

Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1564–1608 w języku ormiańsko-kipczackim [Records of the Armenian Spiritual Court of Lwów, 1564–1608 in Armeno-Kipchak language], ed. Edward Tryjarski, Cracow: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2017, 1149 pp., *Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego — Polska Akademia Umiejętności*, vol. 117; *Pomniki Dziejowe Ormian Polskich*, vol. 1, electronic version of the original text is attached

The consistent effort of the outstanding Warsaw orientalist Edward Tryjarski has been completed with another study and publication of an important source. This text from the second half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century waited 410 years to become available. It was created before the great turmoil of Cossack wars in the Ukraine and the destructive period of the Swedish invasion. It is a unique case, more typical for a lost, loose medieval document or its copy. Records from 1564–1608 are an original manuscript created in the religious community of the Armenian Church in Lwów (L'viv). These records are valuable for many researchers of different qualifications and workshop skills.

Records were made in the Armeno-Kipchak language, which was at that time used by all Armenians in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The text was not accessible for outsiders, because it was written in the Armenian alphabet. Armenians themselves called their Turkish dialect 'a Tartar language'.¹ The first groups of Armenians appeared in Ruthenia in the twelfth century, and bigger ones appeared in the towns subordinated to the Golden Horde and the Crimean Khanate in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. After taking over the rule over Red Ruthenia, King Casimir the Great granted in 1356 a privilege to the Leopolitans, in which he approved the existence of four different municipal communities which could be ruled according to their own regulations; one of them was Armenian community. We do not know when Armenians began to create written documentation; it could have been created from the very beginning, like in the case of Kamieniec Podolski (Kamianets' Podil's'kyi), which received an urban charter from Prince Alexander Koriatowicz, a Polish vassal, before 1376 (apparently in 1350).²

¹ Edward Tryjarski, 'Ze studiów nad rękopisami i dialektem kipczackim Ormian polskich', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 23, 1960, 2, pp. 7–55. Review of works: Edward Tryjarski, *Armeno-Kipchak Studies: Collected Papers*, ed. Marek Mejor and Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, Warsaw, 2017, 1068 pp., *Prace Orientalistyczne — Polska Akademia Nauk*, vol. 43.

² Andrzej Janeczek, 'Zróżnicowanie etniczne wobec integracji państwowej i stanowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce', in *Historia społeczna późnego średniowiecza: Nowe badania*, ed. Sławomir Gawlas, Warsaw, 2011, pp. 359–85; Alexander Garkavets, *Qypchaq Written Heritage*, 3 vols, Almaty, 2002–10, vol. 1: *Catalogue and Texts of Monuments Written in Armenian Script: Russian Version*. Jerzy Wyrozumski, 'Kraków i Lwów w średniowiecznej Europie', in *Kraków i Lwów w cywilizacji europejskiej*, ed. Jacek Purchla, Cracow, 2005, pp. 35–45.

It is certain that the fate of particular volumes of records differed. Individual volumes called *defters* (tax registers) had probably been kept in the treasury of the Armenian cathedral until the 1790s. It has not been determined what happened later. A part of records containing entries from the period 1625–30 was forwarded by a priest or an Leopolitan Armenian family to the outstanding orientalist, Mongolia and Turkey scholar Władysław Kotwicz. It could have happened in 1926, when Kotwicz came to Poland and took the Chair at Jan Kazimierz Lwów University. In our opinion, the discovery of sewn files of records from the period 1625–30 could have taken place even a few years earlier. In 1919–20 the Polish-Armenian Society was established in Lwów; it provided help to emigrants from Caucasian countries following their seizure by the Red Army and conducted a lecture campaign. An activist of this Society was Jan Grzegorzewski, a traveller, writer and researcher of the history of Polish-Turkish relations.³

Władysław Kotwicz was busy with lectures and seminars, Mongolian studies and the organization of annual national orientalist congresses, so he did not edit the records. The outburst of war in 1939 took him by surprise during holiday near Wilno (Vilnius), where he spent the whole occupation and died (1944).⁴ Finally, the book of Records from 1625–30 was brought from L'viv to Cracow in 1946 by Marian Lewicki. After his death (1955) the text was held by a scholar of Turkish Studies, Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, who was busy with editorial work and the history of Polish-Turkish relations, so he only made a preliminary reading. The text landed in the Polish Science Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU) as late as 1990. This enabled Edward Tryjarski to get access to the source and after four years of work resulted in a perfect publication of this part of Records in 2010.⁵

The history of the older part of Records, from 1564–1608, is also known only partially. In the eighteenth century, old books of the Ecclesiastical Court in Lwów should have been in the archives of the incumbent Catholic-Armenian archbishop. Researchers do not know the circumstances in which they were dispensed from the cathedral treasury. A trustworthy clergyman or man of merit — a secretary of the Ecclesiastical Court should have been fit to keep them safe. One may explore if the fact of leaving the cathedral treasury or archives did not result from implementation of the so-called Josephist reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy (1780–90) and the liquidation in 1784 of separate Armenian courts in the whole state. At that time, the privileges granted to Armenians by Polish kings ceased to have effect. Therefore, after the above date

³ Jan Tyszkiewicz, 'Jan Grzegorzewski w końcowych latach życia: 1916–1922', *Almanach Karaimski*, 4, 2015, pp. 117–26.

⁴ Stanisław Kałużyński, 'Władysław Kotwicz (1872–1944)', *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, 25, 1972, 2, pp. 103–14; Jan Tyszkiewicz, 'Turkolodzy polscy w czasie II wojny światowej', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 63, 2018, 4, pp. 71–82.

⁵ Edward Tryjarski, *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1625–1630 w języku ormiańsko-kipczackim*, Cracow, 2010, RWHF PAU, vol. 111. See: my review: Jan Tyszkiewicz, *KH*, 119, 2012, 2, pp. 403–07.

records of the Ecclesiastical Court could become dispersed. Texts written in the obscure language and obscure Armenian alphabet were unavailable to ordinary Armenians. They must have been kept safe by three consecutive generations, that is, by about a century. Mechitarists Convent with its seat in Vienna conducted a regular campaign of gathering manuscripts and publications which were remnants of Armenians' activity. Records from 1564–1608 were obtained as late as 1895, by Father Bartłomiej Kostecki from the Armenian community in the town of Tyśmienica near Stanisławów. The Tyśmienica collection consisted of approximately twenty different manuscripts. It could be a remnant of Armenian school or the private library of a far-seeing parish priest, for example, Grzegorz Myszoro (from 1849). In 1866 the books survived the fire which destroyed Tyśmienica and the Armenian church.⁶ The Community in Tyśmienica developed in the sixteenth century, the same as in Bar, Podhajce, Jazłów and Zamość. It was relatively wealthy, since at the exhibition of Armenian art (in Lwów in 1932) silver products — dishes and worship objects — were represented mainly by three centres: Lwów, Tyśmienica and Stanisławów.⁷

The edition of the Ecclesiastical Court Records from 1564–1608 consists of: A) an introduction (pp. 7–36), B) the source text in the Armeno-Kipchak language (pp. 37–334), C) a translation into Polish (pp. 335–546) and D) indexes. The content of each page (the obverse of the chart and the reverse of the chart) was published separately. The facsimile of the whole text on CD is attached to the book. The editor explains in the introduction the source knowledge problems, language form and the content of the Records. The comments regarding linguistic influences (grammar, lexicon) in the original text are valuable for linguists and sociologists. Historians and culture researchers will find much source information in the text. Identification and work is facilitated by: the index of Armeno-Kipchak words (pp. 549–744), the index of proper names (pp. 745–80), the index of ethnic names and places/localities (pp. 781–88) and index of Polish words used in the record dated 22 January 1606 of Polish texts written down in Armenian script (chart 164v–165r). The scope of activity of the Ecclesiastical Court of that time should be further studied. Edward Tryjarski does not consider his findings reached until this point to be conclusive.⁸

⁶ Stefan Barącz, *Rys dziejów ormiańskich*, Tarnopol, 1869, pp. 172–75; Jacobus Dashian, *Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitharistenbibliothek zu Wien*, Wien, 1895, p. 212; Tadeusz Mańkowski, 'Archiwum lwowskiej katedry ormiańskiej', *Archeion*, 10, 1932, pp. 1–11 (p. 5).

⁷ Czesław Chowaniec, *Ormianie w Stanisławowie w XVII i XVIII w.*, Stanisławów, 1928; *Wystawa zabytków ormiańskich we Lwowie*, ed. Tadeusz Mańkowski, Lviv, 1933; Dzhuł'eta O. Galustian, *Kul'turnaia zhizn' armianskikh kolonii srednevekovoi Pol'shi (XVI–XVII vv.)*, Yerevan, 1981; on Tyśmienica: p. 17 and 49.

⁸ *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1564–1608* (hereinafter: Records 1564–1608), pp. 10–13; see: Krzysztof Stopka, 'Kultura religijna Ormian polskich: Struktury i stosunki kościelno-publiczne', in *Animarum kultura: Studia nad kulturą religijną na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, ed. Halina Manikowska and Wojciech Brojer, Warsaw, 2008, pp. 229–70 (p. 242 et passim).

In the second half of the sixteenth century assimilation processes in the language of Armenian *kipchakophones* (a term created by Edward Tryjarski) accelerated. Many words regarding construction, clothes, court practices, relationship or craft were acquired. Hybrid expressions appeared: 'holarmen maluczki vislu-chanie' (please, listen to me for a while). The following words were taken over: *jednacz* (conciliator, from Polish verb *jednać*), *wychowanica* (ward), *switlica* (a bigger, representative room), *benkartowy* (ignominious, of worse quality, from the Polish *bękart*, that is, a bastard), *fortel* (ploy) (see Henryk Sienkiewicz's vocabulary in *Potop* (The Deluge)) and so on. There are only few words from Latin (*ar-biter*, *submisja* and so forth). In the 'Introduction' the editor mentions Armenians' areas of life documented in the Records: family relationships, short genealogical studies, clergy and Armenian Church matters, piety norms, customs, learning and reading matters, liabilities and guarantees. The dominating problems, that is trade, caravans, goods, customs, fairs and market stand sale, are relatively briefly presented by the Editor. Family matters were very closely linked with financial activity in all its symptoms (loans, guarantees, debts, partnership, pledges, percent and so on).

Complicated cases were pending before the Court for years: official act of getting engaged or married, divorces and bigamy (more rarely); such cases always had financial consequences. And custom and family honour had to be kept. Things were more complicated if a father or family elders joined the prolonged process of marriage. Annulment of an official engagement revealed the fiscal background of the planned relationship: benefits for girl's father and profits for the fiancé (convenient agreements and guarantees). If wedding was delayed, a woman felt offended and her father suddenly saw too few benefits from the planned relationship: thus, bargaining the terms of marriage continued. Another case: breaking into a maiden's house in the evening and a later escape through the window seemingly ends up amicably. The intruder — Deacon Asvadur — is ordered to immediately get married and leave Lwów. A quick marriage allowed for the avoiding of procedures and many costs. But the deacon and his wife were exiled, in spite of the woman's family's efforts — moral models were cared about.⁹

Towns mentioned in the text (*vide* name index) allow for defining territorial range of trade in Poland — Bełz, Danzig (Gdańsk), Jarosław, Cracow, Lublin, Łuck, Włodzimierz, Zamość, Warsaw, Kamieniec and, in the Middle East — Ajan (Persia), Arindz, Varak, Yerevan (Armenia), Kayseri (Caesarea) and Šam (Damascus in Syria), Tokat and Ankara, Istanbul (Turkey). Thanks to further information we see the circle of contacts covering: Moscow, Livonia, Lithuania, Poland, Moldova, Greece, Turkey, Armenia and Persia.¹⁰ On 20 August 1576 Leopolitan merchants

⁹ Records 1564–1608, fols 152r–155r.

¹⁰ A full picture of the range, trails and trade centres in: Andrzej Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu: Handel między Polską a imperium osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław, 1997, pp. 11–77; tables and link maps: Feliks Kiryk, 'Z dziejów późnośredniowiecznego Kamieńca Podolskiego', in *Kamieniec Podolski: Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*, ed. idem, 2 vols, Cracow, 2000–05, vol. 1, pp. 67–109.

brought 10 camel saddle-packs of cinnamon and 10 saddle-packs of sugar straight from India.¹¹ Regular income less risky than far travels was earned at the fairs in Lwów, Jarosław, Rzeszów, Lublin, Włodzimierz, Przemyśl, Równe, Skalat, Kamieniec and Kiev. During fairs charity collections were organized (for financial support for the clergy, and redemption of slaves from Tartar captivity).

The Armenian commonalty (the craftsman stratum) demanded in 1591 limitation of luxury and the display of riches. But it was only ten years later that a special Danzig Law was elaborated, which obliged citizens to limit the demonstrational luxury. Council of Elders together with 'all the commonalty' codified regulations counteracting wastefulness and too lax morals (22 paragraphs). They described permitted conduct in public places, the stages of getting married, the exchange of gifts and number of persons at the wedding. Many bans related to female clothes; women could only wear one chain and one bracelet; but they also related to male clothes (a ban on clothes made of satin and damask silk, gold bracelets, decoration with pearls and noble stones) and so on. Breaking these regulations resulted in high financial and church penalties.¹² The important political events — the Union of Lublin and free royal elections — did not much influence Armenians' life. A more detailed analysis of social relations between nations and the middling strata of Lwów may indicate some tensions. From 1592 merchants were supposed to pay tax on silver coins taken abroad. The 'thaler tax' amounted to two florins on 100 thalers. This was a result of negative balance sheet in trade with Orient. Sigismund III Vasa had the increased financial needs connected with the Swedish policy he pursued.¹³ The wealth of Armenian merchants and clergy was subjected to control and drainage.¹⁴

The Armenian community with the Ecclesiastical Court strictly observed the rules of accepting aliens, foreigners, but also Armenians from other towns of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Records documented trials, often very complicated due to a temporary stay of Lwów inhabitants abroad, their multiple marriages, and the legal and religious status of wives and children. A wife who was not Armenian or a daughter not christened in Armenian Church remained outside the law. An example is records relating to the Donawak family.¹⁵ A school was run; it had been mentioned from 1580. Records mention several clergymen-teachers who were carefully selected.¹⁶ Deacon Minas from Tokat was accused of delays in transcribing the ordered books about medicines. The assigning party bothered

¹¹ Records 1564–1608, fols 42v–43v. A saddle-pack amounted approximately to 165 kg: Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu*, Annex 2, p. 292.

¹² Protest against luxury — 1591, fol. 74r, issuance of Danzig Law — 20 March 1601, fols 119v–123v. 'Only' ermine was permitted.

¹³ About the tax on exported thalers: 1592, fols 117v–118v.

¹⁴ Mentions: fol. 105r, 1598, fol. 129v, 1601, fol. 167v, 1606.

¹⁵ fols 30v–46v, 1574–78.

¹⁶ See: Krzysztof Stopka, 'Nieznane karty z dziejów szkolnictwa Ormian polskich: Szkoła kościelna (tybradun) do XVII w.', in *Virtuti et ingenio: Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana prof. Julianowi Dybcowi*, ed. Andrzej Banach, Cracow, 2013, pp. 477–98.

a teacher and notary of Ecclesiastical Court, who in the following years became famous as a model calligrapher and miniaturist.¹⁷ Other copiers transcribed Armenian texts in Kamieniec. The Cathedral library in Lwów had about 300 items; it was kept in trunks. It was mainly composed of posthumous donations by the clergy. Texts were necessary for conducting the liturgy, for use at school or for lending them for reading or learning to recite (in grabar) (Classical Armenian, *grabar*, meaning 'literary [language]'; along with Old Armenian or Liturgical Armenian, is the oldest attested form of the Armenian language).

Kirkor from Suczawa offered the library 22 items — prints, codexes and manuscripts. They included: calendars, religious books and secular books, such as Michał Syryjczyk's *Chronicle* (translated into Armenian before 1248), two popular works by Wardan Ajgerkce — *Fox's Book* (fairy tales and short stories) and *Wardan's Book* (sermons and parables) and the *silva rerum* titled: *The Book of Golden Thoughts*; texts gathered by the owner (poems, sermons, medical prescriptions).¹⁸ Another clergyman Lustig (died in 1590) left twenty-four books: *Hymnarium* (on parchment, from 1409), alchemy *Book of precious stones/gem* and, among others, two books in Polish and Latin (without titles). Negotiations about union with the Holy See were advanced. A few years later, in 1614, Howannes Karmatanec established a printing house in L'viv, which printed Armeno-Kipchak texts in Armenian fonts. Three red-hot items were printed: a psalm-book, a prayer book and a medical book (1614–18).¹⁹ Alchemy and medicine were popular subjects among wealthy Armenian readers. The fiancé of Zośka Torosowiczówna was accused of witchcraft by her brother Andrew. This is worth mentioning, because Andrzej Torosowicz himself was a well-known alchemist.²⁰

Most of important and precise information in the Records between 1564 and 1608 relate to international and retail trade, living standard of wealthy merchants (detailed property reports, dowries). Lwów's Armenian monastery concluded a unique lease transaction with enterpriser Hadzi Balyj from Ankara. His press for smoothing fustians and dye shop were supposed to be built in the monastery's courtyard. He also leased the whole garden and orchard with a pond

¹⁷ Joanna Rydzkowska-Kozak, *Ormiańskie malarstwo miniaturowe w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów / Armenian Miniature Painting in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, Warsaw and Toruń, 2014, pp. 102–08; Kiryk, *Z dziejów późnośredniowiecznego Kamieńca*; works of Iaroslav Dashkevych.

¹⁸ fol. 60r, 1586. Besides cash, valuable items and books, the deceased left: one quarter of saffron, 1 pound of ginger and 2.5 pounds of pepper.

¹⁹ fol. 65v, 1590. On the theme of the literacy of the Armenians in Poland in 1550–1650: Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce*, Lublin, 1982, pp. 223–86; Rafajel Iszchanian, *Książka ormiańska w latach 1512–1920*, Wrocław, 1994, pp. 61–63.

²⁰ fol. 126r, 1601. Spell was allegedly put on by a Turkman disposing with a lock of girl's hair. Cf. Edward Tryjarski, 'Andrzej Torosowicz et son traité d'alchimie', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 53, 2000, 1, pp. 9–19; idem, 'Czy polscy alchemicy wschodniego pochodzenia czerpali inspiracje także ze Wschodu?', in *Inter Orientem et Occidentem: Studia z dziejów Europy Środkowoschodniej ofiarowane Profesorowi Janowi Tyszkiewiczowi w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Tadeusz Wasilewski, Warsaw, 2002, pp. 235–41.

for annual rent of 45 florins.²¹ Entries from 1600–08 do not provide any information about political tensions between Poland and the Ottoman Empire.²² Diplomatic preparations for the war had already begun. Shah Abbas I sent legations to European rulers in 1599, while Sigismund III sent the Armenian Sefar Muratowicz to Persia in 1601. Legations circulated in both directions in 1605–09. Two fermans (a royal mandate or decree issued by a sovereign in an Islamic state) of Abbas I (of 3–18 January 1608) preserved in original version, encouraged Sigismund III to join the Polish-Turkish war.²³

Wealth guaranteed by royal privileges, easy access to the Polish court and their own family titles satisfied the aspirations of more ambitious Armenians for a long time. Only the polonization of their language (the disappearance of the grabar and Kipchak dialect) and culture, religious rapprochement (in Poland, union with the Holy See from 1620) caused Armenians' efforts to be granted nobility. Records from 1625–30 did not reveal this phenomenon yet; it was noticed only in the period 1650–80.²⁴

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²¹ Agreement was in force until the death of both of them, Hadzi and his wife; fols 156v–157v, 19 April 1604. Hadzi Balyj could be an informal Turkish agent.

²² fols until 117v, with the last entry on 28 April 1608.

²³ Report from S. Muratowicz's mission: *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, ed. Adam Walaszek, Cracow, 1980, pp. 35–47; *Stosunki dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z Persją Safawidów i katolikosatem w Eczmiadzinie w świetle dokumentów archiwalnych*, ed. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, Warsaw, 2017, no. 1–2, pp. 119–45; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, 'Europejska polityka szaha Abbasa I', in *Stosunki dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z Persją*, pp. 13–25.

²⁴ See: Józef Reczek, 'Językowa polonizacja Ormian', *Język Polski*, 67, 1987, 1/2, pp. 1–8; Ludwik Korwin, *Ormiańskie rody szlacheckie*, Cracow, 1934, pp. 55–188. Of 145 noble families at the beginning of the twentieth century only twelve were granted Polish nobility before 1700; Awak 1605, Urek 1607, Grzegorzowicz 1616, Głuszkiewicz 1624 and others in: 1654, 1655, 1658, 1659, 1662, 1673, 1678. The next ones got it only after 1780.