁵⁰ which were based on the Code of Laws written by the Armenian scholar and archimandrite Mkhitar Gosh. These Statutes were ratified by King Sigismund I in 1519. It is interesting to note that in Zamosc, which was under the rule of the prince, the Armenian court had wider jurisdiction than in Lviv, which was under royal sway. Thus, for instance, the Armenian court of Zamosc was entitled to adopt decisions not only with



The seal of the Armenian court of Zamosc

regard to civil cases but also in connection with criminal ones. Besides, the court had the right of adopting verdicts for those Armenians who were not Polish subjects, and for those foreigners (Poles, Rusyns, Jews, etc.) who were in a legal case with the Armenians. In contrast to this, the Polish court was not entitled to put the Armenians on trial.⁵¹

In fact, this was a court of the first instance the decisions of which could be reviewed by applying to the prince of the city, and from 1604 onwards, to the tribunal (Supreme Court of Appeal) of Zamosc,⁵² where the Armenian community had a representative, a deputy who had the same power as the Polish judges. This official was elected, too; the election was held during the election of the Council of Elders. Very often this post was held by the voivode.⁵³

In the community life, a great role was played by the two wardens who were elected by the Council of Elders in the presence of the common people. One of them was elected from among the members of the Council, and

44 Պողոսեան Ե., Մայր ցուցակ ձեռագրաց Սրբոց Յակոբեանց, հ. 3 [N. Pogharian, Main List of the Manuscripts of the Cathedral of St. James] (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 343.

45 Հայերեն ձեռագրերի ԺԷ դարի հիշատակարաններ, հ. Ա [Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 1] (Yerevan, 1974), pp. 76-77.

46 Księga wójtowsko-lawnicza prawa uprzywilejowanego ormińskiego [A Book of Village Heads and Advantages of Armenian Privileged Law] (1626 to 1649) 35/61/0/2/64, State Archives of Lublin, p. 7.

47 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, “The Organization of the Armenian Community in Zamosc,” p. 73.

48 Ibid., pp. 80-82.

49 Dashkevich, p. 945.

50 Baracz, 1869, pp. 205-264.

51 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, “From the History of the Armenian Community of Zamosc,” *Aniv*, no. 33, pp. 69-71.

52 Sochaniewicz, pp. 13, 24.

53 A Book of Village Heads and Advantages of Armenian Privileged Law.

the other from the midst of the common people. The wardens were responsible for the property of the community, and for the collection and maintenance of financial means and taxes.⁵⁴

Another important official was the clerk⁵⁵ who carried out domestic and foreign writing affairs regarding the community and court in the Polish language.

Two churchwardens were responsible for the property and income of the Armenian church. This post was mostly held by the voivode and one of the elders, but in some cases, the churchwardens were appointed by the ecclesiastical authorities, namely the Armenian archbishop of Lviv.⁵⁶

Apart from the secular court, there was also an ecclesiastical court which was called *Khoots*, the Armenian equivalent for *Cell*.⁵⁷ This court mainly investigated cases regarding marriages and the church. The use of the Armenian terms *yerespokhan* and *khoots* attests that these institutes originated in the Armenian environment.

The study of the legal cases investigated in the court shows that the Armenians of Zamosc had a deep knowledge of jurisprudence. These cases refer to commercial deals, marriage contracts, distribution of bequests, criminal crimes, etc.

The autonomous Armenian bodies and court stopped functioning in 1738 on the order of the seventh ordynat of Zamosc, Tomasz Anthony Zamoyski,⁵⁸ as at that time, the Armenian inhabitants of the city were even less than 10 in number.

Education, Science and Literature. As already noted above, Zamosc earned great fame thanks to its academy, which was founded in 1594 and functioned until 1784.⁵⁹ One of its co-founders was Shimon Shimonovich (Szymon Szymonowic, 1558 to 1629), a philologist, doctor and poet of Armenian descent,⁶⁰ the author of numerous poems, dramas and plays written in Polish and Latin. Thanks to his series called *Sielanki* (*Idylls*), he is considered to be the Polish Pindar (an ancient Greek lyric poet). In 1590 the Polish king Sigismund III conferred the title of *Royal Poet* and the noble family name *Bendonski* on Shimon Shimonovich. He was the private secretary of Jan Zamoyski and the mentor of his son Tomasz.⁶¹ Shimon Shimonovich



Shimon Shimonovich and the Academy of Zamosc

bequeathed all his property, about 12,000 in Polish gold coins, to the academy of Zamosc.⁶²

The selection of the professors of the academy was entrusted to Shimonovich, who gradually gathered all his close relatives, pupils and followers around him. Thus, for instance, from 1595 until 1597, the first president of the academy was Melchior Stefanidis-Stefanovich⁶³ (1563 to 1638), a philosopher and theologian who was of Armenian origin, too.⁶⁴ Melchior Stefanovich was a graduate of the university of Kraków, from which he had got his Ph.D in 1593. As a Catholic clergyman, in 1621 he assumed the post of scholastic in Zamosc and started coordinating the activities of the academy. In 1632, together with the president of the academy, Kasper Schultz, he implemented radical reforms in the instruction process, encouraging debates between teachers and students.⁶⁵ At present a square in

54 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, "The Organization of the Armenian Community in Zamosc," p. 76.

55 Barącz, 1869, p. 261.

56 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, "The Organization of the Armenian Community in Zamosc," p. 77.

57 Barącz, 1869, p. 261.

58 Szyszka, "The Armenians of Zamosc," p. 62.

59 J. Kochanowski, *Dzieje Akademii Zamojskiej* [History of the Academy of Zamosc] (1594 to 1784) (Krakow, 1899-1900).

60 S. Barącz, *Zywoty sławnych Ormian w Polsce* [The Lives of the Famous Armenians of Poland] (Lviv, 1856), p. 310.

61 Kochanowski, p. 50.

62 Barącz, 1856, p. 313.

63 Kochanowski, p. 29.

64 Barącz, 1856, p. 289.

65 Kochanowski, p. 88.

the north of the Old Town of Zamosc is named after Melchior Stefanovich.

The second president of the academy was Adam Burski⁶⁶ (1560 to 1611), a celebrated philosopher who was Shimon Shimonovich's aunt Barbara Shimonovich's son.⁶⁷ He was born in Berezhani and received education first at the Religious School of Lviv and then at Krakow University. In 1597 Adam Burski began teaching logic at the academy of Zamosc, where he was elected as president a year later. Afterwards, he was repeatedly re-elected.⁶⁸

Doctor Kasper Scholz-Solski⁶⁹ (1580 to 1653), Shimonovich's sister Christina Shimonovich's son, played a decisive role in the further progress of the academy. He held the president's post for a considerably long period: between 1616 and 1632, he was re-elected for eight times.⁷⁰ After the untimely death of Kasper Scholz's parents, his uncle, Shimonovich, took him into his custody and provided him with excellent education. After his primary studies in Lviv, he continued his education at the university of Kraków. From 1612 until 1616, Kasper Scholz studied at Padowa University, from which he received a Ph.D. and a Doctor of Medicine degree.⁷¹ After returning to Poland, in 1616, he started teaching at the academy of Zamosc, being later elected as president. He was the family doctor of the Zamoyskies. In 1639 Kasper Scholz embarked on the construction of a new academy building which is still preserved at present.⁷² Following his uncle's example, he bequeathed almost all his property, 30,000 in Polish gold coins, to the academy.⁷³ Kasper Scholz was buried in the cathedral of Zamosc, next to his famous uncle.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, his epitaph is not preserved.

In the early 18th century, another Armenian, Yakub Paskhalis Arakelovich,⁷⁵ worked as a long-time president of the academy. The son of the Armenian voivode and chronicler of the city, Zakhariash Arakelovich, he received education at the academy of Kraków, from which he received his Ph.D. In 1710 Yakub Paskhalis started teaching at the academy of Zamosc, where he became dean of the faculty of philosophy in 1715. Between 1716 and 1724, he was elected president of

the academy for five times.⁷⁶ In 1735 Yakub Paskhalis took up the post of the eleventh infulate of Zamosc (with the title of Protonotary Apostolic),⁷⁷ holding it until his death in 1739.

The academy of Zamosc provided education in philosophy, law, medicine and theology.⁷⁸ It had a great number of Armenian students and teachers. Among its first graduates was Stanislav Abrahamovich, who was of Armenian origin, too.⁷⁹ Mention should also be made of the Armenian professors Jan Ivashkevich,⁸⁰ Kshishtof Ovanishovich,⁸¹ Jan Bartoshevich,⁸² Jan and Kayetan Avedik⁸³ and Mikolai Jan Manugevich.⁸⁴ For Jan Bartoshevich, getting a doctorate degree was one of the provisions in his marriage contract with Mariana Ovanishovich; to guarantee its fulfillment, he handed over 200 in Polish gold coins to his father-in-law, actually pawning the money.⁸⁵

Another project of great importance that was carried out by Sh. Shimonovich was the establishment of the printing-office of the academy, the first head of which was Adam Burski. It was one of the biggest presses throughout Rcezhpospolita: in the 18th century, over 70 % of the publications of the country saw the light here. Unfortunately, in 1784 the press was closed down by the Austrian authorities.

Sh. Shimonovich was also the main driving force behind the establishment of the library of the academy, which came into existence mainly thanks to his large donation—1,428 books.⁸⁶ Later Melchior Stefanides, Adam Burski, Kasper Scholz and others followed his example and increased the library collection with new books. Indeed, the printing-office of the academy greatly contributed to the enrichment of the library, too: in the early 19th century, its funds contained about 9,000 books. After the academy closed down, in 1811 most of these books were moved to the library of the Ordinatia of the Zamoyskies in Warsaw.⁸⁷ The library functioned until the outbreak of World War II. In 1939 and 1944 it suffered major fires after which, its collection of 120,000 books was reduced to 1,800. These books, which include most of Sh. Shimonovich Fund, are at present kept in the National Library of Warsaw.⁸⁸

66 Ibid., p. 29.

67 **M. Minakowski**, *Genealogia Potomków Sejmu Wielkiego* [Genealogy of the Descendants of the Great Sejm], <http://www.sejm-wielki.pl/>

68 **Kędziora**, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>

69 **Kochanowski**, p. 63.

70 **Minakowski**, *ibid.*

71 **Kasper Scholz**, *Internetowy Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Internet Polish Biographical Dictionary], <http://ipsb.nina.gov.pl/>

72 **Kasper Scholz**, <http://ipsb.nina.gov.pl/>

73 **Kochanowski**, pp. 111, 122.

74 **Kasper Scholz**, <http://ipsb.nina.gov.pl/>

75 **Kochanowski**, p. 226.

76 **Kędziora**, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>

77 **Barącz**, 1856, p. 29.

78 **Kochanowski**, p. 107.

79 *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 32.

80 **Szyska**, "The Armenians of Zamosc," p. 62.

81 **Kochanowski**, p. 208.

82 *Ibid.*, p. XXV.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 275.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 326.

85 **Zakrzewska-Dubasowa**, "From the History of the Armenian Community of Zamosc," *Aniv*, no. 34, p. 12.

86 **Kochanowski**, p. 86.

87 **Kędziora**, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>

88 https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biblioteka_Ordynacji_Zamojskiej_w_Warszawi

In the 17th century, the most important scientific, educational and cultural centre of the Armenian community of Zamosc was their church. Particularly noteworthy was its scriptorium, where ecclesiastical books were copied, translations were made, and literary works were written.

First and foremost, mention should be made of Priest Hakob Tokhatetsi, a well-known writer of lamentations, translator and scribe. N. Akinian writes the following about him in his *Five Immigrant Poets*: “He is one of the most productive figures in the recent period of our [Armenian] literature both as a poet and translator.”⁸⁹

From a colophon written by Hakob Tokhatetsi, we learn that he was born in Tokhat into the family of Altun and Anna. He married Yaghud and had four sons (Grigor, Stepanos, Hovhannes, Astvatzatur) and three daughters (Anna, Mariam and Shushan).⁹⁰ Tokhatetsi received education in his native city, where his teacher was Priest Hakob Ayvatents. *The Story of Seven Sages* (in Armenian) contains the following text: “I am Priest Hakob Tokhatetsi, the grandson of the Batukents’ family. I translated this beautiful story from Latin into Armenian at the request of my teacher, Priest Hakob Ayvatents from Tokhat, on 13 February 1063 (1614) in the city of Zamosca in Poland.”⁹¹

The earliest preserved colophon bearing reference to Scribe Hakob Tokhatetsi’s activities in Zamosc traces back to 1595—when he was still a church reader—the last one dating from 1638. About 12 versified works and numerous ecclesiastical manuscripts have come down to our days: *Collection: An Interpretation of the Pentateuch* (the first five books of the Bible) and *Lamentation over the Country of the Wallachians* (1595);⁹² *Works (The Significance and Interpretation of the Holy Mass according to N. Lambronatsi)*⁹³ (1600); *An Interpretation of the Pentateuch* (1603); *Collection of Poems* (1605); *Lectionary* (1613); *Gospel* (1615); a *Haysmavurk* (a compilation of hagiographies analogous to the Greek Synaxarion, also roughly corresponding to the martyrology of the Roman Church) of 1617; a *Mashtots* of 1638 (a book of the ritual of the Armenian Apostolic Church named after Armenian Catholicos Mashtots Yeghvardetsy /833 to 898/, who compiled it in the 9th century). These works, which are all in Armenian, are kept in the Imperial Library of

Vienna as well as in the manuscript libraries of Yerevan, Jerusalem and Zmmar Monastery (Lebanon).

In his *Chronology*, Stepanos Roshka writes the following about one of the works of Hakob Tokhatetsi, *A Metrical Collection of Psalms* (1627): “1076 (1627). Priest Hakob of Tokhat [also known as Yevdokia] came to Poland as an immigrant. Arriving in the city of Zamosca, he made a beautiful versified interpretation of 150 psalms of David in a sweet style. He also versified a lot of texts by St. Gregory of Narek and wrote various poems about human life, repentance, etc., completing them in the year specified. And I have it in my hands now.”⁹⁴

From a historical point of view, particularly valuable are the two *Lamentations* by Hakob Tokhatetsi. The first, entitled *Lamentation over the Country of the Wallachians*,⁹⁵ is about the sufferings of the Armenians in Moldova in 1595, when they were robbed of all their property. In the other, *Poems and Lamentations for the City of Yevdokia* [Tokhat],⁹⁶ the author first lauds his native city and then starts mourning over its occupation and destruction by the Jalalies in 1602.

Undoubtedly, the most celebrated alumnus of the Zamosc school of manuscript writing is Simeon Zamostatsi /of Zamosc/ (1584 to 1639), who is better known as Simeon Dpir Lehatsi (Scribe Simon of Poland). In his *Travel Accounts*, he writes the following: “I am Martiros’ son named Simeon, and my parents are from the country of the Huns, from the sea-facing city of Kafa, which is cared for by the Lord. The Christian immigrants came here and took up residence in the district ... which is ruled by the Poles, in the newly-built town of Zamosca.”⁹⁷

Simeon Lehatsi received education in his native city: “I learnt the letters when still a child, and growing up, I was educated at the school of my city, being taught by archimandrites and philologists.”⁹⁸ Simeon Lehatsi wrote his first colophon at the age of 16 in 1600: “I beg you to remember the sinner and worthless scribe who did not work hard at all, Simon from Zamosca, and may you spare me any words of reproach.”⁹⁹

In 1608 Simeon Lehatsi set out of the city of Lviv on a journey during which he visited a number of major centres in Southern and Eastern Europe and the Near

89 Ալիհնեան Ն., Հինգ պանդուխտ տաղասացներ, Կենսագրական տեղեկություններ եւ բնագիրներ [N. Akinian, *Five Immigrant Poets: Biographical Information and Original Texts*] (Vienna, 1961), p. 141.

90 Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 1, p. 638.

91 Ibid., p. 524.

92 Յուրակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան մատենադարանի, հ. Ա [List of Manuscripts of the Matenadaran after Mashtots, vol. 1] (Yerevan, 1965), p. 889.

93 Pogharian, pp. 341-343.

94 Alishan, p. 137.

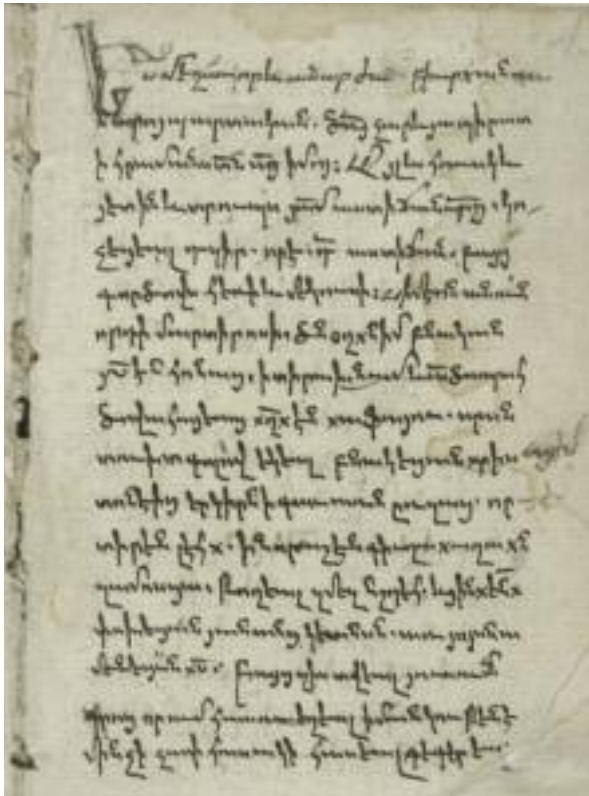
95 Մատենագրական հետազոտություններ, հ. Գ, Յակոբ Թոխատցույ Ողբ ի վերայ երկրին Օլախաց [Literary Research, vol. 4: Hakob Tokhatetsi’s Lamentation over the Country of the Wallachians] (Vienna, 1938).

96 Akinian, p. 173.

97 Simeon Lehatsi /Simon of Poland/, manuscript. Also see Simeon Lehatsi /Simon of Poland/, 1936, p. 1.

98 Simeon Lehatsi /Simon of Poland/, manuscript. Also see Simeon Lehatsi /Simon of Poland/, 1936, pp. 1-2.

99 Pogharian, p. 343.



An excerpt from the manuscript of Simeon Lehatsi /Simon of Poland/

East—Rome, Venice, Suchawa, Istanbul, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Cesaria, Marash, Moush, Cairo, etc. During these travels that lasted for about 11 years, he mainly earned his living by copying ecclesiastical books and writing manuscripts. The *Travel Accounts* by Simeon Zamostatsi contain a lot of valuable information about many 17th-century Armenian Diasporan settlements. However, regretful as it is, he reports almost no information about the city of Zamosc, speaking only about his bitter experiences associated with it: “On 17 August 1069 (1620), after [the feast of] the Dormition of the most blessed Mother of God, I got married and held a wedding party, after which I took my spouse Lova to my parents’ house in Zamosc. We lived there for 5 years, during which I went through a lot of trouble and misfortune, suffered many privations and went into deep sorrow because of the evil-minded and malicious people of my family: at first they received me with love and honoured me, while afterwards they put me into true hell.”¹⁰⁰

In 1624 Simeon Lehatsi moved to Lviv at the invitation of the local Armenian community to work there as a scribe and teacher. About ten colophons written by him between 1600 and 1636 have come down to our days. Particularly valuable is his versified work devoted to the arrival of Catholicos Melkisedek in Lviv, to

the ordination of Hieromonk Nikolai Torosevich as bishop, and to the subsequent forced conversion of the Armenians to the Catholic faith. It was published by Ghevond Alishan in his *Kamenits*, in which he conventionally entitled it as *A Work on Nikol*, writing the following in this regard: “We chose this title for the text as its beginning and end are missing from the only copy that we know and its original title remains unknown.”¹⁰¹ The high literary merits of this work, which can conventionally be entitled as *Lamentation over the Armenians of Lviv City*, rank Simeon Zamostatsi among the greatest Armenian lamentation writers of the 17th century. It is evident that Lehatsi could not reconcile himself with the forced conversion of the Armenians to the Catholic faith, and this attitude caused him new sufferings, persecutions and even imprisonment.

Zakhariash Arakelovich, who was from Yazlovets City by birth, was one of the chroniclers of Zamosc. For some time, he lived in Stanislavov, then moved to Zamosc in 1685 and married Anna Yatulovich.¹⁰² He was repeatedly elected as voivode of the Armenian community. In 1694 Zakhariash Arakelovich went to Lviv together with two members of the Council of Elders to compare the statutes of the Armenian community of Zamosc with those used by the Armenians of that city. His chronicle (*The Connotation of Zakhariash Arakelovich about What Happened in Zamosc and Throughout Rzeczpospolita from 1689 onwards*, compiled by the undersigned)¹⁰³ starts with the description of the funeral of Ordynat Tomasz Zamoyski and continues up to 1725.

In February 1695, the Tatars of Crimea unexpectedly attacked Lviv from the northern part of the city, where the Armenian quarter was located. Zakhariash Arakelovich, who became eye-witness to the battle of Lviv, later wrote that the Armenian monastery of Sourb Khach (Holy Cross) had turned into a military base from which the defenders of the city fired at the enemy.¹⁰⁴

The available colophons of the 17th century reveal the names of some other scribes who carried out their activities in Zamosc.

Bishop Ghazar of Eudocia writes the following in the colophon of a Gospel of 1603: “[This was written in the days of] Prince Hovhannes, the chancellor of this city which is Zamosk, under the protection of the most blessed Holy Mother of God and numerous other saints and martyrs..., and the pious priest of the holy monastery, Hakob, and his spouse Yaghutka, who did not

¹⁰¹ Alishan, p. 202.

¹⁰² Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, “From the History of the Armenian Community of Zamosc,” *Aniv*, no. 34, p. 8.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Simeon Lehatsi /Simon of Poland/, manuscript. Also see Simeon Lehatsi /Simon of Poland/, 1936, pp. 349-350.

spare efforts for such a worthless person as me, caring for my eating and drinking, for which may God grant him [a place in] His Kingdom.”¹⁰⁵ The bishop also mentions the receivers of the Gospel, “Pan [a formal form of addressing men in Poland] Puniat and his brother-in-law, ...Skanter. May you remember them [in your prayers] to Christ.”¹⁰⁶

In the same year, Hakob Tokhatetsi wrote the following in his *Interpretation of the Pentateuch*: “I am not able to quietly work because I am constantly disturbed by His Excellency, the deacon and the bell ringer who keep saying, ‘Let’s drink.’ May God save me from this trouble. I ran away into the church, but still, I could not get rid of them.”¹⁰⁷ By ‘His Excellency,’ the author probably meant Bishop Ghazar Tokhatetsi, who soon left Zamosc and worked as a scribe in Yazlovets and Kamenits from 1605 until 1610.¹⁰⁸

In 1640 the church reader Astvatzatur copied Hakob Tokhatetsi’s *Collection of Metrical Psalms*, as he writes, “at the request of Mr. ...Kheter, a pious and religious person who fears God and is shy of people.”¹⁰⁹

A concise calendar of church feasts called *Parzatumar* in Armenian and dating from 1642 contains two colophons written by Varteres. The first of them is in Armenian: “This is an Armenian calendar written in 1091 (1642). I am ...Varderes, Asvatur’s son, who wrote this calendar.”¹¹⁰ The other colophon was written in the Kipchak language in the Armenian script: “...on 29 January 1091 (1642), Varderes, Asvadur oghli.... Amen.”¹¹¹ In the first half of the 17th century, Varteres Asvadurovich was repeatedly elected as a member of the Council of Elders.

Maruta Amasiatsi copied a Mashtots Ritual Book “in the city of Zamosca,” writing the following in its colophon: “This was written in the year 1094 (1645) by me, the worthless and unskillful scribe, the church reader Maruta Amasiatsi, in good memory of my parents and me, my father, Mahtesi* Alikanos, and my mother Mariam.”¹¹²

In 1106 (1657) Priest Nikol copied a collection of *sharakans* (melismatic monophonic chants used in the

liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Church; henceforward: *Armenian chants*) in Zamosc,¹¹³ particularly mentioning two priests, Hakob and Hovhannes.

In 1749 about 14 ecclesiastical manuscripts and around 100 other books (8 in Armenian, 35 in Latin, 34 in Italian and 22 in Polish) were kept in the Armenian church of Zamosc.¹¹⁴ Abbot Stepanos Agonts writes the following about the further fate of these works: “All the manuscripts that were kept in the church were taken to the Royal Library of Vienna.”¹¹⁵ According to the Italian Vannotsi, some valuable Armenian manuscripts were also kept in the library of the founder of Zamosc, Jan Zamoyski.¹¹⁶

The study of the colophons of these manuscripts shows that they were often written at the request of secular people such as Mr. Esan Bey, Pan Puniat, Pan Skantar, Mr. Kheter, Mr. Pernad, Mr. Grigor, Pan Misko and others. This shows that the inhabitants of the city had a special attitude towards books.

One of the Armenian merchants of Zamosc, Murad Kerimovich, was the father of Hovhannes Karmatanents-Kerimovich, the founder of the Armenian printing-office of Lviv. In 1652 Mateush Kirkorovich had 16 books, including a Gospel, in his private library.¹¹⁷

To summarise, we can state that the Armenians of Zamosc had a high level of literacy, with oral and written command of different languages (Armenian, Polish, Turkish, Latin, etc.). We think that it was thanks to this factor that they thrived in trade and made great progress in science and literature.

Historical Armenian Monuments: Houses. Like their compatriots in Lviv, Kamenets-Podolsk and Yazlovets, the Armenians of Zamosc had their own quarter in the city. It had been planned by the well-known Italian architect Bernardo Morando, to whom Zamosc owes its regular planning and proportionate architecture. The quarter is situated in the north-east of the city, in Ormyanska (Armenian) Street, which starts from the north-eastern section of Rynek Wielki Square, extends eastward and ends at the walls of the Old Town. In the early 18th century, the local Armenian church was situated near these walls. Outside the Old Town, in the suburb of Lviv, which is not preserved nowadays, the Armenians owned numerous houses, gardens and even “a beautiful lake.”¹¹⁸

The Armenian quarter is just as old as Zamosc itself. In 1591 it had 19 houses the number of which

105 Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 1, p. 124.

106 Ibid.

107 Ibid., p. 119.

108 *Akinian*, pp. 203-216.

109 Հայերեն ձեռագրերի ԺԷ դարի հիշատակարաններ, հ. Բ [Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 2] (Yerevan, 1978), p. 797.

110 Հայերեն ձեռագրերի ԺԷ դարի հիշատակարաններ, հ. Գ [Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 3] (Yerevan, 1984), p. 49.

111 Ibid.

* A Christian believer known to have gone to Jerusalem on pilgrimage.

112 Ibid., p. 196.

113 Ibid., p. 751.

114 *Kêdziora*, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>

115 *Agonts*, p. 138.

116 *Dashkevich*, p. 1086.

117 *Kêdziora*, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>

118 Պիրու Ա. Մ., Հիշատակարան, Բռնի միութիւն Հայոց Լեհաստանի ընդ եկեղեցւոյն Հռովմայ, Ժամանակակից հիշատա-



The Armenian houses of Rynek Wielki Square

gradually grew to 29, as fixed in 1669. It is interesting to note that in 1603 the central square of the city, Rynek Wielki, had 28 houses, 11 of which belonged to the Armenians, 6 to the Poles, 5 to the Greeks, 4 to the Italians, and one to each of the Russians and Germans.¹¹⁹

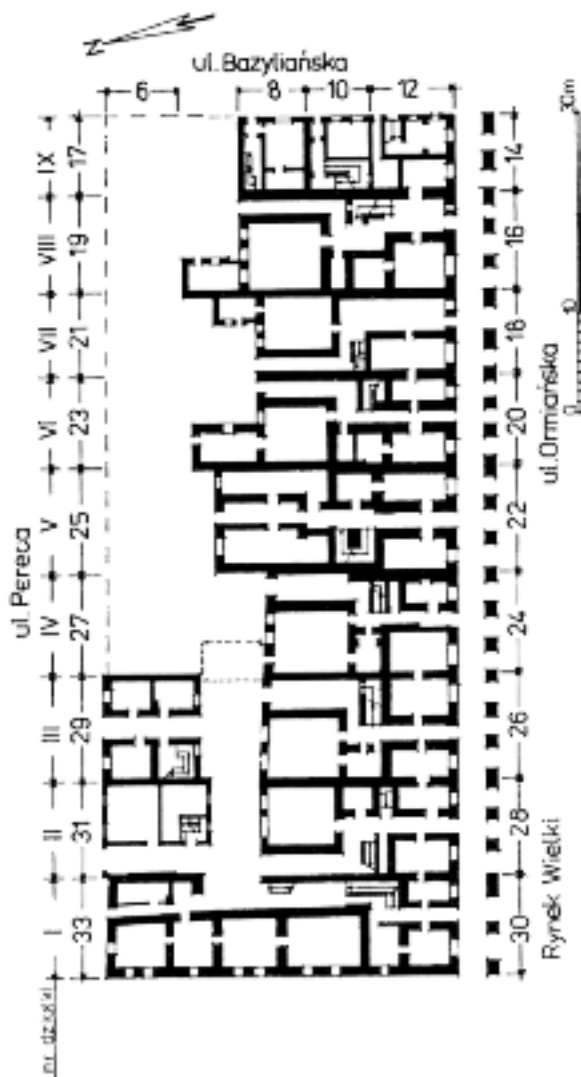
The contiguous three-floor stone houses which are located in the square are mostly built according to a typical rectangular plan, being 10 to 12 metres wide in the facade, and mostly 25 metres long. In every house, the portal leads into a narrow corridor on both sides of which, there are rooms which are not very large and have windows overlooking the square. These rooms were once used as shops. From the corridor, there is an entry into a large living-room with windows overlooking the courtyard. A staircase leads from the corridor to the second floor, in the centre of which, there is another

corridor and some small divisions. In the lateral parts of this floor, there are two pairs of adjacent large and small rooms: in each of the pairs, the windows of one room overlook the square, and those of the other face the backyard. The third floor almost shares the plan of the second one with the only difference that it has a kitchen with a brick oven next to the staircase. Also, the bedrooms are on this floor, their ceilings being considerably lower than those on the other storeys. Every house has an extensive basement located throughout the plan and serving as a storehouse. As a rule, the basement, open portico and first floor (except the large living-room) have vaulted ceilings of stone, while in the other rooms, they are of wood.

These houses also share some exterior features: on the first floor, each of them mostly has an open portico of three arches, a portal and two windows. The upper parts of all the floors are enriched with decorative cornices. The upper floors have 3 or 4 rectangular windows which are richly adorned with cornices. The portal, windows and doors of the first floor have frames

կարասիք [A. M. Pidu, Colophon, The Forced Conversion of Polish Armenians to the Roman Faith. Contemporary Colophons] (St. Petersburg, 1884), p. 16.

¹¹⁹ Kédziora, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>



The plans of houses no. 14 to 30 located in Ormyanska Street

Reprinted from: U. Fidecka, *Kamienice ormiańskie w Zamościu* [Armenian Tenement Houses in Zamosc] (Zamosc, 1989)

the upper parts of which are embellished with patterns of shields and masks.

The houses built on the northern side of Ormyanska Street are the smaller and simpler duplicates of those overlooking the square. The facade in each of them is 8 to 10 metres wide and mostly 16 metres deep. Every house is two-floor, with a portico of two arches and a facade without any ornaments and attics.

The houses standing on the southern side of the street are smaller in dimensions (about 8 metres x 12 metres) and do not have porticoes. In some of them, there is an open balcony overlooking the yard. All these Armenian houses are in complete harmony with each other, having almost the same height, with their facades being along the same plane. The houses of Ormyanska Street and the buildings standing on the parallel (Peretsi and Grodtska) and intersecting (Bazyljewska and Gretska) streets form courtyards.

The houses differ from each other in their peculiar colours, outer and inner decoration and architectural details. In the course of centuries, they repeatedly underwent changes: from time to time their attics were destroyed and then rebuilt; buttresses, additional entrances, balconies, upper storeys, etc. were added and later removed. Their interior ornamentation and structure were modified, too to answer the function of the building.

In the early 20th century, most of these houses belonged to the Jews who made up almost half of the population of Zamosc. After World War II, they mainly shifted into community possession. In the second half of the 20th century, the houses underwent thorough renovation—carried out in several stages—to regain their primary forms as much as possible.

The Armenian houses overlooking Rynek Wielki Square are arranged in two groups: to the north, they are at nos. 22 to 30 Ormyanska Street, and to the east at nos. 8 to 16 Rynek Wielki Square. The northern houses are distinguished for their splendid exterior decoration, bright colours and attics of the Baroque style that are truly considered to be the pearls and symbols of Zamosc. They are known by the general name of Armenian Houses (*Kamienice ormiańskie*),¹²⁰ but each of them also has its own name given by the common people (the reader will find some of these names in the descriptions of the houses).

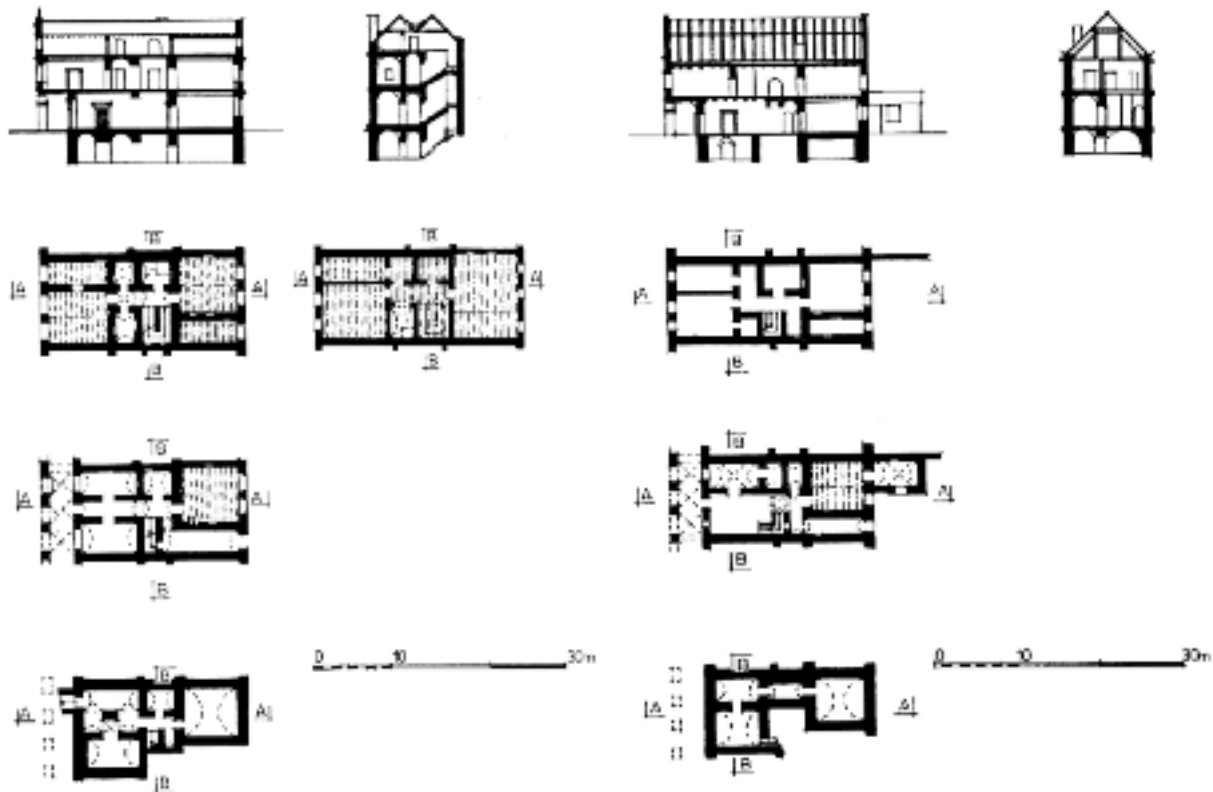
At present four of these houses are home to the History Museum of Zamosc.

Wilczk's house (no. 30 Ormyanska Street) belonged to Adam Burski, the president of the academy, in the early 17th century. Then, between 1665 and 1674, it was reconstructed by Ian Wilczk, a municipal councillor after whom it is named.¹²¹ The house which is painted green is outwardly embellished with cornices, floral patterns, angels and decorative pilasters. The western corner of the southern facade is enriched with bas reliefs showing the baptism of Christ by John the Baptist and, a little below, Thomas the Apostle with three arrows in his right hand, and a scepter in the left. The western facade is decorated, too: its southern section is engraved with bas reliefs showing St. Mary and John the Evangelist with a chalice in his left hand and a snake in the right. Different parts of the house are embellished with reliefs of shields bearing the initials of the house owner, IW RZ: Ian Wilczk Rajce Zamojski (Councillor of Zamosc).

The house of Rudomich (no. 28 Ormyanska Street) was built in the late 16th century. Between

¹²⁰ U. Fidecka, *Kamienice ormiańskie w Zamościu* [Armenian Tenement Houses in Zamosc] (Zamosc, 1989), p. 3.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.



The plans and sections of three- and two-storey Armenian houses

Reprinted from: Fidecka, *Armenian Tenement Houses in Zamosc (Zamosc, 1989)*

1645 and 1657, it was reconstructed by Vasili Rudomich, the academy president and a chronicler of Zamosc.¹²² According to some authors, he was of Armenian origin.¹²³ The house which is painted yellow stands out for its plain exterior decoration and high attic.

The “Angel’s” House (no. 26 Ormyanska Street) was built from 1632 until 1634 by the Armenian merchant Gabriel Bartoshevich.¹²⁴ Later it belonged to his son Jan Bartoshevich, who was one of the professors of the academy of Zamosc.

This is the most splendid house in the city thanks to both its exterior and interior ornamentation. Outwardly, it is painted red and is covered with floral motifs as well as bunches of grapes and flowers. A recess on the second floor is embellished with a high relief showing the Holy Archangel Gabriel with a lily in his left hand. There is a bas relief of a standing lion on either edge of the third storey, its central section being decorated with a winged dragon.

The interior decoration, which is mostly preserved, is quite rich. The stone frames of the north-facing windows of the first floor are entirely decorated with bunches of grapes, with reliefs of angels beneath them.

There are four unmatched rosettes above every window. The stone frames of the door of the room and the adjacent niche are richly embellished with floral patterns and multi-layered cornices. The window frames of the large southern room of the second floor are enriched with bunches of grapes and masks of angels which are just as beautiful as the aforementioned ones. On the southern wall of the room, above the windows, there is a fresco of Christ Pantocrator (Christ in Majesty) holding an orb surmounted by a cross in His left hand. On the western wall, close to the ceiling, a hunting scene is painted. The upper parts of the walls of this room and the small room that adjoins it from the west are entirely covered with bands of frescoes showing flowers and fruits. The four sides of the small room used to be enriched with murals of the Evangelists, two of which (those showing Sts. John and Mathew) are well preserved. As for the other two, one of them is not preserved at all, while from the other, only the part of the arm can still be seen. On both sides of the only window of the room, the frescoes of Sts. Varvara (with a feather in her right hand and a sword in the left) and Catherine (with a book in her right hand and a feather in the left) are painted. Some wooden beams of the ceiling are decorated with rosettes looking like the symbol of eternity.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Szyszka, “The Armenians of Zamosc,” p. 62.

¹²⁴ Fidecka, p. 33.



Wilczk's house, which was rebuilt between 1665 and 1674 (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)

The House of “the Spouses” (no. 24 Ormyńska Street) was built in the early 17th century by an Armenian merchant named Toros. In the middle of the same century, it was sold to the voivode Gabriel Arevovich.¹²⁵

The house is painted bluish sapphire. The lower parts of its second and third floors are embellished with decorative bands of geometrical patterns and floral motifs respectively. The central part of the third floor is enriched with a relief of a married couple, the man standing out for his sprouted mustache, and the woman for her long hair (most probably, they symbolise Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden).

As for the interior decoration of the house, especially remarkable are the window frames of the first storey, which are adorned with pillars, with a mural of Christ Pantocrator (Christ in Majesty) painted above them: Jesus is depicted with a halo, holding an orb surmounted by a cross in His left hand, His right hand extended



The house of Rudomich, which was reconstructed between 1645 and 1657 (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)

upward in a blessing gesture. The upper parts of the southern and western walls are embellished with murals abounding in floral motifs.

The “Holy Virgin’s” House (no. 22 Ormyńska Street) was built between 1642 and 1657 by the Armenian merchant Soltan Sakhvelovich.¹²⁶ Later it belonged to the Armenian families of the Takiesovich and Derbedrosovich.¹²⁷

This is a two-floor house painted light yellow. The second floor is decorated with a colourful bas relief showing the Holy Virgin and the infant Jesus. St. Mary, whose right foot is on a winged dragon, is bearing a metallic crown and holding a sceptre, similarly metallic. The dragon’s head is turned upward, its tongue jutting out and its eyes directed at the Holy Virgin. The space between the floors is adorned with a colourful floral band, and the upper parts of the windows are decorated with motifs of grapes, pomegranades and shields

¹²⁵ Kêdziora, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>

¹²⁶ Fidecka, p. 34.

¹²⁷ Kêdziora, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>



The house of Gabriel Bartoshevich (the "Angel's" House) built from 1632 until 1634 (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)



The decoration of the second floor of the house of Gabriel Bartoshevich (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)



The house of Toros (House of “the Spouses”) built in the early 17th century (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)

which show the Armenian name of the house owner. The high attic, which is in the Baroque style, is decorated with pilasters and niches.

At present this house is home to the Art School after B. Morando.

The house of the Topalovich family (no. 20 Ormyanska Street) belonged to an Armenian merchant from Kafa, Ghukas, in 1591. Later, in the 17th century, it was within the possession of the Topalovich and Dilegevich. Outwardly, it does not have any



The house of Soltan Sakhvelovich (the "Holy Virgin's" House) built between 1642 and 1657 (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)



The houses of the Tatulovich, Aoutunovich, Tobiash (or the Arakelovich) and the Ovanishovich (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)

remarkable features, but inwardly, the following Polish inscription is preserved on one of the wooden beams of the ceiling:

*DOMOWI TEMU Y MIESZKAŃCOM JEGO 1708
Z.F. R.Z. BŁOGOSŁAW PANIE Z OPATRZENIA
TWE*¹²⁸ (transl.: *Lord, may You bless this house and its inhabitants by Your grace, Z.F. R.Z., 1708*).

This inscription is almost identical to an Armenian one preserved in a house located at no. 14 Rynek Wielki (see the inscription with reference no. 131). As for the abbreviation ZF RZ, judging by the example of Wilczek's house, we can suppose that the first two letters stand for the name and family name of the proprietor (for instance, Zakhariash Farukhovich), and the last two designate his title (councillor of Zamosc).

The house of the Tatulovich family or Varteres (no. 16 Rynek Wielki Square) was built in 1591 by the Armenian merchant Murad Kerimovich from Baghesh. Most presumably, his son, Jan Kerimovich (Priest Hovhannes Karmatanents), the founder of the

Armenian printing-office of Lviv (1616 to 1618), was born in this house.

From the early 17th century onwards, for over 170 years, the house belonged to the Armenian family of the Tatulovich.¹²⁹ It is especially remarkable for the Armenian abbreviation found on the shield relief of its entrance door: judging from the tablet attached to one of the house walls, the letters stand for Murad Kerimovich. However, the Armenian letters Վ (V), Ա (A) and Գ (G), which can clearly be seen, as well as the name the common people have given to the house attest that it once belonged to a certain Varteres.

At present this house is home to the bookstore-cafe Efemerios, where the walls are decorated with writings in the Armenian script.

The house of the Autunovich family (no. 14 Rynek Wielki Square) was built in 1603 by Holub Grehorovich, who was of Armenian origin. Later it belonged to the family of the Autunovich (possibly, Altunovich or Arutyunovich). In the early 18th century, it belonged to the Baleyovich.¹³⁰

The following Armenian inscription is preserved on one of the wooden beams of the ceiling:

¹²⁸ Триярски Э., О двух надписях польских армян из города Замостье [E. Triyarski, "About Two Inscriptions Left by the Polish Armenians from the City of Zamosc"], «ՊԲՀ» [Patma-Banasirakan Handes /Historico-Philological Journal], no. 4 (1971), p. 262.

¹²⁹ Kêdziora, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>

¹³⁰ Ibid.



The common portico of the houses of the Arakelovich and Ovanishovich; the corridor of the house of the Ovanishovich; the houses of Kazimir Lubetski and Stanislav Abrahamovich (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)

*Ophētiugt, unt' n w(uannu)ð, qunninu wju ti qu-
vñnawjñ rñawlyhyu unru, awt'g¹³¹:*

Transl.: *May You, Lord, bless this house and all its inhabitants. Amen.*

The house of Tobiash or the Arakelovich family (no. 12 Rynek Wielki Square) was constructed by Tobiash Bogdanovich, an Armenian voivode. In 1608 another voivode, Gabriel Arevovich, bought the house from him at 600 Polish gold coins.¹³² In 1685 the newly-elected voivode Zakariash Arakelovich purchased it from the Kirkorovich family at 2,000 gold coins.¹³³

¹³¹ Triyarski, "About Two Inscriptions," p. 261.

¹³² Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, "The Organization of the Armenian Community in Zamosc," p. 73.

¹³³ Ibid., "From the History of the Armenian Community of Zamosc," *Aniv*, no. 34, p. 8.

From 1685 until 1739, the infulate of Zamosc and the president of the academy, Yakub Arakelovich, lived in this house.

The house of the Ovanishovich family (no. 10 Rynek Wielki Square) was built in the late 16th century by one of the earliest Armenian inhabitants of Zamosc, Murad Yakubovich from Tokhat, who is mentioned in the well-known 1585 edict of Jan Zamoyski. Later it was bought by the Armenian voivode Oksenti Ovanishovich¹³⁴ and was reconstructed into the present-day building. The ceilings in the open portico and in the corridor of the first floor are covered with narrow decorative bands, masks showing angel heads and

¹³⁴ Kêdziora, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>



Ormyanska Street, the southern backyard and the arched passage leading to this backyard (photos by S. Vardanian, 2014)

rosettes showing eagles. In the central part, the Latin abbreviation IHS (*Jesus Hominum Salvator*, namely *Jesus, Saviour of Humanity*) can be read.

Kazimir's house (no. 8 Rynek Wielki Square) was built by Kazimir Lubetski. From the second half of the 17th century, it belonged to the Armenian family of the Ovanishovich.¹³⁵ A niche on the second floor is embellished with a high relief showing St. Kazimir with a cross in his right hand and an open book in the left.

The construction of the **Second House of Morando (no. 25 Stashits Street)** began in 1590 by the architect B. Morando, being completed after his

death, in 1612, by his Armenian son-in-law, Stanislav Abrahamovich.¹³⁶ Until the late 17th century, it belonged to the Abrahamovich, who also owned another house in the same street (no. 13). The lower part of the second floor of house no. 25 is enriched with a splendid band of rosettes and masks. Above the stone frame of the entrance, an angel's mask can be seen. The pilaster capitals are decorated with lion heads. At present this house serves as a restaurant.

The Houses of Kirkorovich (no. 2 Grodska Street). In the mid-12th century, the voivode of the Armenian community, Varteres Kirkorovich, who was also a churchwarden and benefactor, built 5 houses

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

south of the Armenian church and donated them to it. In the second half of the 18th century, both the houses—two-floor structures that internally communicate with each other—and the church were sold to the municipal authorities and started being used as barracks.

We know the names of the owners of some other houses in Ormyanska Street: thus, for instance, house no. 18 belonged to the Megerdichovich and Arevovich; no. 14 to the families of the Zakhariash, Galustovich and Derbedrosovich, and no. 6 to the Baleyovich and Hajjiyevovich.

To summarise, we can state that during its activities spanning over two centuries, the Armenian community of Zamosc created a remarkable legacy that forms an inseparable part of the history and culture of this city. The local Armenian houses, which are perfect examples of the peculiar synthesis of Armenian, Italian and Polish culture, have their own place in the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Armenian Church. In his edict of 1585, Jan Zamoyski promised a liberty of faith to the Armenians and permitted them to build a church, for which he allocated a large plot of land in the north-east of Zamosc.

According to Sadok Baronch, the earliest Armenian church, which was wooden, was founded and blessed by a clergyman named Lukash or Ghukas (he had been invited from Lviv by Zamoyski himself).¹³⁷ Most probably, this ecclesiastic can be identified to Archbishop Ghukas, who visited Lviv in 1619 to collect donations for the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

From 1589 onwards, the church was mentioned in the colophons of numerous manuscripts by the name of Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin).¹³⁸

An illustrated map of Zamosc (see p. 36), made up by Jan Brown in the early 17th century, gives us some idea about the architectural features of the wooden church of the Armenians, also showing certain details. Besides the church, the complex, which was walled, consisted of dwellings for priests, some outbuildings and a graveyard. Inwardly, a fence divided this area into four sections. The church which stood in the central one had a west-east axis, a semi-circular apse that was outwardly accentuated, and a rectangular pastophorion. To the west, the church had an adjacent bell tower which was a slender structure surmounted by a spire looking like a crown, with a cross on top of it.

In the southern part of the complex, there were two two-floor dwellings for the priests and a single-storey building with a north-south axis which probably served as a school. In the north-western section, there was a

two-floor structure—most probably, a chapel—adorned with pilasters and having a cross at the eastern edge of its roof. Hakob Tokhatetsi writes the following in the colophon of a Lectionary of 1613: “[This was written] in the newly-built city of Zamosca under the patronage of Sourb Astvatzatzin [the Holy Virgin] and Sourb Lusavorich [the Holy Enlightener].”¹³⁹ Almost the same is stated in a *Haysmavurk* (a compilation of hagiographies) of 1617: “[This was written] in the newly-built city of Zamosca under the patronage of Sourb Astvatzatzin [the Holy Virgin] and Sourb Lusavorich [the Holy Enlightener], [with the power granted by] other saints’ relics.”¹⁴⁰ Judging from these records, the chapel was dedicated to St. Grigor Lusavorich (Gregory the Enlightener).

The Armenian graveyard, which was located in the north-eastern part of the complex, preserved 15 tombstones.

The Armenian community growing bigger and more powerful, it became necessary to build a new, larger and splendid church; so in 1623 Hakob Tokhatetsi started fund-raising and collected an amount of 2,966 in Polish gold coins, most of which had been provided by Varteres Kirkorovich.¹⁴¹

The church foundations were blessed on 25 May 1626 by two bishops who had arrived in Poland from Echmiatzin together with Catholicos Melkisedek. In this respect, a manuscript Lectionary of 1613 reports the following remarkable information: “On 19 May 1075 (1626), Saturday, we, Mr. Martiros from Holy Echmiatzin, Mr. Yeghia from Yerznka and Hieromonk Khachatur from Lviv, were sent to the city of Zamosca by Catholicos Melkiset to collect gifts [for Holy Echmiatzin]. His Holiness himself was in Lviv [at that time] to participate in the foundation of the holy church. We stayed in the house of Priest Hakob. May he be glorified by God, both in soul and in body. Amen.”¹⁴²

The church which was built of brick was completed in 1633.¹⁴³ Its Armenian construction inscription is not preserved, but it also had one in Latin which reads:

*D. O. M. Sub titulo Gloriosissimae Assumptionis B. V. Mariae cura et impensis Nationis Armenae Warteres Kirkuorowicz Tochatensis hanc ecclesiam erexit D. A. MDCXXV Maji 21.*¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷ Barącz, 1869, p. 178.

¹³⁸ Տաշեան Յ., Յուդակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց կայսերական մատենադարանին ի Վիեննա [H. Tashian, List of the Armenian Manuscripts of the Imperial Library of Vienna] (Vienna, 1891), p. 22.

¹³⁹ Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 1, p. 508.

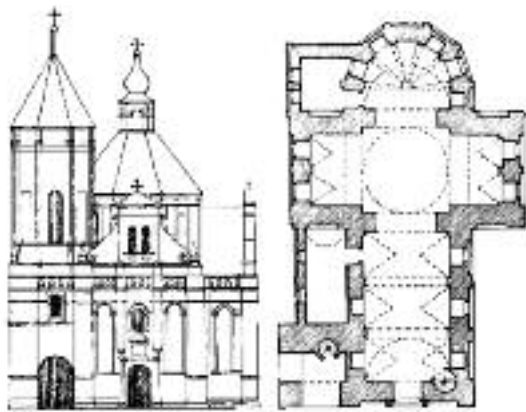
¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 638.

¹⁴¹ Barącz, 1869, p. 178.

¹⁴² Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 2, p. 203.

¹⁴³ Barącz, 1869, p. 178.

¹⁴⁴ H. Kaufhold, Schriftliche Spuren der Armenier in Zamość, Sarmatismus versus Orientalismus in Mitteleuropa [Written Traces of the Armenians in Zamosc, Sarmatism versus Orientalism in Central Europe] (Berlin, 2013), p. 239.



Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church: its western facade, plan and a section to the south (measurements by M. Bikshlager and H. Khalpakhchian)

Transl.: *Glorious and almighty God. This church of the Annunciation to the Holy Virgin Mary was built for the Armenian nation by Varteres Kirkorovich from Tokhat on 21 May 1625 A.D.*

The church was blessed on 14 September 1645 by Bishop Andreas, who had arrived from Moldova.¹⁴⁵ This fact shows that the Armenians of Zamosc were loyal to the Apostolic Church and were unfavourably inclined towards the Armenian bishop of Lviv, Nikolai Torosovich. It was only in the 1660s that the Armenians of Zamosc converted to the Armenian Catholic faith, this only hastening their alienation from their national identity.

The church, and particularly, its bell tower were heavily damaged by the major fires of 1672 and 1709. In 1710 the Armenian community, no longer as strong and powerful as before, repaired the church with great

difficulty: 19 Armenians from Zamosc had raised some money for this purpose, but it turned out to be insufficient and they had to sell the silverware of the church.

In the second half of the 18th century, due to the small number of Armenian believers, the church started also serving the Polish Catholics. In 1784, due to the reforms carried out by the Austrian governor Joseph Brigido, the Armenian parishes of Lviv (St. Hakob and St. Anna), Zlochow, Yazlowets and Zamosc stopped existing, and Sourb Astvatzatzin Church shifted into the jurisdiction of the Armenian Ecclesiastical Foundation of Lviv.¹⁴⁶ In 1795 all the church property, including the holy images and utensils, was put up to auction: the image of the Holy Virgin, decorating the altar of the church, was sold to the Franciscan church of Szczeczeszyn (Shebzhechin) City, and the image of St. Kayetan, which was considered miracle-working, was bought by the Catholic church of St. Catherine in Lublin City.¹⁴⁷

The church building itself was purchased by the twelfth ordynat of Zamosc, Stanislaw Kostka Zamoyski, and started being used for theatrical performances. In 1811 it was bought by the Russian authorities who wanted to reconstruct it into a two-floor commercial centre. For this purpose, in 1817 a corresponding project was worked out,¹⁴⁸ but it was not implemented.

In the early 19th century, Minas Bezsheshkian, one of the fathers of the Mekhitarist Order, wrote the following about the church: "Also remarkable is the stone-built Armenian church, which was built by a prince from Jugha and is dedicated to the Holy Virgin. It has a dwelling for priests where Hakob's collection of psalms was written. ...However, there are no more Armenians here, and the state has taken possession of their church."¹⁴⁹

The same information is also reported by Arshak Altunian: "The Armenian church, which is very large and magnificent, is still preserved here, the name of its founder being engraved on its main door. However, now this church belongs to the Poles as the Armenians have been gradually assimilated into the locals and their number has been reduced."¹⁵⁰

In 1826 to 1827, the church was levelled to the ground as it was in an emergency condition. Its foundations were unearthed and studied in 1968, during the construction of a hotel in its site.¹⁵¹ At present only a

¹⁴⁶ Cz. Lechicki, *Kosciol Ormianski w Polsce* [Armenian Church in Poland] (Lviv, 1928), pp. 109-110.

¹⁴⁷ Kondraciuk, "Armenian Art in Zamosc," p. 24.

¹⁴⁸ Халпахчян О., Сооружения армянской колонии в Замостье [Н. Khalpakhchian, "The Buildings of the Armenian Community of Zamosc"], «ՊԲՀ» [*Patma-Banasirakan Handes* /*Historico-Philological Journal*], no. 3 (1984), p. 170.

¹⁴⁹ Bezsheshkians, pp. 126-127.

¹⁵⁰ Altunian, p. 135.

¹⁵¹ Khalpakhchian, "The Buildings of the Armenian Community of Zamosc," p. 170.

¹⁴⁵ Barącz, 1869, p. 178.

bronze memorial tablet, set onto the western facade of the hotel, reminds of the church with the following bilingual inscription: "This is the site of the Armenian church which stood here from 1625 until 1805, having been built with the financial means of Varteres Kirkorovich Tokhatetsi for the Armenians who lived in Zamosc with the 1585 permission of Jan Zamoyski."

We can form an idea about the architectural features of the brick church only thanks to a measurement (1811) by Magnus Bikshlager which is kept in the State Archives of Lublin. It was a domed cruciform structure of a longitudinal west-east axis with a pastophorion and a heptahedral apse that was outwardly accentuated. It had a large octahedral tambour, the dome being surmounted by a pyramidal spire which ended with a small rotunda in the Baroque style. The roof was tiled. The only entrance of the church opened from its western facade. The portal was embellished with stone pilasters in the Baroque style. The upper part of the entrance was engraved with an Armenian construction inscription within a rectangular frame, that part being adorned with a triangular cornice. The church looked particularly magnificent thanks to its three pediments which were embellished with pilasters, niches and crosses. The outer ornamentation also included other pilasters that were placed within a regular distance of each other. The section adjacent to the roof had a decorative band that was edged with cornices and looked like a railing.

To the north-west, the church was adjoined by a three-floor bell tower. Its first two storeys, which were square in plan, were as high as the church walls and had almost the same outer decoration. The first floor was an open arched hall; the third one, octahedral and decorated with four rows of cornices and eight pilasters, ended in a pyramidal spire.

Inwardly, the church hall was 40 Polish ells long, 10 ells wide and 28 ells high (one ell is 59.6 cm).¹⁵² The transversal nave was 22 ells long and 8 ells wide. The exterior dimensions of the building were as follows: length: ca. 26 metres; width: ca. 16.5 metres, and height: ca. 24 metres. According to the measurements of 1968, the church foundations were 1.5 metres wide and 2.4 metres deep.¹⁵³

A preserved longitudinal section of the church enables us to form an idea about its inner decoration. It was rich in pilasters that ended in pointed blind arches in Gothic style. Between every two pilasters, there

were vertical windows crowned by semi-circular arches. Most probably, the church ceiling had intersecting Gothic vaults. The altar was decorated with the holy image of the Madonna and the Child, in which St. Mary and infant Jesus have accentuated Armenian features, big black eyes and dark hair (now the image is in the Franciscan church of Shebzhechin City). The lateral apses were embellished with scenes showing the Crucifixion and Transfiguration of Christ, as well as Sts. Gregory the Enlightener, Andrew the Apostle, Anne, Onufrius and Kayetan.¹⁵⁴

The study of the plans of Zamosc worked out in the early 18th century shows that the church complex was enclosed within walls, and its main gate was placed directly on the axis of Ormyanska Street. The aforementioned five houses built by Varteres Kirkorovich stood all along the southern part of the area.¹⁵⁵ The north-western corner was probably occupied by the priest's house which is not preserved.

Priests. The first Armenian clergyman who served the Armenians of Zamosc was *Christapor (Kshishtof) Calouste*, who had arrived from a Turkish region. He was mentioned in the well-known decree of 1585, in which Jan Zamoyski promised to pay him an annual amount of 60 gold coins for his service. Most probably, his first name was Khachatur and his family name/middle name was Galust. As reported by Sadok Baronch, Kshishtof Calouste was ordained as a priest by the abovementioned clergyman Lukash (Ghukas), who had been invited from Lviv.¹⁵⁶

Hakob Tokhatetsi mentions *Priest Khachatur* in a Book of Canons written in Lviv in 1602: "The judge, Mr. Esan Bey, the receiver of this [book], made strenuous efforts and carried out this God-pleasing job ... in memory of his forefathers. A priest named Khachatur ... wanted to take [this book] from the judge and give it to the church of Sourb Astvatzatzin [Holy Virgin] in the city of Zamosca as a gift. Priest Khachatur, who was very fond of books, especially old ones, got permission from the judge, Mr. Esan Bey—after repeated entreaties—to copy this book. After finishing his work, he gave the duplicate to Mr. Esan Bey: it was really a splendid work without any errors, written in the *yerkatagir* font [the earliest Armenian font created and used in headers and lapidary inscriptions]. And Mr. Esan Bey received it from Priest Khachatur in ever living memory of his soul."¹⁵⁷

Nerses Akinian wrote that he did not know Priest Khachatur, who probably was not a member of the

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁵³ J. Chrzaszczewski, *Rekonstrukcja wyglądu kościoła ormiańskiego w Zamosciu na podstawie zachowanych Dokumentów i planów, Biuletyn ormiańskiego towarzystwa kulturalnego* ["The Reconstruction of the Armenian Church of Zamosc on the Basis of Preserved Documents and Plans," *Bulletin of the Armenian Cultural Society*], no. 4 (Kraków, 1995), p. 15.

¹⁵⁴ Kondraciuk, "Armenian Art in Zamosc," p. 24.

¹⁵⁵ Kędziora, <http://zamosciopedia.pl/>

¹⁵⁶ Barącz, 1869, p. 177.

¹⁵⁷ Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 1, p. 77.

Polish Armenian community.¹⁵⁸ However, our study of some manuscripts of the early 17th century revealed several references to this clergyman, who lived in Lviv. Thus, for instance, in 1603 Ghazar Baberdtsi wrote the following in a *Haysmavurk* (a compilation of hagiographies): “May you remember my spiritual father, Priest Khachatur, in your immaculate prayers.”¹⁵⁹

In 1626 and 1630 Hieromonk Khachatur wrote two colophons in the Lectionary of the church of Zamosc: “Hieromonk Khachatur of Lviv ... came to bless the foundation of the holy church and collect gifts and donations for the Holy See of Echmiatzin.”¹⁶⁰ The other colophon says: “I am the sinful hieromonk Khachatur, who was sent to this city of Zamosca—may God protect it—to distribute the holy chrism [*myuron* in Armenian] and collect money and presents for Holy Echmiatzin.”¹⁶¹

These records show that Priest Khachatur served in Lviv in the first half of the 17th century and also had some relations with the church of Zamosc. The Polish sources mention him as *Christapor (Kshishtof) Glushkevich*: most presumably, *Glushko* is the Russified form of *Galust*, and this priest is the very Christapor Calouste mentioned in Jan Zamoyski’s decree.

Priest Christapor (Kshishtof) Glushkevich (he bore a noble title)¹⁶² actively struggled against Nikolai Torosovich, the Prelate of Lviv. In 1630 he largely supported Archimandrite Khachatur Kesaratsi—the latter had been sent to Lviv by the Catholicos to collect gifts and donations—and was even arrested in December 1631.¹⁶³ Besides priesthood, Christapor Glushkevich was also engaged in commerce.¹⁶⁴ He started the construction of two chapels in Lviv dedicated to Sts. Grigor (Gregory) and Silvestre,¹⁶⁵ but failed to complete them. He lived well into old age and died in Lviv in 1651, bequeathing his silver chalice to the Armenian monastery of Jerusalem.¹⁶⁶

The next parish priest of Zamosc is the renowned chronicler *Hakob Tokhatetsi*, who is mentioned as Yakub Altunovich or Bogdanovich in the Polish sources: these are the modified forms of the names of his father Altun and his grandfather Astvatzatur.

From 1595 onwards, Hakob Tokhatetsi was repeatedly mentioned in ecclesiastical manuscripts. He was born in Tokhat in 1563. At the age of 24, he was a church reader in Zamosc, and at 27 he was already a priest. He served as the parish priest of the Armenian church of Zamosc for over 70 years. A *Collection of Armenian Chants*, written by Priest Nikol in 1657, mentions him as “a hard-working [priest] already rather advanced in age, at 94.”¹⁶⁷ We mostly owe the Armenian literary legacy of Zamosc as well as the construction of the brick church to this clergyman.

Priest Petros, Hakob Tokhatetsi’s elder son, was mentioned as a priest by his father in 1638 (in 1617 the latter referred to him by his baptismal name *Grigor*): “With tears in my eyes, I am begging the Almighty God to grant good enjoyment to my elder son, Priest Petros.”¹⁶⁸ Petros’ name is missing from the list of the priests of Zamosc that is included in the colophon of Priest Nikol’s *Collection of Armenian Chants* (1657). Presumably, the influential family of the Derbedrosovich, who played a great role in the life of the community in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, descended from this clergyman.

Priest Andreas is mentioned in the colophon of a Lectionary written by Hieromonk Khachatur in 1630: “We came to this city of Zamosca—may God protect it—where Priests Hakob and Andreas served and stayed in the latter’s place. May he be glorified in God in this life and in eternity.”¹⁶⁹

Priest Nikol mentions himself in the following colophon: “By the grace and mercy of the Lord, I started and completed this *Collection of Armenian Chants* in the land of the Ilakhs, in Zamosc, on 9 November 1106 (1657), Monday. It was written by the unskillful hand of an ordinary mortal who is nominally called Priest Nikol.”¹⁷⁰ In the same colophon, the priest also speaks about his age (he was born in 1597) and his family members: “Also, if you find it worthy, may you remember the worthless scribe, Priest Nikol, with sympathy on the day of holy and glorious Judgement. Bowing down before you, I am begging you not to blame me for my errors as I wrote this at the age of 60, with my eye-sight already impaired and my senses weakened. May I implore you not to reproach me and remember us, my father Murat, my mother Yahut and my wife Mariam of blessed memory.”¹⁷¹

Priest Hovhannes. In 1645 the church reader Maruta Sebastatsi copied a Mashtots Book of Ritual, in

158 Ալիփեանց Ն., Յուգակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց ի Լվով եւ ի Ստանիսլավով [N. Akinian, List of the Armenian Manuscripts of Lviv and Stanislavov] (Vienna, 1961), p. 26.

159 Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 1, p. 122.

160 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 203.

161 Ibid., p. 369.

162 Korwin, p. 83.

163 Dashkevich, p. 1149.

164 Baracz, 1856, p. 132.

165 Ibid.

166 Ibid.

167 Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 3, p. 751.

168 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 718.

169 Ibid., p. 369.

170 Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 3, p. 751.

171 Ibid., p. 751.

which he stated that he did this work “for the enjoyment of the newly-ordained priest, Hovhannes.”¹⁷² Also, in 1657 Priest Nikol made reference to “the honourable priest Hov[h]annes, the son of Christosatur from the city of Kafa.”¹⁷³

The Catholic missionary Aloisia Maria Pidu mentions this priest with words of praise: “Two priests serve for the church of this place. One of them is Hovhannes Ch[r]istosturovich, a bachelor aged 47, a man of awesome knowledge and virtues with perfect command of Latin and the old Armenian language, in which many great scholars wrote their works. He is also diligent in serving for the holy faith: this is proved by the praiseworthy order reigning in the church where he is the priest, and by the people who know a lot about the church thanks to his frequent preaching. Queen Ludwika Maria of blessed memory even wanted to appoint him as chief of the Council of the Armenian Bishops of Lviv.”¹⁷⁴

Priest Hovhannes was born in 1625 in the family of Christosatur, a merchant from Kafa. In 1645 he was ordained as a priest, being promoted to senior priest of the parish after Hakob Tokhatetsi’s death. Priest Hovhannes played a great role in the introduction of the Armenian Catholic faith in Zamosc. Pidu writes the following in this respect: “On the 19th or 20th, the archbishop addressed a letter to Hovhannes Ch[r]istosturovich, the parish priest of the Armenian church of Zamostie, about the necessary steps to be taken, and the priest obeyed the order despite the protests of the people, and particularly, an Armenian clergyman called Simeon. Known for his great piety, he put down the following in the church journal: ‘Today heresy penetrated into the Armenian church of Zamostia.’”¹⁷⁵

After this incident, Simeon had to move to Lviv, where he was ordained as a priest and started serving in the church of St. Hakob (Jacob),¹⁷⁶ meanwhile also continuing his active struggle against the union of churches. He was repeatedly arrested by the municipal authorities at the demand of Nikolai Torosovich and was banished from the country in the end.¹⁷⁷

Priest Hovhannes, who was held in high esteem among the Armenian Catholics, was even considered to be the most expected successor of Archbishop Nikolai Torosovich, the Prelate of Lviv. Mentioning the four likely candidates for this post, Pidu wrote: “Ch[r]istosturovich, the Armenian priest of Zamostia, was so diligent in serving for his faith and had such good knowledge of Latin and Armenian that the queen, Ludwika Maria, wanted to appoint him as Prelate of Lviv.”¹⁷⁸

It is interesting to note that speaking about Priest Hovhannes, Pidu also mentions the queen of Poland, Ludwika Maria (1611 to 1667), which leads us to the presumption that the priest personally knew her and was probably her protege.

Priest Petros (baptismal name: Melkhiar Nikoghayos Arienovich), who was a relative of Priest Hovhannes,¹⁷⁹ was one of the alumni of the Armenian Catholic school of Lviv. Born in 1640, he was ordained as an Armenian Catholic priest in 1668.¹⁸⁰ Pidu writes the following about him: “Priest Petros, 32, is a young man with good command of the Latin and Armenian languages. He is a true Catholic. After studying at the Catholic school of Lviv for several months, he was ordained thanks to our mediation.”¹⁸¹

Mention is also made of the Armenian Catholic clergymen Peter Gzhegozh Davidovich¹⁸² (1679), Simeon Stetkiyevich (1703 and 1720),¹⁸³ Zakhariash Kshishtof Stetskovich¹⁸⁴ (1725) and Kayetan Kossa¹⁸⁵ (1749 to 1774).

The last priest of the Armenians of Zamosc was *Deodat Shadbey*,¹⁸⁶ who served from 1774 until 1784, when the church parish stopped existing on the order of the Austrian authorities.

As for clergymen of lower rank, mention should be made of the deacons Varteres (Asvatur’s son,¹⁸⁷ 1642) and David (Gaspar’s son,¹⁸⁸ 1652), as well as the church readers Simeon (Martiros’ son, 1584 to 1639), Astvatzatur¹⁸⁹ (1640) and Maruta (Alexanos’ son,¹⁹⁰ 1645).

172 Ibid., p. 196.

173 Ibid., p. 751.

174 Pidu, p. 16.

175 Ibid., p. 39.

176 Ibid.

177 Ibid., p. 17.

178 Ibid., p. 228.

179 Ibid., p. 118.

180 Ibid., p. 128.

181 Ibid., p. 16.

182 Tashian, p. 26.

183 Ibid., p. 27.

184 Baracz, 1869, p. 178.

185 Ibid.

186 Ibid.

187 Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 3, p. 49.

188 Ibid., p. 477.

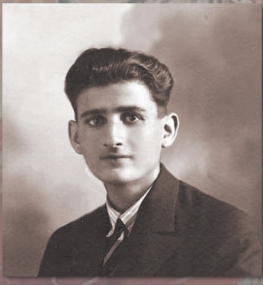
189 Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century, vol. 2, p. 797.

190 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 196.

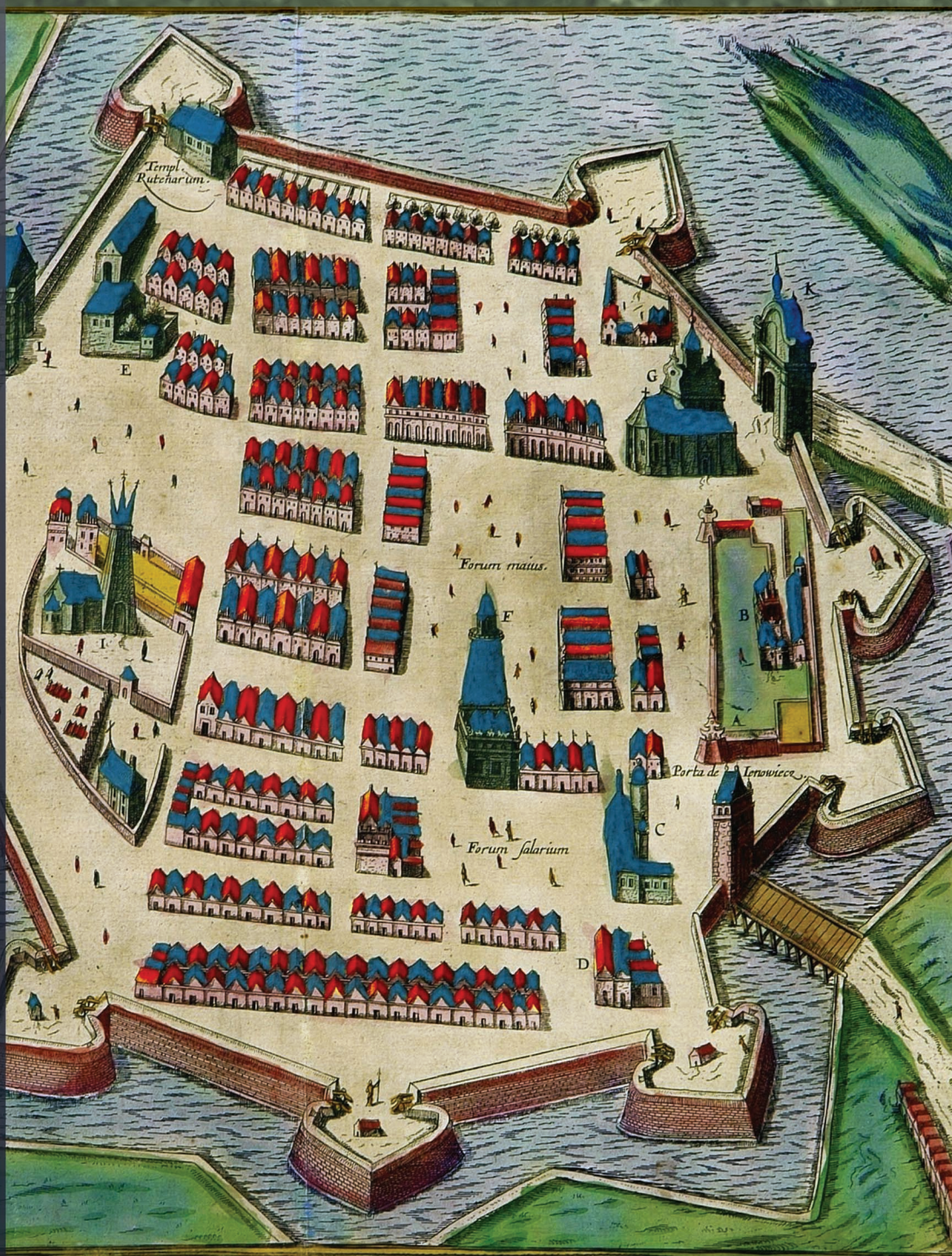
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A. Armamentariū. G. T.
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