# Armenians in Old Poland and Austrian Galicia

A Demographic and Historical Study

Franciszek Wasyl



BRILL | Ferdinand Schöningh

Armenians in Old Poland and Austrian Galicia

Franciszek Wasyl

## Armenians in Old Poland and Austrian Galicia

A Demographic and Historical Study

Translated by Mark Aldridge

BRILL | Ferdinand Schöningh

Cover illustration: *Großmutter und Enkel, armenische Typen aus Kuty*, in: *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, t. 11, Vienna 1890

Reviewers: Prof. dr hab. Zdzisław Budzyński Prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Zamorski

Publication financed under the program of the Minister of Science and Higher Education under the name "National Development Program of Humanities" in 2016-2019 (agreement no. 0248/NPRH4/H3a/83/2016) The book was published under the patronage of Research Center for Armenian Culture in Poland (within the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences)

 $^{\odot}$  Copyright by Franciszek Wasyl and Księgarnia Akademicka Press, 2019







### NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANITIES

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data available online: http://dnb.d-nb.de

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

© 2021 by Brill Schöningh, Wollmarktstraße 115, 33098 Paderborn, Germany, an imprint of the Brill-Group (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Germany; Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria) Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau, Verlag Antike and V&R unipress.

www.schoeningh.de

Cover design: Evelyn Ziegler, Munich Production: Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn

ISBN 978-3-506-76010-4 (hardback) ISBN 978-3-657-76010-7 (e-book)

## Contents

Introd	Introduction				
Chapt	er I: S	ources and Literature	1		
1.		rview of Sources	1		
2.	The Sources in Detail				
	2.1	Lists of the Faithful ( <i>Status Animarum</i> )	4 4		
	2.2	Registers of Marriages, Baptisms and Deaths	19		
		2.2.1 Armenian Catholic Registers	20		
		2.2.2 Roman Catholic Registers	25		
	2.3	The Josephine and Franciscan Measures (Cadasters)	26		
	2.4	Cartography	30		
	2.5	Surviving Sources from the Gmina: Acta Iudicii Civilis			
		Armenorum	32		
	2.6	Documents from the Archbishop's Office	34		
3.	Sele	cted Literature	34		
	3.1	Historical Demography	35		
	3.2	Genealogy, Family Chronicles, Memoirs and Diaries	37		
	3.3	Historiography and the Armenians	40		
	3.4	Founding Masters	44		
Chapt	er II:'	The Armenians and their Small Collectivity	47		
1.	Geo	graphy of Settlement	47		
2.	The	Size of the Armenian Population	51		
3.	The	Religious Community	56		
	3.1	Territorial Organization	56		
	3.2	Economic Affairs	62		
	3.3	People of the Church	66		
4.	The	Formation of an Armenian Nobility	72		
5.	Questions of Armenian Identity				
	5.1	The Case of Kasper Melchior Ciąglewicz	78		
	5.2	The Case of Grzegorz Romaszkan	83		
Chapt		: The Armenian Way of Marriage	91		
1.	Con	tracting a Marriage in Armenian Society	93		
	1.1	The Law	93		
	1.2	Kinship of the Spouses	97		

	1.3	Age at Marriage	100	
	1.4	Seasonality of Marriages (Annual by Month)	105	
	1.5	Seasonality of Marriages (Day of the Week)	108	
	1.6	Second Marriages	110	
		1.6.1 A Bachelor Marries a Widow	112	
	1.7	Mixed-rite Marriages	114	
2.	•	h, Custom and Tradition in Armenian Marriage	122	
	2.1	Matchmakers, Engagement and the Marriage Contract	122	
	2.2	The Marriage Ceremony and the Wedding Feast	129	
	2.3	Marriage Custom Flouted	131	
Chapt	er IV:	Offspring	135	
1.		bre the Birth of a Child	137	
2.		ecting a Child: Case Studies	140	
2. 3.	-	tisms in the Armenian Catholic Cathedral in Lwów	140	
3.	3.1	Armenians of the Lwów Metropolis in the Light of Baptism	144	
	2.1	Records	150	
	3.2	Godparents	150	
4	0	wives and Medical Knowledge	154 160	
4. -		itimi	166	
5. 6.	0	tism and Confirmation		
	-		173	
7.		t Names	176	
	7.1	First Names of Boys	177	
	7.2	First Names of Girls	185	
	7.3	First Names Given at Confirmation	189	
	7.4	Two-part Names Given at Baptism and Confirmation	190	
	7.5	First Names of Illegitimate Children	191	
Chapt	er V: T	The Armenian Hearth and Home	193	
1.	Family and Kinship in the Armenian Collectivity			
		nguage, Law, Norms)	195	
	1.1	The Family from the Perspective of a Divorce Case		
	1.2	The Family from the Perspective of an Inheritance Case		
	1.3	A Family Firm: Family Relations from the Perspective of	1	
		Commercial Activity	209	
2.	Arm	nenian Burgher Families on the Example of Horodenka	9	
	and Kuty			
	2.1	Multigenerational Families	216 218	
	2.1	Servants and Lodgers	210	
	4.4	00, ruino unu Dougoro		

3.	From a Prospering Burgher Family to the Nobility				
	3.1 The Abgarowicz Family of Stanisławów: the Story of Three				
	Brothers and Two Generations	226			
	3.2 Armenian Noble Families: Krzeczunowicz and Nikorowicz	230			
	3.2.1 The Krzeczunowicz Family	231			
		241			
Chapte	er VI: Death and the Funeral	253			
1.	The Death of Children and the Young	254			
2.	Death in the Prime of Life (20-59 years)	260			
		261			
	2.2 Deaths in Childbirth in Women Aged Twenty or Above	264			
	2.3 Seasonality of the Deaths of Armenians in the Prime				
		269			
3.		271			
U		277			
		281			
4.	Deaths in Hospitals and Deaths Caused by Poverty and				
1.		285			
5.	Remarkable Cures: the Book of Miracles as a Record of	5			
5.		291			
6.		295			
0.		295 295			
		293 297			
7.		297 300			
7.		300			
Afterw	ord	307			
11100110	,	307			
Docum	nentation: Armenian Catholic Censuses	311			
		J			
Map .		511			
<b>r</b> -		J			
Source	s	515			
		00			
Literat	ure	$5^{2}5$			
List of	Illustrations	543			
		2.0			
List of	Tables	547			
		2.1			

List of Figures	549
Documents in the Annexe of Sources	551
Index	553

### Introduction

This book is the result of a combined interest in historical demography and the history of the Polish Armenians. Historical demography, which is already a very well-developed field of historical reflection, rests on a defined and established methodology that has been used – and sometimes even improved – by its successive practitioners. The history of the Armenians, understood as an account of events in the life of this collectivity and its institutions (social, religious), also has a place among the academic sub-disciplines. It is not difficult to see what distinguishes these two lines of interest. Demography is concerned with quantitative analysis: "demographic facts" that it examines for their biological (births and deaths) or biological-cultural (marriage) substrata. But in the classical formulation the history of the Armenians can be presented as the sum of enquiries into the fate of individual people or families (genealogy), or as the history of the collectivity and its institutions as a whole (history of the church, social history).

Following its title, this book seeks to fuse the methodologies of both fields so that they supplement and enrich one another. This is best illustrated by an example. Marian Rosco Bogdanowicz (1862-1955), who was descended from the Polish Armenians, recalls in his memoirs a family tragedy that took place as the 1830s gave way to the 1840s. The memoirist's grandfather, Antoni Rosco Bogdanowicz, had: "... a single son and four daughters, of which three [were] pretty and comely maidens and one was the disabled, but exceptionally good and worthy, Serafina, who was very nearly as short as a dwarf." One day the girls went to bathe in the Bug (the event took place in Sokal). One of them struck a whirlpool and started to sink. Her two sisters, and a girlfriend standing close by, hastened to her aid. The result: "... all four drowned before the eyes of the petrified, disabled Serafina, who remained on the bank."<sup>2</sup> A demographer discovering this tragic episode in the story of the Bogdanowicz family in the local death records might conclude that the number of deaths resulting from unfortunate accidents in the river tended to increase in the summer. Yet because a series of important facts set in train by this event on the Bug remain concealed, our desire for a closer and deeper understanding is not satisfied: "Under the influence of this catastrophe my grandfather did not want to return to the Sokal lands. Instead he settled in his home (now the Baworowski palace)

2 Ibid.

<sup>1</sup> M. Rosco Bogdanowicz, *Wspomnienia* [*Recollections*], preface by A. Knot; prepared for printing, footnotes and translation from foreign texts by J. Gintel, Kraków 1959, vol. 1, p. 10.

INTRODUCTION

in Lwów at ul. Czarnieckiego 4."3 The family moved to Lwów as a result of the calamity, which is not something we would be able to glean from demographic sources. But this was not the most important matter. As a consequence of the young girl's death: "Serafina's father and aunt inherited much more wealth than they could otherwise have expected."<sup>4</sup> The physically unattractive maiden had become an alluring prospect on the local matrimonial market. To avoid potential dowry hunters, the girl's family: "... arranged for her to marry her virtuous and exceptionally understanding cousin, Robert Bogdanowicz."<sup>5</sup> The case of Serafina exemplifies the interventions made by close family members both to preserve kinship and to secure the economic success of the new couple. This girl of "dwarfish height" provided her husband with such comfort and peace of mind that he: "... flung himself wholeheartedly into his beloved historical studies." Perhaps in this way he found compensation for what may have been lacking in his married life.<sup>6</sup> The marriage produced two sons: "Zygmunt, an excellent musician, [...] committed suicide for reasons that have not vet been explained. The second was Stanisław."7 This brief excerpt from the life and times of the Rosco Bogdanowicz family demonstrates how two angles of historical enquiry can supplement and clarify each other.

As it was in the author's case, initial interest in the Armenians often flows from the enchanting myth that surrounds them in Polish literature. Though intricately layered, it can be defined in a brief phrase: "Newcomers from the Orient." The meaning and origin of these fantasies of the Armenians lies in the Old Polish Period. Adopted by a historiography in thrall to multi-culturalism, this myth is now enjoying a renaissance that is damaging to the historical reality it seeks to describe and explain. After all, the scent of the cardamom and roots the Armenians traded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries does not mask the odour of the goat meat and Hutsul cheese they carried in their bags as they drove herds of oxen to Ołomuniec.<sup>8</sup> There is no doubt that these "Simple Armenian people in Galicia"<sup>9</sup> deserve to be studied and discussed with the "oriental" lenses removed and with greater attunement and sensitivity to the ties of the Armenians with their new homeland.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.p. 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Depiction of Polish Armenians of the nineteenth century after L. Jabłonowski, *Pamiętniki* [*Memoirs*], prepared with an introduction and footnotes by K. Lewicki, Kraków 1964, p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> The words of Henryk Golejewski. See H. Golejewski, *Pamiętnik [Memoirs*], prepared for publication by I. Homola, B. Łopuszański, J. Skowrońska, Kraków 1971, vol. 2, p. 77.

This monograph, which complements the existing body of work on the Armenian diaspora in a Central European context, is the first demographic synthesis devoted to the Armenian community in Old Poland and Austrian Galicia (1772–1860). It is the story of the biological and cultural trajectory of a human life: birth, marriage, childbearing, family life, sickness, old age and death. The author enumerates the Armenian diaspora in Austrian Galicia and poses questions regarding Armenian identity, religious practices and community life. The book includes a discussion of archival sources and contains a selection of the parish family registers (*status animarum*) in the annex. These documents, which not only enhance the narration but also detail the Armenian families, can stimulate further research and support genealogical investigations.

#### The author:

Franciszek Wasyl received his PhD from the Jagiellonian University in 2012. His main area of interest is the socio-economic history of Armenians and Jews in the 18th and 19th centuries. He is a collector and editor of source materials that document the presence of ethnic minority groups on the territories of Eastern Europe. He has been working at the Research Center for Armenian Culture in Poland (within the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences) since 2019.



NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANITIES

