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ARMENIAN PARISH OF THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN ZAMOŚĆ IN THE 16TH-18TH CENTURY

(16.-18. YÜZYILLAR ARASINDA ZAMOSC'DAKİ KUTSAL MERYEM
ANA'NIN GÖĞE YÜKSELİŞİ ERMENİ KİLİSESİ CEMAATI)

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Abstract: *The Armenian church in Zamość was the westernmost Armenian temple in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Even though the church was demolished in the first half of the 19th century, its history and architecture have attracted the interest of researchers and have been the subject of several valuable studies. In the previous research, focused mainly on the architecture and artistic values of the building, written sources were scarcely used. Historians limited themselves only to the analysis of the settlement privilege for Armenians from 1585 and the 19th century copy of the summary of privileges received by the Armenian church in the 17th century. This contributed to an extremely cursory discussion of the history of the temple in the various periods of its existence and to the consolidation of many erroneous views in historiography. This article, based on numerous written sources from the 16th-18th centuries (city books, books of the Armenian court, church inventories, and metrical sources), thoroughly discusses the history of the Armenian church in Zamość and its furnishings. Particular attention is paid to the circumstances of the construction of the first makeshift temple, the organization of the parish, and the construction of a new brick church and its endowment. The course*

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of the conflict that took place in Zamość during the union between the Armenian Church and the Latin Church is also discussed. The article also presents the gradual decline of the church related to the crisis of the Armenian commune in Zamość, which at the beginning of the 19th century ended with the final liquidation of the Armenian parish and a few decades later with the demolition of the temple.

Keywords: *Zamość, Polish Armenians, parish, church union, clergy*

Öz: *Zamosc'daki Ermeni kilisesi Polonya-Litvanya Birliđi topraklarının en Batı ucundaki Ermeni ibadethanesiydi. Kilise 19'uncu yüzyılın ilk yarısında yıkılmış olsa da tarihi ve mimarisi arařtırmacıların ilgisini çekmiş ve birçok değerli çalışmaya konu olmuştur. Söz konusu yapının mimarisine ve artistik değerlerine odaklanan önceki çalışmalarda yazılı kaynaklar neredeyse hiç kullanılmamıştır. Tarihçiler, 1585'te Ermenilere verilen yerleşme imtiyazını ve 17'nci yüzyılda Ermeni kilisesine verilen imtiyazların özetinin 19'uncu yüzyıl kopyasını incelemekle yetinmişlerdir. Bu, ibadethanenin varlığının çeşitli dönemlerindeki tarihinin son derece üstünkörü bir şekilde tartışılmasına ve tarih yazımındaki birçok hatalı görüşün pekişmesine sebep olmuştur. 16'ncı ve 18'inci yüzyıllara ait çok sayıda yazılı kaynađa (şehir kitapları, Ermeni saray kayıtları, kilise malları dökümleri ve ölçüm belgeleri) dayanan bu makale, Zamosc'taki Ermeni kilisesinin tarihini ve döşemelerini kapsamlı bir şekilde tartışmaktadır. Çalışmada ilk geçici ibadethanenin inşası sırasındaki koşullara, cemaatin düzenine ve yeni bir tuđla kilisenin inşası ve bu kiliseye yapılan bađışlara özellikle dikkat edilmektedir. Ermeni Kilisesi ile Latin Kilisesi'nin birleşmesi sırasında Zamosc'ta yaşanan anlaşmazlıkların seyri de ele alınmaktadır. Makale ayrıca 19'uncu yüzyılın başında Zamosc'taki Ermeni cemaatinin nihai tasfiyesiyle ve birkaç on yıl sonra ibadethanesinin yıkılmasıyla sonuçlanan, Ermeni halkının içine girdiđi krizle bađlantılı olarak kilisenin kademeli gerilemesini anlatmaktadır.*

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Zamosc, Polonya Ermenileri, cemaat, kilise birliđi, rahipler*

Introduction

Located in eastern Poland, in the southern part of the Lublin Voivodeship, Zamość was a private town founded in 1580 on the initiative of the Grand Chancellor of the Crown, Jan Zamoyski. According to the original intentions detailed in the location act, only Catholics had the right to settle in the city¹. However, Zamoyski's ambitious plans to make Zamość an important center of trade with the Muslim East meant that this rule was abandoned². Soon, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks received the right to settle in the city³.

Among the mentioned peoples, a special role in the economic development of Zamość was played by the Armenians, who at that time dominated the trade of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with the Ottoman Empire and Persia⁴. The privilege allowing them to settle in Zamość was issued by Chancellor Zamoyski in Bełz on April 30, 1585, but the first Armenians began to appear in the city even before this document was issued⁵. They came mainly from cities of the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and two Polish cities where Armenian communities had existed since the Middle Ages – Lwów (Lviv) and Kamieniec Podolski (Kamianets-Podilskyi)⁶. The privilege for Armenians from 1585 granted the settlers of this people the right to celebrate religious services according to their own rite and to build a temple in the district of the city granted by the chancellor⁷. For over two centuries, this church was the most important and tangible trace of the presence of Armenians in Zamość⁸. It is no wonder then that already in the 19th century historians showed interest in the history of this temple. Michał Baliński and Tymoteusz Lipiński, the authors of the widely read three-volume work *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym i statystycznym* (*Old Poland in historical,*

1 *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, t. 2: 1580-1582, ed. Józef Siemieński, (Warszawa: Maurycy Zamoyski, 1909), 393.

2 Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, "Polityka handlowa Jana Zamoyskiego i jego następców", *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska Lublin – Polonia* 6, XXXVIII/XXXIX, Sectio F, 1983/1984, 93.

3 Szczęsny Morawski, "Ważniejsze przywileje i dokumenty Jana i Tomasza Zamoyskich podane w streszczeniu", *Rocznik Samborski* 12, 1888-1889, 84, 86, 88.

4 Andrzej Drozd, Marcin Łukasz Majewski, "Ormianie w procesie przepływu kultury Orientu muzułmańskiego do dawnej Rzeczypospolitej", in: *Transfer kultury arabskiej w dziejach Polski*, t. II: *Ogniwa transferu. O roli pośredników między kulturą arabską a polską*, ed. Agata S. Nalborczyk, Mustafa Switat, (Warszawa: Dialog 2019), 89.

5 Marcin Łukasz Majewski, "Ormianie w Zamościu w pierwszych dekadach istnienia miasta (1580-1610)", *Lehahayer. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Ormian polskich* 7, 2020, 7.

6 Majewski, "Ormianie w Zamościu...", 8-25.

7 *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, t. 4: 1585-1588, ed. Kazimierz Lepszy, (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1948), 405-406.

8 Zamość was founded by the Great Crown Chancellor Jan Zamoyski in 1580. The Armenians received the privilege to settle in the city five years later, but the first Armenians came to Zamość even before 1585, see: Marcin Łukasz Majewski, "Ormianie w Zamościu w pierwszych trzech dekadach istnienia miasta (1580-1610)", *Lehahayer. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Ormian polskich* 7, 2020, 7-8.

geographical and statistical terms) (published in 1843-1846) were the first researchers who became interested in the circumstances of the erection of an Armenian temple in Zamość.

Historians focused on discussing fragments of the settlement privilege from 1585 and providing basic facts about the construction of a brick church in the first half of the 17th century⁹. They based their findings entirely on an anonymous manuscript entitled *Historya Kościoła Zamojskiego Ormiańskiego z wyrażeniem przywilejów, zapisów, transakcyi do Kościoła tegoż należących summ i obligacjiów od R: 1585 do R: 1700* (*History of the Zamość Armenian Church, listing privileges, grants, transactions, sums and bonds belonging to this Church from 1585 to 1700*). This manuscript, currently in the collection of the National Library in Warsaw, is a copy of the original 18th century manuscript. It was prepared in September 1844 by a certain Ryszkiewicz – a legal trainee of the Department of Government Goods and Forests at the Government Revenue and Treasury Commission¹⁰. This source is in fact a summary of the most important grants received by the Armenian parish in the 17th century, preceded by a short introduction that discussed the circumstances of the Armenians' settlement in Zamość and the construction of their own temple. For the next generations of researchers, including those conducting research in the second half of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century, the fragment of the manuscript used by Baliński and Lipiński became the basic source of knowledge about the history of the Armenian parish in Zamość. In Armenology, the findings of these historians were popularized by a Dominican of Armenian descent and the father of Polish Armenology - Sadok Barącz. However, the monk did not limit himself to presenting the facts known to him from reading the work of Baliński and Lipiński. Thanks to the query he conducted in the files of the Armenian consistory in Lwów, he found information about the history of the Armenian parish in the last decades of the 18th century, at a time when, due to the lack of believers, the abandoned temple was falling into decline¹¹.

Research and a short description of the history of the Armenian church in Zamość published by Barącz were the last word of historiography on this subject for over 100 years. This situation has not changed, even though the Armenian community in Zamość became the subject of in-depth research by the outstanding Armenologist Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa. Of the works published by her, undoubtedly the most important was her habilitation

9 Michał Baliński, Tymoteusz Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym i statystycznym*, t. II, cz. 2 (Warszawa: Orgelbrand, 1845), 802-803.

10 Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie (hereinafter: BN), Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej (hereinafter: BOZ), sign. 1594, *Historya Kościoła Zamojskiego Ormiańskiego z wyrażeniem przywilejów, zapisów, transakcyi do Kościoła tegoż należących summ i obligacjiów od R: 1585 do R: 1700*, 29v.

11 Sadok Barącz, *Rys dziejów ormiańskich* (Tarnopol: Józef Pawłowski, 1869), 177-178.

dissertation, intended to be a comprehensive monographic study of the history of Zamość Armenians¹². Despite its undeniable value, this book omits the issues of the construction and functioning of the Armenian church and parish. The researcher limited herself only to providing information about the founding of the church, doing so while discussing the content of the settlement privilege of 1585¹³. This approach was the result of the concept of the work adopted by the author, focused primarily on the organization of the Armenian community, the practical functioning of individual legal solutions, and the activities of Armenian merchants in trade with the Muslim East. The religious life of the Armenians, although it was an important element of their everyday life, was beyond the interest of the researcher. The synthesis of the history of the Armenian community in old Poland, written many years later by Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, also covers these issues in a superficial way. The researcher mentions the Armenian parish in Zamość in one short paragraph, in which she again discusses a fragment of the privilege from 1585, gives the name of the first priest and, using the study of Father Sadok Barącz, mentions the construction of a brick church and the role played in this undertaking by the Armenian merchant Warterys Kirkorowicz¹⁴. She also briefly mentions the Armenian parish in Zamość in the chapter on the union of the Armenian Church with the Latin Church¹⁵.

The reason for the low interest in the history of the Armenian parish in Zamość could also be the fact that the church was demolished in the 1820s and the limited number of accurate iconographic sources. The absence of the temple in the city space meant that it could not become a direct stimulus for undertaking research on its history, architecture, and artistic values.

A real breakthrough in the research on the church of the Zamość Armenians took place in the early 1980s thanks to the measurement plans of the temple made in 1811 that was discovered by Bogumiła Sawa in the collection of the State Archives in Lublin¹⁶. This source was of key importance for reconstructing the appearance of the church because the inventory materials, apart from the measurement drawings, also included a longitudinal and transverse section of the church and a drawing of the facade¹⁷. Thanks to the discovery by Sawa, historians were able to get acquainted with the exact

12 Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy i ich rola w wymianie handlowej i kulturalnej między Polską a Wschodem* (Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1965).

13 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy i ich rola...*, 141-142.

14 Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1982), 192-193.

15 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce*, 278-279.

16 Bogumiła Sawa, "Jeszcze o muzeum Ormian", *Tygodnik Zamojski*, 46 (1984), 260.

17 Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (hereinafter: APL), Archiwum Ordynacji Zamojskiej ze Zwierzyńca (hereinafter: AOZZ), sign. 17626/1, Plan kościoła ormiańskiego w Zamościu, 337-340.

appearance of the church in the last period of its existence, and thanks to two other preserved iconographic sources -the depiction of the first, makeshift temple on the engraving of the general view of Zamość around 1605¹⁸, and the panorama of Zamość from the painting of the church in Bukovina from 1660, on which the brick church was painted- it became possible to trace the changes that took place in the church's architecture between the beginning of the 17th and the end of the 18th century¹⁹. The inventory materials from 1811 and the aforementioned iconographic sources were used by Jerzy Kowalczyk in the first professional study of the history and, above all, the architecture of the Armenian church in Zamość²⁰. The researcher reconstructed the appearance of the temple in a descriptive way and published its measurement plans along with sections and a drawing of the facade²¹. The historian not only filled a blank spot in historiography, but also significantly contributed to arousing interest among other researchers in the non-existent Armenian temple. One of them was Daniel Próchniak, who, on the basis of materials from the temple inventory, discussed in detail the influence of Armenian and Western European art on the architecture of the Zamość church²². At the same time, Jacek Chrzęszczewski -an art historian conducting research on the churches of Polish Armenians- published a paper on the history of the Armenian church in Zamość in the *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego (Bulletin of the Armenian Cultural Society)*²³. Seven years later, this text, in a slightly changed form, was included in an important and extremely valuable dissertation by Chrzęszczewski, devoted to the history and architecture of Armenian temples in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth²⁴. Both publications were a complete repetition of Kowalczyk's earlier findings, although the author rather referred to the sources used by Kowalczyk than to the paper published by him. An important contribution of Chrzęszczewski to the research on the Armenian church in Zamość was his drawing showing the appearance of the temple in the 18th century, certainly clearer than the published sections of the church from 1811²⁵.

18 Georg Braun, *Theatri praecipvarvm totivs mvndi vrbivm : liber sextvs* (Köln: Coloniae Agrippinae, 1618), 53v.

19 Jacek Chrzęszczewski, *Kościół Ormian Polskich* (Warszawa: Res Publica Multiethnica, 2001), 139.

20 Jerzy Kowalczyk, "Kościół ormiański w Zamościu z XVII wieku", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 25 (1980), 3-4, 215-231.

21 Kowalczyk, "Kościół ormiański w Zamościu z XVII wieku", 221-225.

22 Daniel Próchniak, "Cechy armeńskie i niearmeńskie w architekturze kościoła Ormian zamojskich", in: *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny 7, Pomiędzy wschodem a zachodem 3, Kultura artystyczna*, ed. Tadeusz Chrzęszczewski (Lublin: Lubelskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1992), 255-268.

23 Jacek Chrzęszczewski, "Historia kościoła ormiańskiego p.w. Chwalebego Wniebowzięcia Bogurodzicy Marii Panny w Zamościu", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 3 (1994:), 28-39.

24 Chrzęszczewski, *Kościół Ormian...*, 138-144.

25 Chrzęszczewski, *Kościół Ormian...*, 143.

Previous research focused only on the architecture of the church, ignoring other, no less interesting threads, such as church furnishings, the organization and endowment of the parish and its place during the conflict over the church union. This approach is fully understandable if we realize the great importance of the discovery of the drawings of the temple, thanks to which it became possible to reconstruct its appearance. However, in reconstructing the history of the parish and their church, written sources from the 16th-18th centuries were insufficiently used. Researchers limited their archival queries mostly to the manuscript from the National Library in Warsaw already used by Baliński and Lipiński, omitting several other sources that significantly expand our knowledge about the Armenian parish.

First, the books of the Armenian court in Zamość from the years 1626-1700 and the books of the Zamość city bench should be mentioned here. They contain entries that enrich our knowledge about the organization of the parish, its property, the construction of the church, its appearance and furnishing. Significant information on this subject is also found in two manuscripts in the collections of the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv. The first is a manuscript from the collection of Aleksander Czołowski entitled *Zapiski, rachunki i inwentarz kościoła ormiańskiego w Zamościu z lat 1709-1710* (*Notes, bills and inventory of the Armenian church in Zamość from 1709-1710*). Jerzy Kowalczyk was already aware of the existence of this source, but having no direct access to it, he could only use a few fragments handed over to him in the form of extracts by Adam Andrzej Witusik²⁶. For this reason, Kowalczyk could only focus on the introduction describing the destruction of the church during the fires of Zamość in 1672 and 1709 and the contract concluded between the parson and the carpenters for the repair of the roof²⁷. However, the manuscript contains a lot of other interesting information about the temple that has not been used so far.

Another important manuscript from the collection of the Vasyl Stefanyk Library is the Metrics of the Armenian church in Zamość from 1694-1776. This source should seemingly be of marginal importance in the research on the history of the Zamość Armenian parish, but due to the chronicle notes included in it, interesting information about the church furnishing can be found on its pages²⁸. The most complete data on the internal appearance of the temple, its altars, liturgical paraments, and elements of decor can be found in the register of property and sacral objects of the Armenian church in Zamość, written in 1753. This source (currently in the collection of the Manuscripts Department

26 Kowalczyk, "Kościół ormiański...", 217.

27 Kowalczyk, "Kościół ormiański...", 217-218.

28 Marcin Łukasz Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej w Zamościu z lat 1694-1776", *Lehahayer. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Ormian polskich* 9, (2022), 7-68.

of the Ossolineum in Wrocław) was written after the visitation of the temple carried out in 1749 by the parson and official of Stanisławów, Rev. Jan Manugiewicz²⁹. Although this source, interesting and fundamental for reconstructing the furnishing of the Zamość church, was known to researchers, it has not been used in any way so far³⁰. Many interesting mentions of the Zamość Armenian parish can also be found in several other sources, e.g. the records of the Zamość Tribunal, the records of the Ecclesiastical Court of the Armenians of the city of Lwów for the years 1564-1608 and 1625-1630, and the memoirs of Martin Gruneweg and Bazyli Rudomicz. The aim of this study is to present in detail the history of the Armenian parish in Zamość and their church, supplement the current knowledge based on unused sources from the 16th-18th century, and to correct the errors existing in the literature on the subject resulting from the lack of extended archival queries.

Attention has been focused on several important and insufficiently researched issues. The first is the construction of the temple and the organization of the parish in the last decades of the 16th century, a problem that has not been given due attention so far, limited only to quoting the text of the settlement privilege from 1585. The second are the issues related to the erection of a brick temple and the role played in this project by Warterys Kirkorowicz. The third discussed problem is the issue of church furnishings, which has been overlooked in all previous studies. Based on the preserved records, this article recreates the internal appearance of the temple and present the history of the altars and other elements of church furnishing located in it. It then discusses the property status of the church. Since the construction of the brick temple took place during the schism in the Armenian Church caused by the adoption by Archbishop Mikołaj Torosowicz of the union with the Latin Church, the discussion of the course of this conflict in Zamość is one of the most important issues raised in this paper. The last discussed issue is the fate of the church in the final period of the existence of the Armenian parish in Zamość.

1. First Church

Although, as we know, the Armenians of Zamość received the right to build a church under the settlement privilege of 1585, the erection of a brick temple was associated with the need to allocate significant financial resources. In the first decades after receiving the aforementioned privilege, the members of the

29 Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu (hereinafter: BZNiO), Dział Rękopisów (hereinafter: DR), sign. 3687/II, Rejestr majątku i przedmiotów sakralnych kościoła ormiańskiego z r. 1753, l.

30 The existence of this manuscript was mentioned by Jerzy Kowalczyk, see: Kowalczyk, "Kościoł ormiański...", 219. It was also mentioned by Jacek Chrząszczewski in his monograph devoted to the temples of Polish Armenians, see: Chrząszczewski, *Kościół Ormian...*, 140.

young and just forming community, focused on proper development, could not afford it yet. An undated letter from an Armenian named Tobiasz Bogdanowicz, who had settled in Zamość, to his brother-in-law in Lwów shows the difficulties that the settlers faced in the first years in the newly built city. The sender asked for a sack of rye, because there was a shortage of everything in Zamość at that time, especially bread, which was the cause of riots in the city³¹. Such conditions were therefore not conducive to carrying out serious construction investments. The first Armenians to settle in the city, even wealthy merchants, had difficulties in building their own brick houses, not to mention allocating large funds to build a brick temple³². For this reason, the first church built by Zamość Armenians was provisional. Despite this, the Armenian settlers treated its construction as a priority. This building was mentioned as early as 1587 by a merchant from Gdańsk, Martin Gruneweg. At that time, Gruneweg apprenticed with Armenian merchants from Lwów, accompanying them on trade expeditions to the East. In June 1587, Gruneweg stayed with them at a fair in Lublin. His employers, extremely curious about the newly founded city and the Armenians settling in it, decided to deviate a bit from the route and visit Zamość on the way back to Lwów³³. A merchant from Gdańsk left a description of the city, mentioning, among others, an Armenian church located at the completed fragment of the city embankment³⁴. He also mentioned that the church was built recently and was the first place of religious worship in Zamość³⁵. Gruneweg's remark proves that at that time at least the main construction works were completed, enabling religious services to be performed. This seems to be confirmed by another reference from that time. The records of the Armenian Clerical Court in Lwów record the arrival in April 1588 of the clergyman *der*³⁶ Łukasz (Ghukas) from Zamość, accompanied by the initiator of the Armenian settlement in this city, Murat Jakubowicz. Both Armenians asked for the loan of liturgical paraments and the liturgical vestments to the church in Zamość³⁷. Therefore, the work on the temple must have been completed or advanced enough to make it possible to hold religious services there. At that time, the Armenian commune of Lwów gave:

31 Majewski, "Ormianie w Zamościu...", 19.

32 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (hereinafter: AGAD), Archiwum Zamoyskich (hereinafter: AZ), sign. 641, Seria II korespondencji. Kontrakta i umowy prywatne Jana Zamoyskiego 1582-1605, 76.

33 Majewski, "Ormianie w Zamościu...", 16.

34 *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners Martin Gruneweg (1562-ca. 1618) über seine Familie in Danzig, seine Handelsreisen in Osteuropa und sein Klosterleben in Polen*, bd. 2, ed. Almut Bues (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 1061.

35 Bues (ed.), *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners...*

36 *Der* or *ter*: a title of Armenian clergy, which became part of the surname for their descendants, e.g. Derjakubowicz - son of *der* Jakub.

37 *Zapisy sądu duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1564-1608 w języku ormiańsko-kipczackim w opracowaniu Edwarda Tryjarskiego*, ed. Edward Tryjarski (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2017), 400.

“as a loan to the church in Zamość a liturgical vestments: 2 hasubles (copes), one festive and the other everyday, 2 stoles, a pair of *epimanikia* [cuffs], 1 amice (shawl, veil) made of lace and 1 with flowers and pearls, 1 shirt, 3 altar cloths, 1 silver chalice (box) with a cross at the bottom, chalice (box) with a bowl; the cross with the chalice weighed 4 *grzywnas* and 5 *luts* [...] [The Zamość Armenians] were obliged to return all [these items] after the liturgical year, before the next year [...]”³⁸

The makeshift nature of the building meant that it was built in a simple technique using cheap and easily available building materials. According to Jerzy Kowalczyk and Jacek Chrzęszczewski, the first Armenian church had to be a wooden building³⁹. This hypothesis is contradicted by the oldest depiction of the temple on the above-mentioned engraving with a view of Zamość around 1605⁴⁰. Both researchers considered this depiction to be fanciful and completely unreliable because the church was presented as, according to the authors, a brick building. Kowalczyk argued that at that time the temple could have been built only of wood, because this was the only way to explain the construction of a new brick temple less than four decades later⁴¹. Chrzęszczewski accepted Kowalczyk’s arguments, additionally referring to Czesław Lechicki’s work on the Armenian Church in Poland and the encyclopedic entry *Zamość* included in the *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego (Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland)*⁴². Indeed, both publications mention that the temple was originally made of wood⁴³. However, this was only a guess, and not based on any source.

Meanwhile, the aforementioned Martin Gruneweg, describing the Armenian temple in Zamość, noted that at the city embankment there was a “new Armenian half-timbered church, the first house of God in Zamość”⁴⁴. For the construction of the church, a wooden frame was used, which was then filled with brick. This explains why the image of the temple on the engraving from Braun’s work could have seemed to Kowalczyk and Chrzęszczewski to be a brick building. In the context of the mention noted by Gruneweg, it should be stated that the depiction of the appearance of the church in Zamość did not differ much from reality, at least as far as the building materials used were concerned.

38 Tryjarski (ed.), *Zapisy sądu duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1564-1608...*, 400-401.

39 Kowalczyk, “Kościół ormiański...”, 216 ; Chrzęszczewski, “Historia kościoła...”, 30 ; Chrzęszczewski, *Kościół Ormian...*, 139.

40 Braun, *Theatri praecipvarvm totius...*, 53v.

41 Kowalczyk, “Kościół ormiański...”, 216.

42 Chrzęszczewski, *Kościół Ormian...*, 139.

43 *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, t. XIV, ed. Bronisław Chlebowski (Warszawa: Wiek, 1895), 376 ; Czesław Lechicki, *Kościół ormiański w Polsce (zarys historyczny)* (Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicz i Syn, 1928), 70.

44 Bues (ed.), *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners...*, 1061.

There was probably an Armenian school at this temple, although the first direct mentions about it are very late. Rev. Grzegorz Petrowicz found the first source confirmation of the existence of the school only in a letter written in 1662 by the papal nuncio in Poland to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith⁴⁵. A little earlier, the school is mentioned in the books of the Zamość Armenian court. In the register of expenses written by the caregiver of the children of the deceased Grzegorz Bartoszewicz, it was noted that at the turn of 1660 and 1661 firewood was purchased for the school⁴⁶. However, there are indirect mentions to the existence of the school already in the early period of the existence of the church in Zamość. Symeon Lehacy, born in Zamość, mentioned that when he was a child his parents sent him to study there⁴⁷. According to Krzysztof Stopka, the earliest this happened was in 1591, so at that time the school must have already existed in Zamość⁴⁸. Also, the psalter copied by the copyist Lusig and sent from Lwów to Zamość in 1594 may confirm that teaching was conducted in Zamość. As Hripsime Mamikonyan notes, the psalters were used in school teaching⁴⁹.

In the immediate vicinity of the temple, auxiliary buildings were also built, including a presbytery and a hospital with a chapel, and a cemetery was designated⁵⁰. The oldest inspection of Zamość from 1591 does not yet mention the hospital, so this building must have been built only after that date. Since the hospital was depicted on the engraving with a view of Zamość, it must have been built before 1605⁵¹. Inspections of the town from the 17th and 18th centuries determine the location of the hospital behind the Rynek Solny (Salty Square), right next to the buildings of the Jewish district⁵². A *chuc*, the seat of

45 Grzegorz Petrowicz, *L'unione degli armeni di Polonia con la Santa Sede: (1626-1686)* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1950), 151-152.

46 Национальный исторический архив Беларуси в г. Минске (hereinafter: НИАБ), Замостский Магистрат (hereinafter: ЗМ), ф. 1807, оп. 1, од. 1, Справы армянскага суда ў Замосці 1660-1668 гг, 47v.

47 Symeon Lehacy, *Zapiski podrózne w tłumaczeniu z języka ormiańskiego i w opracowaniu Hripsime Mamikonyan*, ed. Hripsime Mamikonyan (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2022), 57.

48 Krzysztof Stopka, "Nieznane karty z dziejów szkolnictwa Ormian polskich: szkoła kościelna (tybradun) do XVII wieku", in: *Virtuti et ingenio. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana profesorowi Julianowi Dybcowi*, (Kraków: Historia Jagellonica, 2013), 494.

49 Hripsime Mamikonyan, Introduction to the book *Zapiski podrózne w tłumaczeniu z języka ormiańskiego i w opracowaniu Hripsime Mamikonyan*, Symeon Lehacy (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2022), 18.

50 Kowalczyk, "Kościół ormiański...", 216.

51 Braun, *Theatri praecipvarvm totius...*, 53v.

52 Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego w Lublinie (hereinafter: WBPPL), Dział Rękopisów (hereinafter: DR), sign. 16, Księgi 1691 Exaktorskie Maiące W sobie Percepta I Distributa Ktore W tym Roku teraznieyszym Tysiącnym Sześćsetym Dziewięćdziesiątym Pierszym, 39, Księgi Exaktorskie Miasta Zamoscia Zamykaiące W sobie Percepty y Expensa Na Rok Panski 1694, 24, APL, Akta Miasta Zamościa (hereinafter: AMZ), sign. 73, Księgi exaktorskie miasta Zamościa 1696, 19, sign. 74, Księgi exaktorskie 1707, 25v, sign. 75, Księgi exaktorskie miasta Zamościa 1709, 10v.

the Armenian Clerical Court, was also built near the church. It is not known whether this building existed in the first years of the commune's existence, because the first mention of it dates back to 1640⁵³.

According to Jacek Chrząszczewski, the first Armenian church originally had a different invocation than the one known from the later time of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the researcher indicated St. Cajetan as the first patron of the temple⁵⁴. Even if the church originally had a different *patrocinium*, its patron at that time could not have been the saint indicated by Chrząszczewski. St. Cajetan of Thiena was beatified in 1629 and canonized in 1671⁵⁵. His cult appeared in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth only when the Theatine Order was brought to Lwów in 1664 – it was a congregation whose St. Cajetan was one of the founders. The monks engaged in missionary activity among Polish Armenians, especially educating the Armenian clergy in the Catholic spirit, contributed to the popularization of the cult of their father-founder among the Armenians⁵⁶. Under the privilege of 1585, the church in Zamość also received an endowment⁵⁷. The ruler of the town also granted a salary to an Armenian clergyman who was to begin his priestly service in Zamość. The recipient of the settlement privilege was priest Krzysztof Kałust, who appeared in 1585 together with Murat Jakubowicz before Chancellor Jan Zamoyski.

Knowledge on Krzysztof Kałust is limited to what is written in this document. He came to Zamość “from the land of Turkey”, but the exact region from which he came was not mentioned⁵⁸. He received from the chancellor a salary of 60 *zlotys* a year for his maintenance⁵⁹. The content of the document shows that Kałust was to take over the function of the parson of the Armenian parish established in Zamość. However, it is significant that no other source mentions this clergyman as a priest of Zamość Armenians. When in 1588 the Zamość Armenians borrowed liturgical vestments and liturgical paraments necessary to start celebrating religious services, the clergyman who represented them was

53 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, Księga wójtowsko-ławnicza prawa uprzywilejowanego ormiańskiego 1626-1649, 118v.

54 Chrząszczewski, “Historia kościoła...”, 30, Idem, *Kościół Ormian...*, 139.

55 Jerzy Duchniewski, “Kajetan z Thieny”, in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, t. 8, ed: Andrzej Szostek, Bogusław Migut (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2000), 340.

56 Krzysztof Stopka and Andrzej Aleksander Zięba, *Ormiańska Polska* (Warszawa: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2018), 128. The most visible effect of the popularization of the cult of St. Cajetan was the very high popularity of the name Cajetan among Armenians. About the activities of Saint Cajetan of Thiena, see: Antonio Veny Ballester, *San Cayetano de Thiene Patriarca de los Clerigos Regulares* (Barcelona: Editorial Vicente Ferrer, 1950) ; Gabriel Llompert, *Cayetano de Thiene (1480-1547). Estudios sobre un reformador religioso* (Roma: Curia Generalicia de los Clérigos Regulares, 1998) ; Andrea Vanni, *Gaetano Thiene. Spiritualità, politica, santità* (Roma: Viella, 2016).

57 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 2.

58 Lepszy (ed.), *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego...*, 405.

59 Lepszy (ed.), *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego...*, 406.

not Kałust, but, as previously mentioned, *der Łukasz*. In the record of the Lwów Armenian Clerical Court, this clergyman was defined as a citizen of Zamość⁶⁰. Other sources from that time mention *der Łukasz* as the only priest in Zamość. In this role, he was recorded in the two oldest town books⁶¹, dating from 1591-1593. Also, the inspection of the city from 1591 does not mention any other Armenian clergyman apart from *der Łukasz*⁶². The summary of the privileges of the Zamość church mentioned earlier mentions *der Łukasz* as the organizer of the parish responsible for building the temple and starting the celebration of the first religious services. After completing this task, the clergyman was to introduce Kałust to the parish⁶³. There is no reason to doubt the tradition presented in the summary, but the complete lack of mentions of Kałust in the sources from the time when the parish was already functioning, with the frequent mentioning of *der Łukasz* as an Armenian priest in Zamość, suggests that the latter was the head of the parish.

The newly established parish was not an autonomous unit in the structure of the Armenian Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but it was subordinated to the Lwów Armenian Council of Elders⁶⁴, which made the final decision on the selection of a parson. *Der Łukasz* was nicknamed Hromasiewicz, which suggests that he came to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the Ottoman Empire. This nickname was created from the word “Hrrom” (Rome), which the Armenians called the lands of ancient Byzantium⁶⁵. Before *der Łukasz* appeared in Zamość, he served as a priest in Lwów⁶⁶. When Chancellor Jan Zamoyski guaranteed the Armenians the right to build a church in Zamość, the Armenian Council of Elders in Lwów delegated *der Łukasz* to build a temple and found a parish, and then, according to the tradition contained in the summary of privileges, he placed priest Krzysztof Kałust there as a parson. However, Kałust probably died immediately after taking over the parish, or even before that fact, and therefore the Council of Elders appointed *der Łukasz* as parson. Another explanation can also be attempted. Perhaps *der Łukasz* was appointed priest of the Zamość parish from the very beginning, and Kałust was supposed to be his associate. However, this hypothesis is much less likely. It must be remembered that the chancellor granted Kałust, as a priest of the Zamość Armenians, a lifetime salary⁶⁷. If the original plans regarding the appointment of a parson had

60 Tryjarski (ed.), *Zapisy sądu duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1564-1608...*, 400.

61 Majewski, “Ormianie w Zamościu...”, 17-18.

62 Bohdan Horodyski, “Najstarsza lustracja Zamościa”, *Teka Zamojska* 1, 1938, 205, 208.

63 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 2.

64 Council of Elders: An elected body exercising power in individual Armenian communes in Poland. For more information, see: Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce*, 43-71.

65 Mamikonyan, Introduction to the book..., 17.

66 Majewski, “Ormianie w Zamościu...”, 16.

67 Lepszy (ed.), *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego...*, 406.

changed, there would be no basis for Kałust to receive this salary, and its beneficiary would be *der* Łukasz. However, nothing of the sort happened. Also, the mention of introducing Kałust to the parish (even for a short time) by *der* Łukasz contradicts this hypothesis.

The case of the clergy serving at the Zamość church in the first years of the parish's existence is additionally complicated by an undated letter from two Armenian clergymen from Zamość to Chancellor Jan Zamoyski. In it, the clergy asked the chancellor to exempt them from bearing municipal burdens, i.e. for such privileges as were enjoyed by the Armenian clergy in Lwów and Kamieniec Podolski⁶⁸. The publisher of the letter, Kazimierz Lepszy, dated it at the turn of 1588 and 1589. The historian concluded that it happened then, "because it was then that the Armenians sought to extend their rights"⁶⁹. The researcher therefore linked the request of the Armenian clergy with the judicial privilege granted to Armenians from Zamość in 1589. However, the dating of this letter proposed by Lepszy is incorrect. The privilege of 1589 dealt only with issues related to the organization of the commune and the judiciary as well as economic rights held by the Armenian nation, but did not concern church matters⁷⁰. Both the sources from that time and the later ones -from the 17th century- do not confirm that in the last decades of the 16th century the Armenian clergy from Zamość received any privileges from Jan Zamoyski. In addition, since at the turn of the 1580s and 1590s the parson of the Armenian church in Zamość was *der* Łukasz, he would undoubtedly be one of the senders of the letter if it had been written at the turn of 1588 and 1589, while the authors of the letter were the clergy Agop (Jakub) and Simon (Szymon)⁷¹.

The information about Agop as the author of the letter is crucial for the proper dating of this document. Agop, son of Altun, was born in Tokat in the Ottoman Empire in 1563. In the years 1593-1595, he stayed in Jassy, from where he came to Zamość in 1595. From the colophon he wrote on November 22, 1595 in a manuscript copied, illuminated and bound by himself, it is known that at that time he served in the Armenian church in Zamość as a *dipir* (deacon)⁷². The letter published by Lepszy could therefore have been written in 1595 at the earliest, although it seems that it took place even later. Agop was the first to sign the letter to Chancellor Zamoyski, which suggests that he played a leading role in the parish at that time. So, he must have already been ordained a higher priesthood⁷³. He obtained permission from the Armenian Clerical

68 Lepszy (ed.), *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego...*, 290-291.

69 Lepszy (ed.), *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego...*, 291.

70 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3618/II, Akta i przywileje odnoszące się do miasta Zamościa, 65-68.

71 Lepszy (ed.), *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego...*, 291.

72 Piruz Mnatsakanyan, "Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego w dawnej Polsce" (doctoral dissertation, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2015), 95.

73 Lepszy (ed.), *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego...*, 291.

Court and the Armenian Council of Elders in Lwów only on September 22, 1601⁷⁴. The letter must therefore have been written between the end of 1601 and the first half of 1605, when Jan Zamoyski died.

Perhaps Simon, listed next to Agop as the co-author of the letter, is identical with a student of *der* Agop, Simeon Lehacy, who at that time was serving in the church in Zamość. The translator of Lehacy's *Travel Notes* into Polish - Hripsime Mamikonyan - pointed out that Simeon, who displayed extraordinary talents, could have been ordained as a *dipir* even in 1605, i.e. before his departure from Zamość to Lwów⁷⁵. This would confirm the dating of the letter to the first years of the 17th century.

Der Agop was an extraordinary figure - a teacher, author of poems and, above all, an extremely active copyist, who produced many manuscripts at the Zamość church⁷⁶. Simeon, far surpassing his master, became famous primarily as a traveler and the most outstanding Armenian intellectual in the history of Zamość, but he never reached a higher rank in the church hierarchy⁷⁷. *Der* Agop was supported in church work by a certain *der* Andreas. He must have been serving in Zamość already in the 1620s (maybe earlier), from where in May 1625 the Lwów Armenian Council of Elders sent him to the priestly ministry at the church of St. Stephen in Łuck (Lutsk)⁷⁸. It was stipulated that after a year the Lwów elders would decide whether *der* Andreas would keep his position or be transferred to another Armenian parish⁷⁹. It is not known how long the priest ministered in Łuck, but his stay turned out to be short-lived. In the autumn of 1629, the Armenian Council of Elders in Lwów stated "that a priest is needed for the church in Łuck", who was appointed, moreover, at the request of *der* Agop of Zamość, his son Kirkor⁸⁰. *Der* Andreas returned to the service at the Zamość temple, which is indicated by the colophon from September 1630 about the arrival of an Armenian monk from Lwów, Chaczadur (Khachadur), to Zamość. Colophon mentions that this visit took place at the time when *der* Agop and *der* Andreas ministered at the church in Zamość, moreover, a monk from Lwów stayed in the house of *der* Andreas⁸¹.

74 Tryjarski (ed.), *Zapisy sądu duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1564-1608...*, 482.

75 Mamikonyan, Introduction to the book..., 19.

76 Mnatsakanyan, "Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...", 95-98.

77 Mamikonyan, Introduction to the book..., 19.

78 *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian Miasta Lwowa za lata 1625-1630 w języku ormiańsko-kipczackim*, ed. Edward Tryjarski (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2010), 150.

79 Tryjarski (ed.), *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian Miasta Lwowa za lata 1625-1630... Der* Andreas was to receive a salary of 200 *florins* a year from the Council of Elders for food and all other needs, and 30 *florins* at a time for housing. The clergyman also received 50 *florins* for expenses related to moving from Zamość.

80 Tryjarski (ed.), *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian Miasta Lwowa za lata 1625-1630...*, 212-213.

81 Mnatsakanyan, "Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...", 97.

Der Andreas not only supported *der Agop* in his work in the church in Zamość, but was also a member of his family, because he married one of his daughters - Anna⁸².

Der Agop left a clear mark on the history of the Armenian church in Zamość not only because of his intellectual achievements. He was the longest-serving clergyman in the Zamość parish. His ministry lasted over 60 years. The last mention of the activity of *der Agop* comes from 1657. A deed from March of that year mentions him as one of the sides to a certain transaction⁸³, and the colophon of November 9 proves that he was still an active priest at that time⁸⁴. He was 94 at the time and died shortly thereafter. According to Piruz Mnatsakanyan, the clergyman certainly died before 1664⁸⁵. However, the date of his death can be more precise thanks to the entry in the diary of Bazylu Rudomicz, who in October 1659 mentioned that he was a mediator between the heirs of the deceased *der Agop* and their aunt and priest Jan (Hovhannes) Kistesterowicz⁸⁶. This proves that *der Agop* died between November 1657 and early October 1659. He was married to Jaghut (Agnieszka) and had several children: Kirkor, Bedros (Piotr) Stepanos (Stefan), Howhannes (Jan), Astwadzadur (Bogdan), Anna, Mariam (Maria) and Suszan (Zuzanna)⁸⁷. From the mentioned children, it is known that in 1629 Kirkor, as already mentioned, became a priest in Łuck. Later, another son of *der Agop*, Bedros, became the parson of that church⁸⁸. Also, the third son of *der Agop* - Stepanos chose a clerical career⁸⁹. Among the daughters, apart from Anna married to *der Andreas*, it is known that Szusan married an Armenian merchant and juror from Zamość, Zachariasz Dolwatowicz⁹⁰. *Der Agop* is permanently remembered by the Armenian community in Zamość also because it was during his time that the makeshift half-timbered church was replaced with an impressive brick temple combining traditional features of Armenian architecture with Western European architecture.

82 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 139.

83 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, Akta wójtowskie prawa uprzywilejowanego ormiańskiego zamojskiego 1649-1659, 289.

84 Mnatsakanyan, "Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...", 98.

85 Mnatsakanyan, "Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...", 98.

86 Bazylu Rudomicz, *Efemeros czyli Diariusz prywatny pisany w Zamościu w latach 1656-1672*, cz. I: 1656-1664 (Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2002), 137-138.

87 Mnatsakanyan, "Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...", 95.

88 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 288.

89 APL, AMZ, sign. 67, Acta advocatialis et scabinalia Zamoscensia iuris priuilegiati Armenici 1643-1647, 29v.

90 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 139-139v.

2. Building a Brick Church

With the stabilization of the financial situation of the Armenian settlers, the makeshift temple they built was no longer sufficient. On the one hand, it did not correspond to the growing ambitions of the community, which was getting richer⁹¹, and on the other hand, the ordinances issued by the rulers of Zamość ordering the replacement of makeshift buildings with solid brick ones forced the Armenians to build a new church⁹². In addition, the brick temple minimized the risk of fire. The first Armenian church was affected by this natural disaster in 1603 on the feast of St. Stephen the Martyr. The temple started to burn because of a lit candle left overnight, for which *der Agop* especially blamed himself⁹³. The priest mentioned that the fire consumed the chasuble and two liturgical books, but it is not known how much damage the building itself suffered⁹⁴. However, this event may have influenced the Armenians to start efforts to build a brick temple. *Der Agop* was the main initiator of this investment⁹⁵.

According to the preserved sources, the first works were undertaken at the end of 1614, when the Armenian Council of Elders in Zamość allocated the amount of 145 *zlotys* and 10 *groszys* on behalf of itself and the entire Armenian community for the construction of the belfry⁹⁶. Probably at that time only a collection of money was carried out for this purpose, while the works themselves were carried out much later. This seems to be suggested by the fact that *Warterys Kirkorowicz*, who was a *jerespochan (erecpohan)*⁹⁷, settled the accounts for this task before the Council of Elders only in 1640⁹⁸. Not only this fact proves that the construction of the temple was sluggish. Although in 1623 *der Agop* organized a special collection for the construction of the temple, the work stood still for the next few years. In a letter sent on June 17, 1628, by *Tomasz Zamoyski*, the ruler of the town, to the Armenian commune in Zamość, he pointed out that despite having funds from the collection carried out five years ago, the Armenians refused to start construction works. The magnate accused the Armenians that “you have only built some eyesore and you are disgracing the city with it”⁹⁹. The construction must indeed have been in its

91 Chrzęszczewski, *Kościół Ormian...*, 139.

92 APL, AMZ, sign. 2, Liber actorum consularium civitatis Novae Samoscensis 1594-1600, 240.

93 Mnatsakanyan, “Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...”, 96.

94 Mnatsakanyan, “Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...”, 96.

95 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 2.

96 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 127v-128.

97 *Jerespochan (erecpohan)*: In Armenian communes in Poland, the administrator of the commune's common property, see: Zakrzekwska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce*, 61-62.

98 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 128.

99 AGAD, Zbiór Aleksandra Czołowskiego (hereinafter: ZACz), sign. 605, Mandat Tomasza Zamoyskiego wojewody kijowskiego nakazujący gminie ormiańskiej w Zamościu doprowadzenie do końca budowy ich kościoła, 1.

infancy, since Zamoyski felt compelled to intervene, admonishing the Armenians that “it was better not to start anything in this matter [i.e. construction of the church - M.Ł.M.], if after starting you did not intend to finish it properly”¹⁰⁰.

The ruler of the city ordered the Armenians to finish the construction immediately and ordered Warterys Kirkorowicz to supervise the works¹⁰¹. The participation of this Armenian was not limited to supervising the works. It is known that it was thanks to his efforts that in 1626 the legate of the Catholicos of Echmiadzin Melchizedek and bishops Martariusz and Eliasz came to Zamość, consecrated the cornerstone for the construction of the church and gave it the invocation of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary¹⁰². Taking into account Kirkorowicz’s previous involvement in the construction of the temple and his social and financial position, it is not surprising that Tomasz Zamoyski ordered the Armenian Council of Elders to give this Armenian money from the collection for the construction of the church. From that moment, Kirkorowicz was responsible for their proper spending¹⁰³. The role that Kirkorowicz played in the construction of the new temple was emphasized by a plaque placed over the gate of the fence surrounding the church¹⁰⁴ and the memory of Kirkorowicz’s activities preserved in the parish tradition¹⁰⁵.

The entire Armenian community contributed to the construction of the church, but the list of donors written in 1623 has not survived¹⁰⁶. The construction of the church was an extremely expensive undertaking, and it is hard to believe that the otherwise considerable sum of 2,966 *zlotys* collected in 1623 was able to cover the entire cost of the work performed. For this reason, also in the later period, the Armenians from Zamość gave donations for the construction of the temple. One of such donors were Altun Muratowicz and his wife Agnieszka Balejówna, who on January 11, 1633 donated 550 *zlotys* for the building of the church¹⁰⁷. It was not the only donation of this couple, because the total amount they spent on construction work was 710 *zlotys* and 15 *groszys*¹⁰⁸. In recognition of the generous donations, in 1640 the Council of Elders decided to return 400 *zlotys* from the church money to the Muratowicz family, although this was protested by the Armenian juror Gabriel Ariewowicz. The pretext for protesting the decision of the commune authorities was supposed to be the

100 AGAD, ZACz, sign. 605, 1.

101 AGAD, ZACz, sign. 605, 1.

102 Kowalczyk, “Kościół ormiański...”, 216.

103 AGAD, ZACz, sign. 605, 1.

104 Kowalczyk, “Kościół ormiański...”, 216.

105 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 3-3v.

106 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 2.

107 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 124.

108 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 123v.

absence of all representatives of the Armenian commune, but the elders ignored this fact and the return was finally made¹⁰⁹.

In the previous literature, Warterys Kirkorowicz was considered the main founder of the temple. Already Michał Baliński and Tymoteusz Lipiński in their book *Starożytna Polska* pointed out that Kirkorowicz, adding to the sum obtained during the collection “adding his funds, began to build” the church¹¹⁰. Their view was then repeated by Sadok Barącz¹¹¹, and according to Jerzy Kowalczyk, the money donated by Kirkorowicz constituted “the vast majority” of the 1623 collection¹¹². In turn, Jacek Chrząszczewski stated that Kirkorowicz undertook further financing of construction works¹¹³. Although the list of donations donated for the construction has not survived, there is no doubt that Kirkorowicz, considered one of the richest, if not the wealthiest merchant in Zamość, must have donated a considerable sum. However, it is unjustified to attribute to him the financing of the entire undertaking or even covering a significant part of the expenses. Kirkorowicz was considered the main founder by misinterpreting the content of the inscription from the commemorative plaque once placed above the church gate. Researchers suggested themselves with a fragment of the last sentence, which translated into English read: “Warterys Kirkorowicz of Tokat built this church”. However, this passage should be interpreted together with the first part of the sentence. The entire inscription read: “cura et impensis nationis armenae Warteres Kirkorowicz Torunensis [sic!] hanc ecclesiam erexit” (“by the efforts and expense of the Armenian nation, Warterys Kirkorowicz of Toruń [sic!] built this church”)¹¹⁴. It is clearly indicated here that the temple was built “by the efforts and at the expense of the Armenian nation”. The fragment concerning Kirkorowicz’s participation should therefore not be interpreted literally. Rather, it is not so much his financial contribution that is emphasized here as the role he played as the supervisor of works and the administrator of money belonging to the entire Armenian community and intended for the construction of the temple. This is confirmed by sources from the time the church was built. When in 1640 Kirkorowicz accounted for the sums he collected years ago for the construction

109 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 124.

110 Baliński, Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska...*, t. II, 803.

111 Barącz, *Rys dziejów...*, 178.

112 Kowalczyk, “Kościół ormiański...”, 216.

113 Chrząszczewski, *Kościół Ormian...*, 139.

114 The content of the inscription is known from a copy made in 1834 by the archivist Mikołaj Stworzyński. The inscription must have been at least partially destroyed at that time, because Stworzyński misread the adjective *Tochatensis* as *Toruniensis*. The distortion of the inscription was probably also the reason for giving the name Kirkorowicz in the form of Kirkurowicz. Jerzy Kowalczyk has already drawn attention to the erroneous reading of the inscription by Stworzyński, see: Kowalczyk, “Kościół ormiański...”, 216.

115 BN, BOZ, sign. 1815, *Opisanie Statystyczno-Historyczne Dóbr Ordynacyi Zamoyskiej przez Mikołaja Stworzyńskiego Archiwistę 1834 Roku*, 521.

of the belfry, it was the money of the Armenian community, not Kirkorowicz's private funds¹¹⁶. In turn, in 1644, he complained to the Armenian court against the *jerespochans* for not returning to him the money he had spent for the community in 1635 and 1638. One of the expenses incurred by him was the construction of a house in the church cemetery¹¹⁷. It follows that in the lack of money, a rich Armenian paid for the work from his own pocket, but it was not a foundation, but a kind of loan, which, after collecting the appropriate amount among the Armenians, was returned by the *jerespochans*. Also, in the summary of the privileges of the Armenian church in Zamość, it was only stated that Kirkorowicz received the amount from the collection carried out among the Armenians for the construction of the temple¹¹⁸. The sentence appearing in the further part of the source that this Armenian "at his own expense, applying himself to work, and taking care for the construction of the house of God, in 1626 he brings from Lwów the legate of the Armenian Patriarch from Echmiadzin [...]"¹¹⁹, also cannot be considered as proof of Kirkorowicz's foundation activity. This fragment does not mention Kirkorowicz's participation in the construction works, it instead mentions bringing to Zamość a representative of the Catholicos, who was to consecrate the cornerstone. This note shows that Kirkorowicz was the initiator of bringing the legate, and his visit was made possible thanks to the personal efforts of this Armenian, who also financed the journey and stay of the church dignitary out of his own pocket.

Construction works ended in the 1630s. The symbolic act of completing the construction was placing an inscription in Armenian and the date "1633" over the main entrance¹²⁰. Its content is unknown, but there is no doubt that it commemorated the completion of construction works¹²¹. The solemn consecration took place on September 14, 1645, and was performed by the Armenian bishop from Wallachia, Andreas¹²². No description of the church has survived from the 17th century. Only the notes, bills, and inventory of the Armenian church written after the fire that took place in October 1709 contain a few laconic references to its appearance. The chronicle introduction to the

116 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 128.

117 APL, AMZ, sign. 67, 23.

118 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 3.

119 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 3-3v.

120 BN, BOZ, sign. 1815, 521.

121 Both Jerzy Kowalczyk and Jacek Chrzęszczewski indicated that the church could have been consecrated in 1635. This date was recorded in the summary of privileges of the Armenian church in Zamość. It is more likely, however, that the church was consecrated in 1633. This is indicated by an inscription dated to that year and, as Chrzęszczewski noted, the indication of this date also by Sadok Barącz, based on the acts of the Armenian Consistory in Lwów. As Kowalczyk aptly noticed, the date 1635 in the manuscript from 1844 could have been the result of a copyist's mistake, see: Barącz, *Rys dziejów*, 178 ; Kowalczyk, "Kościół ormiański...", 216 ; Chrzęszczewski, *Kościół Ormian...*, 139.

122 Kowalczyk, "Kościół ormiański...", 216.

Armenian Parish of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Zamość in the 16th-18th Century

list of collection for the renovation of the destroyed temple begins with a description of the damage caused by the great fire of 1672:

“Our Armenian church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was also affected, because [the fire destroyed] the roof tiles that covered the church, the dome and the decorative towers, melted two large and two smaller bells and made significant holes and cracks in the walls of the church vault: priests’ houses and tenement houses of the church were burned and ruined”¹²³.

During the renovation, the roof of the temple was covered with shingles, and the tile was replaced with sheet metal¹²⁴.

A model showing the Armenian church in Zamość in the 18th century



Source: Muzeum Zamojskie (Zamość Museum/Poland)

123 Львівська Національна Наукова Бібліотека України імені В. Стефаніка (hereinafter: ЛННБУВС), Колекція Олександра Чоловського (hereinafter: КОЧ), ф. 141, оп. 1, спр. 1995, Zapiski, rachunki i inwentarz kościoła ormiańskiego w Zamościu z lat 1709-1710, 1.

124 Ibidem.

3. Church furnishing

Both the description quoted above and the later ones described only the technical condition of the temple. We do not find in these descriptions any details regarding the furnishings of the church, especially the altars in it. However, information on this subject is provided by the register of property and sacral objects of the Armenian church in Zamość, written on November 14, 1753. The document presents the condition of the temple as found in 1749 by its visitor – Rev. Jakub Manugiewicz, at that time the parson and official of Stanisławów (known today as Iwano-Frankiwnsk)¹²⁵. Since the source mentions only the elements decorating the paintings, such as dresses or crowns, and valuable objects next to the altars, it is possible that it does not mention all the altars in the church. However, this inventory is the starting point for reconstructing the history of church furnishings.

3.1. Altars

Based on the invocation of the temple, it can be assumed that the main altar was invoked by the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The date of its foundation is unknown, but the first mention of it that can be determined was recorded on May 17, 1639 in a testimony given by Krzysztof Głuszkowicz, an Armenian priest from Lwów, to the Armenian court in Zamość. The testimony concerned the last will of the clergyman's sister, Suszan, who, on her deathbed, took off a chain weighing 40 red *zlotys* from her neck and, handing it over to Gabrielowa Bartoszewicz, asked “that this chain was always on the painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Great Altar in the Armenian church in Zamość and that it should never be removed, nor should it be altered”¹²⁶. According to the description from the mid-18th century, the main altar had a metal ciborium topped with a silver cross. The painting was covered with a velvet dress embroidered with gold flowers and decorated with two crowns¹²⁷. There are no records of the scene depicted in the painting. It probably depicted the Mother of God at the moment of her Assumption, but it is also possible that its theme was the death of Mary. The title pages of the record baptisms and marriages of the church in Zamość suggest that the Armenians, apart from the invocation of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, also used the form of the Dormition of the Blessed Virgin Mary, treating the nouns “assumption” and “dormition” as synonyms¹²⁸.

125 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3697/II, 1.

126 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 110v.

127 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1.

128 Majewski, “Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...”, 11, 30v.

In the Zamość church, there were two more altars dedicated to the Mother of God. The first altar was decorated with silver gilded crowns and, as in the case of the main altar, covered with a velvet dress with golden flowers, probably depicted the Mother of God with baby Jesus¹²⁹. Also in this case, the date of the altarpiece is unknown, but on the basis of the will of the Armenian Agnieszka Sislikowa, we can assume that it dates to before 1633. Already at that time, a religious confraternity bearing the call of the Blessed Virgin Mary was active at the altar¹³⁰.

The second of the altars, dedicated to the Mother of God, was erected in connection with the miracle that took place in Zamość on Thursday, June 26, 1658. That day, in the home of the Armenian Martin, son of Hovhannes, the painting of Mary that he owned began to shed tears¹³¹. The priest of the Armenian parish, *der* Jan Kistesterowicz, was immediately notified of the alleged miracle. The priest, having arrived at the place, found that not only tears appeared on the painting, but also drops of sweat, which he personally wiped away. Information about the miracle spread extremely quickly and the painting was moved to the Armenian church, where it was visited by crowds of believers. In the days that followed, it was to be determined whether a supernatural phenomenon had actually taken place, or whether the alleged sweat and tears had appeared on the image of Mary due to the humidity caused by the recent heavy rains. Until then, the Armenian church had been closed to the crowds¹³². The inspection of the painting must have been successful, because it stayed in the church and the erection of a new altar for it began almost immediately. From the will of Anna Ariewowiczowa, written in 1709, it is known that the founder of the altar was her aunt Teofila Ariewowiczowa, widow of Garabed (Gabriel)¹³³. In 1659, the founder, already in her old age, wrote her will, and she died in 1664 at the latest¹³⁴. Thus, the altar was founded between 1658 and 1664, and it is very likely that the funds for this purpose were allocated by Ariewowiczowa in her will. However, this fact cannot be confirmed, because the content of the last will of the Armenian woman is not known in its entirety. The altar was placed in a prestigious place of the church, right next to the main altar¹³⁵. It depicted Mary with the baby Jesus. At the beginning of the 18th century, the painting was covered with a dress of white silver¹³⁶. This decoration was funded by Anna Ariewowiczowa - the niece of

129 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1.

130 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 64v.

131 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 26.

132 Rudomicz, *Efemeros* ...I, 88.

133 APL, Trybunał Zamojski dla Miast (hereinafter: TZM), sign. 10, Acta Judiciorum Supremorum Trybunali Civitatum Domini Zamosceni 1713-1750, 65v.

134 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 15v, 16v.

135 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 26.

136 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1.

the founder of the altar¹³⁷. The painting was also decorated with gilded crowns and four strings of small pearls. Three of them were placed around the neck of the baby Jesus, one around the neck of the Mother of God. In the middle of the 18th century, there were three silver votive offerings by the altar and double silk curtains with silver flowers embroidered as curtains for the miraculous image¹³⁸.

In the temple there was another painting famous for miracles, and it was the image of St. Cajetan of Thiena¹³⁹. According to Mieczysław Potocki, the painting was of great artistic value¹⁴⁰. The painting had an oval shape and depicted a scene referring to the vision of St. Cajetan, where the Mother of God entrusted her Son to him¹⁴¹. The painting was covered with a silver dress, and there were 12 silver votive offerings next to it. The painting had a silk curtain interwoven with thread, and in front of it was a small silver lamp¹⁴². According to Wartan Grigorian, in 1786 the painting was taken from Zamość to the Armenian church in Żwaniec by its parson Mikołaj Hankiewicz¹⁴³.

In the Armenian church in Zamość, the altars most worshiped by the faithful were the ones of the Crucifixion and St. Anna. Both had Armenian religious confraternities¹⁴⁴. The first of these was probably founded in the first half of the 17th century, since the mention from 1669 mentions the existence of a well-organized confraternity centered around the altar¹⁴⁵. There is no information about the appearance of the altar, apart from a note from 1749 about a linen double curtain¹⁴⁶. Also the year of the foundation of the altar of St. Anna is unknown, although we can assume that it could have belonged to one of the oldest in the temple. This is indicated by the mention of functioning at the altar of the Confraternity of St. Anna as early as 1633¹⁴⁷. It led a thriving activity

137 APL, TZM, sign. 10, 65v. Anna Ariewowiczowa, née Topałowicz, was the wife of Kasper Ariewowicz, whose brother Mikołaj was a priest ministry in the Armenian parish in Zamość.

138 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1.

139 Ewaryst Andrzej Kuropatnicki, *Geographia Albo Dokładne Opisanie Krolestw Gallicyi I Lodomeryi Do Druku Podana* (Przemysł: Antoni Matyaszowski, 1786), 82.

140 Piotr Kondraciuk, "Obraz św. Kajetana z kościoła ormiańskiego w Zamościu", *Zamojski Kwartalnik Kulturalny* 1-2 (2004), 78-79: 32.

141 Kondraciuk, "Obraz św. Kajetana...", 32.

142 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1-1v.

143 Вартан Григорян, *История армянских колоний Украины и Польши*, (Ереван: Изд-во АН Армянской ССР, 1980), 140. After 1774, Mikołaj Hankiewicz was a temporary administrator of the Armenian parish in Zamość, see: Majewski, "Метрыка парафii ормянскай...", 10.

144 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сrp. 1995, 2.

145 APL, AMZ, sign. 68, Akta prawa uprzywilejowanego ormiańskiego zamojskiego 1669-1674, 16v.

146 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 2.

147 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 64-64v. The foundation of the altar of St. Anna should be connected with a strong cult in the Church of Mary's parents - Joachim and Anna. This cult was also practiced in the Armenian Church.

almost until the end of the existence of the parish¹⁴⁸. It is likely that the altar was destroyed during the fire of Zamość in 1672¹⁴⁹. Despite being rebuilt, it was again consumed by fire in 1709. The damage was great, because the painting of St. Anna burned down, as indicated by the information about the consecration in 1711 by the Uniate bishop Józef Lewicki of a new painting dedicated to this saint¹⁵⁰. The painting depicted St. Anna with her daughter Mary and grandson Jesus. At an unknown time, the painting was decorated with three crowns of gilded silver. It was also adorned with necklaces - a double string of pearls and beads arranged alternately and four strings of small pearls in blue frames¹⁵¹.

In the temple there was also an altar of the patron saint of Armenians - St. Gregory the Illuminator. The description shows that it was one of the smaller altars, although the image of the saint presented in the painting was richly decorated. The miter on his head was made of gilded silver, and the crosier he held in his hand, with a cross hanging on a chain, was made of plain silver¹⁵². Concerning the next altar - the Transfiguration of Jesus, practically nothing is known except that it had a linen curtain comparable to that of the Altar of the Crucifixion¹⁵³.

An art historian and employee of the Zamość Museum, Piotr Kondraciuk, associates two more altars with the Armenian church: St. Andrew and St. Onophrius¹⁵⁴. In the inventory of the church from 1753, is a mention of a painting depicting St. Andrew, but it seems that the painting was not placed in a separate altar dedicated especially to this saint. This is indicated by the lack of a separate item in the inventory for this painting, but listing it together with the painting of St. Cajetan¹⁵⁵. If the painting of St. Andrew was placed in a separate altar in the list would receive a separate item. This suggests that the painting depicting the holy apostle probably served as a curtain for the painting of St. Cajetan. However, the altar of St. Onophrius was mistakenly associated

148 APL, AMZ, sign. 71, Akta wójtowskie prawa uprzywilejowanego ormiańskiego zamojskiego 1690-1700, 191v.

149 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 31.

150 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 34.

151 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1. The first necklace was attached to Mary's neck, the second to Jesus' neck.

152 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1.

153 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 2. Perhaps the foundation of this altar should be associated with the great popularity of the Eucharistic cult, which was the Catholic Church's response to attempts to question the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, see: Jan Tyrawa, "Kult eucharystyczny", *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* 8 (2000), 2: 23-36.

154 Piotr Kondraciuk, "Sztuka ormiańska w Zamościu", in: *Ars Armenica. Sztuka ormiańska ze zbiorów polskich i ukraińskich. Katalog wystawy*, ed. Waldemar Deluga (Zamość: Muzeum Zamojskie, 2010), 24.

155 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1.

with the Armenian temple in Zamość. Ewaryst Andrzej Kuropatnicki – the castellan of Belz and a geographer and heraldist of the Enlightenment era – in his description of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria published in 1786, he devoted some attention to the more important churches of Zamość. He described e.g. the Basilian church, “in which the grace-famous Image of S[aint] Onuphrius was”¹⁵⁶. In the Armenian church, there was probably an altar dedicated to St. James the Apostle. This is indicated by a note from the register of expenses for the renovation of the church from 1710, which mentions the payment of “a bricklayer for bricking up the hole above the chapel of St. James”¹⁵⁷. The altar of the holy apostle-martyr could be one of the oldest, because St. James the Apostle was the patron saint of merchants, and the Armenians, as a community dealing mainly in trade, may have wanted to honor the patron of their profession in this way. The fact that one of the most important temples of the Armenian Church was associated with the name of this saint, i.e. the Cathedral of St. James the Greater and the Lesser in Jerusalem, was also significant. From the indulgence granted on July 16, 1781 by Pope Pius VI to the faithful visiting the Armenian church in Zamość, it can be concluded that there was also an altar of St. Anthony the Great¹⁵⁸.

The dates of foundation of the altars in the church (apart from the approximate date of foundation of the altar with the miraculous image of Mary) are unknown, as are the names of their founders. It is only known that three of them were founded before 1699 by the Armenian *voyt*¹⁵⁹ Stefan Altunowicz¹⁶⁰. The Armenian mentioned it in his will, however, without specifying which were his foundations. Leaving certain sums for them, Altunowicz consistently called them tiny altars, which suggests that they were small altars¹⁶¹. Of the altars mentioned above, they could only be the altars of St. Anna, St. Cajetan and St. Gregory the Illuminator. Foundation of the Altar of St. Anna could be related to Altunowicz’s desire to commemorate his first wife Anna, for whom he had an exceptionally strong affection¹⁶². Apart from Altunowicz, the temple also owed much to Anna Ariewowiczowa. In addition to funding a dress for the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary, the Armenian woman spared no money to decorate the church throughout her life¹⁶³. Although she proudly mentioned it in her will, she left no details of the funding she had made for the church¹⁶⁴.

156 Kuropatnicki, *Geographia Albo Dokładne...*, 82.

157 ЛИНБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, стр. 1995, 18.

158 Barącz, *Rys dziejów...*, 178.

159 Voyt (*wójt* in Polish): the leader of an Armenian commune.

160 Majewski, “Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...”, 31.

161 Majewski, “Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...”, 31.

162 APL, AMZ, sign. 70, Akta urzędu prawa uprzywilejowanego ormiańskiego zamojskiego 1685-1690, 264.

163 APL, TZM, sign. 10, 65.

164 APL, TZM, sign. 10, 65.

3.2. Bells

Apart from the altars, bells were an important element of church furnishings. As in other churches, they called the faithful to prayer, warned against danger, announced important events and proclaimed God's glory. The fact that the Zamość Armenians erected a belfry already at the first church suggests that the foundation of bells was planned from the very beginning of the parish. It is not known, however, whether in the first decades of the parish's existence this intention was implemented. The mentions of bell-ringers serving at the church in the sources from the first half of the 17th century prove that at that time the church must have already been equipped with bells. In the dispute that Warterys Kirkorowicz had with the Armenian Council of Elders in March 1644, he mentioned, among others, that during the six years he was a *voyt*, he had to pay the church bell ringer's wages out of his own pocket¹⁶⁵. Therefore, this event should be related to the 1630s, when Kirkorowicz was the head of the Zamość Armenian community¹⁶⁶. From the deed of sale of a certain house from 1639 we learn that the bell ringer at that time was Murat¹⁶⁷. In turn, at least from 1658 to at least 1666, this function was held by Sefer Chydyrowicz¹⁶⁸.

The first direct mention of the bells, however, is late, as they are mentioned only in the description of the damage caused to the church by the fire of 1672. It shows that there were four bells in the belfry - two large and two smaller ones, which were completely destroyed by fire¹⁶⁹. New bells appeared in the church before 1709, as it was recorded after the fire that took place that year, the fire "burned the bell towers, miraculously without disturbing the bells"¹⁷⁰. The new bells were probably installed in 1684 at the latest, since the information about the collection of taxes by the Armenian bell ringer Józef Seferowicz comes from that time¹⁷¹. It is not known how many bells were in the church belfry at that time. From the accounts for the renovation of the church from 1710, it is known that there were several of them, including one was a large bell¹⁷². One of the smaller bells was replaced at the beginning of August 1731, when the Latin bishop of Chełm and auxiliary bishop of Lwów consecrated the bell, which was given the name of St. Simon and St. Cajetan¹⁷³. The great bell was replaced more than 30 years later. It happened

165 APL, AMZ, sign. 67, 23.

166 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 56, 94, 103, 109.

167 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 112.

168 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 423; НИАБ, ЗМ, ф. 1807, оп. 1, од. 1, 175.

169 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, стр. 1995, 1.

170 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, стр. 1995, 1.

171 APL, AMZ, sign. 69, Akta urzędu prawa uprzywilejowanego ormiańskiego zamojskiego 1680-1685, 428v.

172 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, стр. 1995, 16-17.

173 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 57.

on September 14, 1763. During the consecration, which was made by the Uniate Bishop of Chełm, Maksymilian Ryłło, the bell was named after St. Clement the Bishop¹⁷⁴. A small bell called *tintinnabulum* in Latin was consecrated in 1711 by the Uniate bishop Józef Lewicki and placed in the turret crowning the church dome¹⁷⁵. At the beginning of August 1735, a five-voice positif organ with drums, a singing bird and figurines of bricklayers was installed in the temple¹⁷⁶.

3.3. Liturgical Paraments and Elements of Decor

The furnishing of the church also included liturgical paraments, church banners, valuable objects, as well as religious paintings and figures. Some of these items were probably purchased with church funds, but some were donated by Armenians wishing to decorate their temple. Unfortunately, there are no sources that would indicate such donations. If the books of the Armenian court in Zamość recorded any donation to the church, it was usually money or land. These books provide very little information about donations of valuable items. The gold chain donated to the church by Suszan Głuszkiewiczówna in 1639 was certainly not the only gift of this kind. Precious votive offerings were made by the Armenians next to the paintings and figures that enjoyed a special cult, e.g. at the image of St. Cajetan. How precious these items were is evidenced by the mention from 1669, valuing the votive offerings by the figure of Christ at a considerable sum 1600 *zlotys*¹⁷⁷. In 1634, Tomasz Zamoyski, mediating in the conflict over inheritance between Warterys Kirkorowicz and his sister-in-law, ordered the former to donate a silver cross worth 40 *zlotys* to the Armenian church¹⁷⁸. In August 1640, Róża Bartoszewicz, née Głuskiewicz, donated a silver belt to the Zamość temple with the order to melt it down into a crucifix¹⁷⁹. In turn, before 1655, Suszan -the aunt of Nikol Nersesowicz's wife- owed 400 *zlotys* for the purchase of a precious bonnet, which was to be given to the church as a safe investment, but it is not known whether her will was finally fulfilled¹⁸⁰. Anna Ariewowicz gave the church a mirror, an ivory crucifix, two reliquaries and a painting of St. Francis of Assisi¹⁸¹. Bazyli Rudomicz, who in 1661 noted in his *Ephemeris* that on August 30 the

174 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 66.

175 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 34.

176 ЛИНБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сnp. 1995, 19.

177 Rudomicz, *Efemeors...*, cz. II: 1665-1672, 233.

178 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 85v.

179 "Testament Róży Bartoszewiczowej, 22 sierpnia 1640 roku", in: Krzysztof Stopka, *Języki oswojane pismem. Alografia kipczacko-ormiańska i polsko-ormiańska w kulturze dawnej Polski* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013) 229.

180 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 196.

181 APL, TZM, sign. 10, 65v.

Armenian church was robbed, and mentioned that gold, silver, and pearls were stolen¹⁸². However, the diarist does not mention what specific items were stolen, apart from the silver basin found during the investigation¹⁸³.

We learn about the valuable items in the Armenian church from two 18th century sources. The first is the inventory and pledge of church silver written on April 1, 1710. This list does not present all the furnishings of the temple, but only a part pledged to raise funds for its renovation. The source mentions silver and sometimes gold-plated chalices, patinas, crosses, lamps, ampoules, a chain with a heart, a censer and a silver cauldron, but in most cases they are not described in detail. Only one of the silver crosses was marked with enamel angels on it, the figure of Christ was gilded, and the name of the Savior was made of paper¹⁸⁴. There were also two Armenian votive crosses, or *khachkars*, in the church. The crosses placed in them were made of fine silver, and the frame was most likely carved in stone or wood¹⁸⁵. An interesting element was also the so-called Moscow pictures dressed in silver dresses. They were probably Orthodox icons¹⁸⁶. It is not known when and how they became part of the church equipment. Perhaps they were donated to the temple by one of the rulers of the city or one of the Armenians. The inventory from 1710 shows that silver plaques from the coffins of Armenian patricians were also kept in the temple. One of the items pledged at that time were two plaques “from Hadziejowicz’s coffin”¹⁸⁷.

A better idea of the appearance of the interior of the temple is provided by the list of items belonging to the Zamość church in 1749. It included, among other things, two rugs, six carpets, and two kilims. Rugs probably covered the floor in the chancel of the church, carpets and kilims could have had a similar function or hung on the walls. In the years of splendor, they were certainly a considerable decoration of the temple, but in the middle of the 18th century they were in a deplorable condition. The rugs had holes in them and the carpets were rotten, and only the kilims seemed to retain such a glow¹⁸⁸. These fabrics certainly gave the interior an oriental character, although it should be remembered that many contemporary churches, including Latin ones, were decorated with eastern carpets¹⁸⁹. A cloth was

182 Rudomicz, *Efemeros...* II, 231.

183 Rudomicz, *Efemeros...* II, 232.

184 ЛІННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сnp. 1995, 12-13. The objects pledged in 1710 included seven silver-gilded chalices, seven patinas, four silver crosses, two silver-gilded crosses, two lamps, a lightly gilded monstrance, a bowl, a censer with chains, a silver cauldron and a pair of ampoules.

185 ЛІННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сnp. 1995, 12.

186 ЛІННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сnp. 1995, 13.

187 ЛІННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сnp. 1995, 13.

188 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1v.

189 Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku*, (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1935), 20.

lined in front of the main altar¹⁹⁰. In the center of the temple, apart from a large bronze mirror or chandelier, a banner hung from the ceiling. The second was hanging on the wall, while the third was probably standing somewhere to the side, perhaps at one of the altars and was intended for the procession¹⁹¹. Probably right next to it was a canopy used in processions¹⁹². The church was also decorated with various types of curtains, which most likely hung at the door or separated some parts of the temple from each other. There were 13 of them in total, but only four of them are described in more detail in the register. The largest was made of thin Turkish silk fabric (*kitajka*) with multicolored stripes. The second curtain (in a red color) also was made from this material. The third was white silk, and the fourth was red silk¹⁹³. The only thing known about the other curtains is that three were made of *haras* (light rough woolen fabric) and two of plain linen¹⁹⁴. Among other fabrics, the list also mentions six slats decorating the walls “of various fabrics, colors and variously embroidered”¹⁹⁵. In addition, in the temple there were two large crepes and one smaller one¹⁹⁶. The furnishings of the temple also consisted of liturgical paraments necessary for the celebration of mass, crucifixes and candlesticks¹⁹⁷.

The liturgical vestments were also necessary for the proper celebration of the liturgy. As previously mentioned, the Armenian Church initially had to borrow them from the Armenian Cathedral in Lwów. Certainly, their own liturgical vestments were provided very quickly. Sometimes the parishioners themselves used the materials or elements of clothing they had to sew chasubles. An example of such a donation may be the donation of the aforementioned Róża Bartoszewicz from 1640, who donated a red damask clothes to the church in Zamość, which was to be used to sew a chasuble¹⁹⁸. In the middle of the 18th century, i.e. at the end of the existence of the Armenian parish in Zamość, there were many liturgical vestments in possession. The local clergy had everything they needed to celebrate the liturgy in sufficient quantities¹⁹⁹.

190 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1v.

191 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1v.

192 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1v.

193 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 2.

194 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1v.

195 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1v.

196 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 1v.

197 The equipment of the church consisted of 5 silver crosses, 7 silver chalices, 8 patens, 12 bronze candlesticks (6 larger and 6 smaller), 8 tin candlesticks (4 smaller and 4 larger), 9 bells, 2 tin jugs, 2 tin trays, 2 gilded silver cans, partly gilded monstrance, silver gilded censer, a pair of silver ampoules, a silver chain, tin tincture, tin *lawajisz* with tincture, a large tin vase for blessing water, a large iron candlestick, a small copper dropper and a copper tub with handles.

198 Stopka (ed.), “Testament Róży...”, 229.

199 There were 35 chasubles of various colors, a pair of dalmatics, 6 copes of various colors, 2 embroidered albs, 10 common albs, 11 amices, one strip of silk lined with gold, 14 simple stripes, 35 humeral veils and altar cloths, 15 hand towels during the celebration of Mass, 2 coverings, 5 simple surplices, 33 velas, 8 embroidered corporals, 12 simple corporals, and 3 cibor aprons.

3.4. Liturgical Books

The furnishing of the church also consisted of liturgical books. Undoubtedly, the first of them appeared in the Zamość church in the first years of its existence. It is known that on May 17, 1589, the temple received a gift of a psalter copied in Lwów in 1567 by *dipir* Minas of Tokat on the order of Atabey of Lwów²⁰⁰. Soon, Zamość itself became a place of writing manuscripts. At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, the already mentioned *der* Agop and *der* Andreas were copying them²⁰¹. Books used in the liturgy usually had decorated bindings. The inventory of pledged silver from 1710 lists e.g. 3 crosses from the binding of the Gospel. Rather, they were not the highest quality decorations, since it was found that it was silver of a bad quality²⁰². In the middle of the 18th century, the church had two copies of the Gospels - both were manuscripts with bindings decorated with silver crosses. Apart from them, the clergy had at their disposal an Armenian martyrology, a great book of *lectionum*, three Armenian missals, three great Latin missals and four mourning missals, two Armenian breviaries (one printed, the other in the form of a manuscript), a printed *sharaknoc* (hymnarium) and a small Gospel in the Polish language²⁰³.

4. Church Property

The maintenance of the church, school, and other parish buildings, as well as the clergy serving at the temple, was the responsibility of the Armenian community. The community not only supervised the property owned by the parish, but also decided how to allocate sums for the church from taxes collected among the Armenians. For example, in 1653, the commune authorities, with the consent of the Armenian community, allocated 36 *zlotys* from public money for each Holy Mass celebrated in the church, additionally 4 *zlotys* for priests, a seminarian and a bell ringer, and 60 *zlotys* to support the poor²⁰⁴. The Armenian community also took care of the financial stability of the parish through proper management of church property. This property consisted of donations to the church in the form of money and landed goods. Already the privilege of 1585 endowed the Armenian church with a field, meadows, and a house with a garden²⁰⁵. According to the summary of the privileges granted to the church until the end of the 17th century, the house

200 Mnatsakanyan, "Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...", 94.

201 Mnatsakanyan, "Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...", 95-98.

202 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 13.

203 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 2.

204 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 97.

205 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 2.

with the garden was located in one of the suburbs, near the brickyard²⁰⁶. This seems to be contradicted by the first inspection of Zamość in 1591. According to this source, the house belonging to the church was located at Ormiańska Street, while the Armenian field (*łan*) i.e. arable land, was located next to the brickyard²⁰⁷.

The endowment of the church also consisted of donations from parishioners. These were often extremely generous donations. For example, Warterys Kirkorowicz in his will gave the church the right to 3,000 *zlotys* of debt owed to him by the Armenian nation. In addition, he donated five tenement houses to the temple, the proceeds of which he allocated to priests obliged to celebrate 40 masses a year, allocate 30 *zlotys* for the poor and 20 *zlotys* for masses for his soul²⁰⁸. The Armenian also expressed his willingness to donate 10,000 *zlotys* secured on his farm in Topornica to the church after his death, but this entry was not included in his will. Kirkorowicz's heirs, however, remembering his decision, decided in 1652 to make a formal donation to the parish²⁰⁹.

Mikołaj Hadziejowicz was also one of the most generous donors. In February 1653, he bequeathed the sum of 1,000 *zlotys* to the church, secured on his tenement house. It was to be a perpetual donation binding also Hadziejowicz's successors or any other person who would come into possession of this tenement house in the future²¹⁰. From this sum, the parish was to receive 80 *zlotys* each year, of which 28 *zlotys* were to be used for the celebration of mass and salaries of the clergy, 2 *zlotys* for the seminarian and the bell ringer, and 50 *zlotys* for the needs of the poor²¹¹. Two years later, the Armenian made another bequest for the parish, this time donating a fully equipped brewery with a malt house and granaries²¹².

The donation made by Gabriel Bartoszewicz to the church in his will written in 1657 was also quite significant, though not comparable to the donations of Kirkorowicz and Hadziejowicz. The Armenian allocated 400 *zlotys* from his property to the clergy, who were to receive 30 *zlotys* each year. If the sum turned out to be larger, it was to be spent on the purchase of candles²¹³. This

206 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 2v.

207 Horodyski, "Najstarsza lustracja...", 205, 208.

208 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 3v-4.

209 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 82.

210 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 96.

211 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 96.

212 Marcin Łukasz Majewski, "Armenians in beer production in the cities of the Polish crown until the end of the 18th century", *Brewery History* 193, 2022, 32.

213 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 311. In return, the clergy were to celebrate a mass every Saturday for the soul of the deceased.

donation was accompanied by another, this time in the amount of 200 *zlotys* from a tenement house belonging to Bartoszewicz²¹⁴.

One of the greatest benefactors of the church was also Stefan Altunowicz. In addition to founding three church altars, in 1699 he bequeathed the parish the sum of 8,000 *zlotys* on his tenement house, and also gave it a debt of 1,600 *zlotys* owed to him by the Armenian community for the renovation of one of the church tenement houses²¹⁵. These were not the only sums donated by Altunowicz. He also bequeathed 200 *zlotys* to the church, obliging the executors of the will to allocate this sum in a good way so that it would be enough to celebrate a mass in the intention of his soul and deceased relatives. He also donated 100 *zlotys* to church confraternities²¹⁶. He also donated 15 *zlotys* to a priest obliged to celebrate fifteen masses a year for Altunowicz and his deceased family members at three altars funded by him (5 *zlotys* for each altar)²¹⁷. He also donated 50 *zlotys* for the purchase of sacramental wine²¹⁸.

The amount of the donations of the three Armenian patricians discussed above corresponded to their financial and social position. All three held the highest positions in the Armenian community, e.g. *vojt*. Of course, the church also received much more modest donations.

Monetary donations were the main part of the parish budget, but sometimes Armenians also donated landed goods or goods they traded to it. For example, in 1653, *der* Agop bequeathed a field to the church, the proceeds of which were to be used to support clergymen²¹⁹. In turn, in 1749, Antoni Balejowicz donated the land inherited from his parents to the church. The parish was to receive this donation provided that the donor was buried at the expense of the parish, otherwise the church was to receive only 100 *zlotys*²²⁰. The proceeds from the land and the tenement house were also bequeathed to the Armenian church by Jan Tatułowicz, which took place in 1757²²¹. The goods were most often donated by Armenian merchants from other cities, who were surprised by a

214 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 312.

215 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 29.

216 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 30. A percentage of these sums was to be used to celebrate a mass in the intention of the donor and his family. At the altar of St. Cross, two masses were to be celebrated each year - on St. Stephen and St. Jacob. At the altar of St. Anna was also to celebrate two masses - the first on St. Anna, the second on the Feast of The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Masses at this altar were to be celebrated for the late wife of Altunowicz - Anna and his parents.

217 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 31.

218 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 32.

219 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 101.

220 APL, AMZ, sign. 47, Acta advocatialis et scabinalia Zamoscensia 1744-1751, 645. In return for the donation, the clergy from the parish were obliged to celebrate eight masses a year for Balejowicz's soul.

221 APL, AMZ, sign. 49, 227-227v.

sudden illness during their stay in Zamość or its vicinity. For example, in 1630, an unknown Armenian Toros from the city of Sis (near Kozan in Adana Province/the Ottoman Empire) fell ill during a fair in Lublin. In the will he dictated, he expressed the wish that all the things he had with him would be donated to the Armenian church in Zamość, where his body was to be buried²²². A similar decision was made by the Persian Armenian Gabriel Gidzom, who was dying in Zamość in 1690²²³.

Another form of material support for the parish was the transfer of the right to debts to the church. The Armenian lender officially transferred his claim to the church, which then collected the money from the debtor²²⁴. The legal practice of the Armenian community in Zamość also provided for donating part of the money from the fines awarded to the church. For example, in 1643, an Armenian court ruled that if Bohdan Jolcewicz violated a certain decree, half of his property would go to the ruler of the town, and half would go to the Armenian church²²⁵.

Regardless of the value of the donation, the church did not always receive it immediately. This was especially true of sums and goods donated in wills, as overly generous bequests were sometimes challenged by heirs. This was the case, for example, with the last will of Warterys Kirkorowicz. Although in 1652 his successors agreed to donate the sums to the church, which the deceased decided to deposit on his estate in Topornica, some of them protested against this decision. The final settlement in this matter was reached on February 23, 1653. Kirkorowicz's successors confirmed their earlier donation, adding the condition that some property was purchased for this sum, which would bring income to the church²²⁶. The owners of Topornica donated some sums from this property to the church. When on March 18, 1653, they leased the property to Krzysztof Balejowicz for the sum of 440 *zlotys*, this rent was to be paid to the Armenian church²²⁷. In this case, the obligation towards the church was enforced quickly, but in some cases it dragged on for years. A donation of only 100 *zlotys*, which Zuzanna Głuszkiewiczówna bequeathed in 1639, was paid to the Zamość parish only in 1662²²⁸.

222 APL, Akta Miasta Lublina (hereinafter: AML), sign. 127, Acta testamentorum et inventariorum iudicii civilis Lublinensis 1627-1631, 618.

223 APL, AMZ, sign. 70, 647.

224 APL, AMZ, sign. 70, 459.

225 APL, AMZ, sign. 67, 9v.

226 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 102.

227 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 105. Out of this sum, 36 *zlotys* was allocated for the celebration of Holy Masses and Armenian clergy, 2 *zlotys* for the *sargawarks* and the bell ringer, 60 *zlotys* for a dinner for the poor, and 100 *zlotys* for poor members of the Armenian community. The rest of the sum was to be spent according to emerging needs.

228 BZNiO, DR, sign. 1646/II, Dzieje Ormian lwowskich od roku 1649 aż do r. 1713, 41.

Over the years, some donations stopped being paid. This was mainly due to the financial problems of the donors and their heirs or the change of owners of the property encumbered for the benefit of the church. When the donors' situation improved, they restored their obligations, as was the case with Gabriel Bartoszewicz's son, Jan. When he was a minor, the sums from his family tenement house donated to the church by his father were not paid to the church, but when he became an adult and in 1668 he took possession of the property, he immediately renewed the donation from his father's will before the Armenian court²²⁹.

However, sometimes things were much more complicated, a good example of which is the fate of the above-mentioned donation of Mikołaj Hadziejowicz. When his descendants sold the badly damaged property to Paweł Olszewski, he refused to pay the sums owed to the church. The lawsuits dragging on for years were in vain and finally, in 1700, the ruler of the town, Anna Zamoyska, agreed to transfer this sum to other properties²³⁰. Even the property that the church received in 1585 as an endowment slipped out of its control during the 17th century. This property was returned to the church only in the years 1694-1701 after a long court battle²³¹.

Church property was not only used to support the church and the clergy. It was also used in the credit market by offering loans to members of the Armenian community. Their amount proves that the parish had large cash resources. For example, a loan granted in 1653 to Toros Bartoszewicz amounted to 1,384 *zlotys*, and two years later Grzegorz Hadziejowicz and his mother Rozalia took out a loan from the Armenian parish in the amount of 7,875 *zlotys*²³². Borrowers received a loan from the parish against their property, usually real estate²³³. If the sums were not repaid on time, the administrators of the church property took over the pledged property on behalf of the parish, using it until the loan was repaid.

5. The Armenian Church in Zamość during the Conflicts over the Union with the Latin Church

The building of the church coincided with the ongoing conflict among the Armenians over the union with the Latin Church. Although Lwów was the main center of this conflict, the events taking place there also had effects on

229 НИАБ, 3М, ф. 1807, оп. 1, од. 1, 237v.

230 AGAD, ZACz, sign. 232, Dokument Anny z Gnińskich Zamoyskiej dla kościoła ormiańskiego w Zamościu 1700, 76.

231 BN, BOZ, sign. 1594, 2v-3.

232 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 102, 209.

233 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 102, 209.

the Zamość parish. The agitation of the supporters of Archbishop Mikołaj Torosowicz, who was unwanted by the majority of Armenians, had already reached Zamość in the first years of the conflict. In the summer of 1630, Vardapet Khachadur, sent to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, Mowes, read a pamphlet distributed in Zamość. Its content is unknown, but from the acts of the Armenian Ecclesiastical Court in Lwów, we can conclude that it was directed against the Catholicosate and expressed support for the actions of Archbishop Torosowicz²³⁴. *Der Agop* was accused of authorship, and therefore, on September 10, 1630, he appeared before the Armenian Clerical Court in Lwów. However, the priest strongly rejected the accusations, pointing out that “neither my hand nor my name is in this letter”²³⁵. At the same time, *der Agop* declared his adherence to tradition, confessing: “oh, if [...] I said or wrote something against the temples of Armenia and the holy capital of Etchmiadzin, and it was proved in court that I am guilty, then let me fall away from the clerical state”²³⁶. The clergyman also swore that, guided by the doctrines adopted at the Ecumenical Councils of Nicaea, Istanbul, and Ephesus, he would remember about the true profession of faith and persevere in it as before, and declared absolute obedience to “Holy Etchmiadzin and Catholicos, regardless of who will sit on his see”²³⁷. *Der Agop* was therefore not one of Torosowicz’s supporters, so accusing him of favoring a disliked hierarch may seem incomprehensible. The Ecclesiastical Court could have been guided by simple pragmatism in this case. Since a pamphlet supporting Torosowicz was found in Zamość, the main suspicion fell on the parson responsible for the parish. Perhaps distrust towards *der Agop* had its source in the fact that Catholic influences were not alien to his immediate family. As mentioned, the three sons of *der Agop* chose a clerical career, but while Kirkor and Bedros became priests of the Armenian Church, Stepanos chose to serve in the Latin Church. In a deed written before the Armenian court in Zamość in September 1644, he was described as a priest of the Franciscan order. In addition to his baptismal name, the act most likely also recorded his religious name, Franciszek²³⁸. However, *der Agop* himself remained faithful to the Armenian orthodoxy throughout his life, which prevented the conflicts that took place in Lwów from taking place in the Armenian commune of Zamość at that time. The very fact that the Bishop of Wallachia, and not Torosowicz, was chosen as the consecrator of the Armenian church, seems to confirm the anti-union views of *der Agop* and Zamość Armenians. However, it should be noted that the first attempts to impose union with the Latin Church on the Zamość parish occurred while *der Agop* was still a parson. In 1655,

234 Tryjarski (ed.), *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1625-1630...*, 223.

235 Tryjarski (ed.), *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1625-1630...*, 223.

236 Tryjarski (ed.), *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1625-1630...*, 223.

237 Tryjarski (ed.), *Zapisy Sądu Duchownego Ormian miasta Lwowa za lata 1625-1630...*, 223.

238 APL, AMZ, sign. 67, 29v.

Archbishop Torosowicz came to Zamość and celebrated the funeral mass of Mikołaj Hadziejowicz, who died that year. During the celebration, he announced the introduction of church union in the Zamość parish. However, this declaration was not followed by concrete actions to introduce changes in the liturgy²³⁹. There is also a significant mention to the beginning of the church union in Zamość. It noted that the successor of *der Agop* – *der Jan Kistesterowicz* “attempts to gradually eradicate the religious errors of the Armenians”²⁴⁰. This mention dates from the end of 1663, i.e. the time when *der Agop* had died and his successor had managed to consolidate his position.

It was during the times of Kistesterowicz that the church union was introduced in the Zamość parish. This clergyman, born between 1617 and 1622, came from Zamość²⁴¹. He was the son of Kistetor Mygyrdiczowicz, a merchant from Zamość²⁴² and Mariam Derjakubowiczówna²⁴³. On his father’s side, he was the grandson of Mygyrdicz, one of the first Armenian settlers in Zamość, mentioned in this role already in January 1586²⁴⁴, and on his mother’s side, he was the grandson of the Armenian parson in Zamość, *der Agop*²⁴⁵. He had a brother Samuel and sisters Barbara (married to Stefan Krzysztofowicz) and Róża (married to Ariew Dertatowicz)²⁴⁶. He declared himself a supporter of church union, and his Zamość origin could have influenced the decision of the Archbishop of Lwów to delegate him to the Zamość church. It was easier for this clergyman to find supporters than for a clergyman unrelated to the city. Perhaps it was expected that thanks to this, the introduction of the union would go smoothly. For the time being, Kistesterowicz was to support *der Agop* in his priestly duties, but due to the clergyman’s old age, it was to be expected

239 APL, AMZ, sign. 71, 211v.

240 Rudomicz, *Efemerose...*I, 326.

241 Alojzy Maria Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość o obecnym stanie, początkach i postępie mysi apostolskiej do Ormian w Polsce, Wołoszczyźnie i sąsiednich krajach oraz o początku i założeniu dla tychże Ormian kolegium papieżkiego we Lwowie, będącego pod kierunkiem OO. Kleryków regularnych, Teatynami zwykle zwanych, aż do I kw[ietnia]. 1669 r.”, in: *Źródła Dziejowe*, t. II: *Dzieje zjednoczenia Ormian polskich z Kościołem Rzymskim w XVII w., z dwóch rękopisów, włoskiego i łacińskiego*, ed. Adolf Pawiński (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolf, 1876), 17. Pidou mentioned in his account written between 1664 and 1669 that Kistesterowicz was about 47 years old.

242 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 93. In the sources, Kistetor Mygyrdiczowicz was also called Krzysztof Popowicz. This family came to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from Caffa.

243 APL, AMZ, sign. 71, k. 199v, 203v. Sources mention that *der Hovhannes Kistesterowicz*’s mother was *der Agop*’s daughter, but none of them gives her name. I determined that of *der Agop*’s three daughters, Anna married *der Andreas*, and Sushan married an Armenian merchant from Zamość, Zachariasz Dolwatowicz. Therefore, the mother of *der Hovhannes Kistesterowicz* and the wife of his father Kistetor Mygyrdiczowicz could only be *der Agop*’s third daughter, Mariam.

244 Majewski, “Ormianie w Zamościu...”, 19. Mygyrdicz as a burgher of Zamość was mentioned in the prenuptial agreement of his daughter Jolmelik written in Lwów on January 12, 1586. At that time, Jolmelik was married to another citizen of Zamość - Bachsza, who in Zamość began to be called Bartosz. He was the progenitor of the Armenian Bartoszewicz family.

245 APL, AMZ, sign. 71, 203v.

246 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 93, 103.

that Kistesterowicz -a man of “very Catholic views”- would soon take over the management of the parish in Zamość²⁴⁷. A document from 1655 mentions Kistesterowicz as the provost of the church of St. Cross. It could have been the Armenian church in Lwów bearing this invocation, but it seems more likely that it was rather the chapel of St. Cross in the Zamość Armenian church, which in the source was mistakenly called a church²⁴⁸. Kistesterowicz appears as a priest serving in Zamość in 1640s. In 1645, as a priest of the Zamość church, he ordered the copying of the *mashtots* (rituals) from *dipir* Maruta of Amasya²⁴⁹, and three years later he appears as a witness to the settlement of expenses by *jerespochan* Gabriel Ariewowicz²⁵⁰. Father Alojzy Maria Pidou characterized him as a man of excellent “intellect, virtue and fluent in Latin and Armenian book language, in which he writes very learned dissertations, at the same time zealous in faith [...]”²⁵¹.

Despite the death of *der* Agop, his successor initially did not achieve much success in introducing changes in the liturgy and customs, although he himself tried to set an example. When in 1663 he organized the wedding of his daughter Ewa, it took place for the first time in the history of the Armenian community on Sunday, and not on Saturday, according to the previous custom. Armenians, according to their tradition, celebrated the wedding on Saturday, recognizing that weddings should not be held on the day of the Resurrection of the Lord, “as if the wedding was not a sacrament”²⁵². However, it was of little use, since Father Alojzy Maria Pidou, visiting the parish in 1664, noted that he had “an opportunity to see that in Zamość, according to the condition of the church and the reports of Rev. Jan Kistesterowicz, the adoption of the union by this people was clearly apparent”²⁵³. In March 1665, Archbishop Torosowicz sent letters to the clergyman, in which he demanded that he undertake more vigorous changes²⁵⁴. Heeding these instructions, the clergyman “began to completely eradicate errors in the ceremonies of the Armenian Rite”²⁵⁵.

These actions caused opposition from the faithful, so serious that Kistesterowicz was afraid that the community would seize the church property²⁵⁶. The resistance against the changes was led by Simon, an unknown monk from Zamość ordained in Armenia, who was embroiled in scandal

247 Rudomicz, *Efemeoros...I*, 326.

248 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 227.

249 Mnatsakanyan, “Kultura języka ormiańskiego...”, 92.

250 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 142.

251 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 17.

252 Rudomicz, *Efemeoros...I*, 326.

253 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 29.

254 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 35.

255 Rudomicz, *Efemeoros...II*, 14.

256 Rudomicz, *Efemeoros...II*, 14.

because of the introduction of “heresy” in the church in Zamość²⁵⁷. The monk also gained influential supporters, including Krzysztof Balejowicz. Balejowicz was an *jerespochan* at that time, so his opposition to Kistesterowicz’s actions could have dangerous consequences for the parson, because Balejowicz could prevent him from using the church property, which the priest, as mentioned above, was very afraid of. However, Balejowicz did not take any radical steps and a month later, on April 28, 1665, he came to Kistesterowicz’s house resigning his position. More importantly, he gave the clergyman the book of church revenues and expenses and other documents²⁵⁸. Therefore, the clergyman was not in danger of being deprived of church property. Balejowicz’s brief resistance may be puzzling, but it seems that his relatively easy adaptation to the changing situation resulted from his belonging to the Armenian power elite in Zamość. Among them, Kistesterowicz enjoyed the support of e.g. his son-in-law Axent Owanisowicz and Stefan Altunowicz²⁵⁹. Already in 1666, Balejowicz was re-elected as *jerespochan*²⁶⁰. His resistance was related to the changes introduced in the liturgy, and not to the person of Rev. Kistesterowicz or the Archbishop of Lwów. This is evidenced by his will written in 1664, in which Balejowicz also made a donation to the Armenian archbishop²⁶¹.

Having some support in high-ranking representatives of the Armenian community, Kistesterowicz proceeded to further action. First of all, he expelled from his parish the implacable monk Simon, who left for Lwów and settled there at the Church of St. Anna²⁶². Called before the archbishop, he celebrated the Holy Mass in a Catholic spirit, which he never wanted to do in Zamość²⁶³. Thanks to this ruse, he managed to get permission to return to Zamość, where he resumed his activities. At the same time, he took advantage of the visit of the legate of the Armenian Patriarch Agop - Archbishop Bohos of Tokat²⁶⁴, who, with the support of the monk, began to remove the changes introduced by Kistesterowicz in the liturgy²⁶⁵. Bohos and Simon found fertile ground, because according to Father Pidou, the Armenians of Zamość still stubbornly stuck to “the custom of their ancestors”²⁶⁶. In this situation, the archbishop decided to finally solve the matter by resorting to radical measures. He not

257 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 18, 35.

258 Rudomicz, *Efemerios...II*, 18.

259 НИАБ, 3М, ф. 1807, оп. 1, од. 1, 153v, 180v.

260 НИАБ, 3М, ф. 1807, оп. 1, од. 1, 181.

261 НИАБ, 3М, ф. 1807, оп. 1, од. 1, 144.

262 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 18.

263 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 37.

264 BZNiO, DR, sign. 1646/II, 54v.

265 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 18.

266 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 39.

only recalled Bohos from Zamość, but also ordered the closure of the local church²⁶⁷. When the legate wanted to go to Zamość again to collect alms, he was forbidden by Archbishop Torosowicz, so on October 29, 1665, Bohos decided to return to Tokat²⁶⁸. After his departure, “the issue of the union in Zamość went well”, but “it did not happen without murmuring and resistance from the people”²⁶⁹. Kistesterowicz’s actions actually brought the desired effect, since the apostolic nuncio in Poland, Antonio Pignatelli, applied to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to grant the Zamość parson a lifetime salary of 40 Roman *skojecs*²⁷⁰. Kistesterowicz’s merits in this field were also appreciated at the royal court. In June 1661, King of Poland John Casimir, probably on the advice of his wife, presented Kistesterowicz’s candidacy for the position of auxiliary bishop of the Armenian diocese of Lwów²⁷¹. However, the clergyman was not elected to this position.

The consolidation of the union in the Armenian parish in Zamość is best evidenced by the wills of the Armenians from the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. In them, the testators often emphasized the importance of upbringing and attachment to the holy Roman Catholic faith²⁷². The collection of the church library also reflected the changes that took place in the parish in the second half of the 17th century. The book collection register, written on November 16, 1753, lists as many as 100 items in Italian, Latin, Polish and Armenian, but books in the latter language constituted only 8% of the entire book collection²⁷³. They included *mashtots* (ritual) and *salmos* (psalter), as well as items for learning the Armenian language – *bargirk* (dictionary of the Armenian language) and Armenian grammar²⁷⁴. The latter item was in fact a Latin textbook for learning the Armenian language, which should probably be identified with the work *Grammaticae et logicae institutiones linguae literalis Armenicae Armenis traditae* (*Learning the grammar and logic of the Armenian language for Armenians*) of Father Clement Galano. The clergyman’s work also contained an Armenian-Latin dictionary, but it is not known whether the dictionary listed in the book collection list should be identified with this work or whether it was a different vocabulary. The library also contained another work by Father Galano, *The Reconciliation between the Holy Armenian Church and the Holy Roman Church*, published in 1690 in Rome. The last item in

267 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 18.

268 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 43.

269 Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 35, 43.

270 Rudomicz, *Efemeros*...II, 71.

271 Rudomicz, *Efemeros*... I, 223 ; Pidou, “Krótka wiadomość...”, 17.

272 APL, TZM, sign. 10, 63, Majewski, “Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...”, 27.

273 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 2-2v.

274 For help in reading the Armenian titles appearing in the book collection register of 1753, I would like to express my sincere thanks to the orientalist and doyen of Polish Armenian studies, Professor Andrzej Pisowicz.

Armenian was the theological work *The Mirror of Christian Truth*. The list of Armenian books also includes a book which the author of the inventory described with the Latin term *espositor*²⁷⁵, and no doubt it was exegesis. Armenian books were used mainly for the proper celebration of the liturgy in the Armenian language, but the overwhelming dominance of Italian, Latin, and Polish books reflected not only the triumph of the union in Zamość, but also the progressive latinization of the Armenian rite²⁷⁶. Despite the conflict, the adoption of the union was much calmer in Zamość than in Lwów. This was due to the fact that the union was already well established by the mid-1660s, as the Armenians had formally joined it in 1653. Emotions related to the election of Torosowicz as archbishop, and later his submission of the Catholic confession of faith, no longer aroused such emotions as several decades earlier. In addition, as noted by Krzysztof Stopka, the Armenians realized that accession to the union also brought some measurable benefits, such as the elimination of existing economic restrictions²⁷⁷.

Father Alojzy Maria Pidou mentioned in his account that Rev. Kistesterowicz was supported in his priestly work by a certain Rev. Piotr²⁷⁸. Piruz Mnatsakanyan hypothesized that Piotr may be identified with the son of *der Agop* – Bedros²⁷⁹. This view is contradicted by the receipt that *der Bedros*

275 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 2v.

276 Books in Polish consisted mainly of books helpful in church work, books on religious topics and lives of saints. The first group included collections of Sunday sermons by Rev. Jakub Wujek and Father Bielicki, *Orator polityczny, weselnym y pogrzebowym służący aktom* (*Political orator serving to wedding and funeral acts*) by Kazimierz Jan Woysznarowicz, *Uwagi duchowne albo dyskursy nabożne na tajemnice różańca świętego* (*Spiritual remarks or pious reflections on the mysteries of the Holy Rosary*) by Dominican Father Bazylusz Jastrzębski. Among other books in Polish, there were e.g. *Wojna duchowna* (*Spiritual War*) issued thanks to the efforts of Father Deodat Neresowicz – auxiliary bishop of the Armenian Archdiocese of Lwów, *Apologia przeciwko Luteranom, Zwinglianom, Kalwinistom, Nowokrzeszencom* (*Apology against Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Anabaptists*) by Rev. Andrzej Wargocki, *Rozmyślenia nabożne* (*The Meditations*) of St. Augustine, *Alphabetum hereticum*, or a collection of Polish songs. From the lives of the saints, the collection of the church library included the life of Joanna Fremoyt de Chantal and the *Ogród liliowy y cedrowy* (*Lily and cedar garden*), i.e. the life of St. Cajetan. It is worth noting that the library also had one copy of Rev. Piotr Skarga's *Roczne dzieje kościelne* (*Annual church history*) and one copy of Stanisław Bielicki's sermon delivered in 1694 in Wilno (Vilnius) for the inauguration of the Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Among the books in Latin, there were mainly works in the field of theology as well as ecclesiastical and civil law, as well as the lives of saints. An exceptional position among Latin titles was Joachim Pastorius' *Historiae Polonae* (*History of Poland*). Unfortunately, we do not know the titles of the books in Italian, because they are not listed in the register. We can only guess that these were the publications of the Theatines – an order responsible since the second half of the 17th century for educating the Armenian clergy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. All the works listed in the register were printed books. At the time of the census, they were in good condition except for the half-burned *Silva allegoriarum* (*A collection of allegories*) and the torn *Opus Divi Hyacinthi* (*Divine Work of St. Hyacinth of Poland*). In addition to printed books, the church library also contained manuscripts. However, there were few of them, and since they were considered unnecessary at the time, their titles were not listed in the list, see: BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 2-2v.

277 Stopka and Zięba, *Ormiańska Polska*, 127.

278 Pidou, "Krótka wiadomość...", 17.

279 Mnatsakanyan, "Kultura Języka Ormiańskiego...", 98.

issued for his father in Łuck on May 22, 1643²⁸⁰. However, Father Pidou, in his account written between 1664 and 1669, mentions that Rev. Piotr, who was serving in Zamość, was 32 years old at the time²⁸¹. This clergyman must have been born between 1632 and 1637 and was still a child in 1643. We learn the true identity of Piotr from the mention in the diary of Rudomicz, who recorded on August 26, 1668, the celebration of the first mass in the Armenian church in Zamość by the Rev. Melchior Piotr Ariewowicz²⁸². In the further part of Father Pidou's account, this clergyman appears under the names of Melchior Mikołaj²⁸³, while in sources from Zamość he was mentioned only under the latter name²⁸⁴. Additionally, Bazyli Rudomicz in later records, writing about the clergyman, called him Mikołaj²⁸⁵. This clergyman was the son of Ariew Dertatowicz and the sister of Father Kistesterowicz Róża, so he was the nephew of the Zamość parson²⁸⁶. He received his first education under the supervision of his uncle, and in July 1665 he was sent to the Theatine College in Lwów. There he was considered a student of mediocre abilities and after a few days he was sent back to Zamość²⁸⁷. For the next three years Ariewowicz, under the supervision of Kistesterowicz, perfected the use of Latin and Armenian and taught the celebration of the sacraments. In June 1668, he went back to Lwów with a letter of recommendation from his uncle and a request to ordain him as a priest as soon as possible and send him back to Zamość. This request was supported by the archbishop and Ariewowicz, who was ordained a priest, returned to Zamość in early July, where he began to help his uncle in church duties²⁸⁸. Occasionally, other Armenian priests, not permanently connected with the parish, performed various services in Zamość. For example, in 1656 sermons in the Zamość church were preached by the Armenian preacher Bohos, who was invited to the city probably thanks to his patrons - Krzysztof and Jakub Balejowicz. This clergyman died during his stay in Zamość²⁸⁹.

6. Armenian Church in Zamość in the Final Period of its Existence

The great fire of Zamość in 1672 is considered by researchers as a turning point in the history of Zamość Armenians and their church. After that incident, the Armenian community was plunged into a chronic crisis, the consequence of

280 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 288.

281 Pidou, "Krótka wiadomość...", 17.

282 Rudomicz, *Efemerose...* II, 194.

283 Pidou, "Krótka wiadomość...", 100.

284 APL, AMZ, sign. 69, 20, sign. 70, 71v, sign. 71, 33v.

285 Rudomicz, *Efemerose...* II, 348.

286 APL, AMZ, sign. 68, 16v.

287 Pidou, "Krótka wiadomość...", 100.

288 Pidou, "Krótka wiadomość...", 109.

289 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 271.

which was to be the neglect of the church and its gradual fall into ruin²⁹⁰. According to Jerzy Kowalczyk, it was the fault of the *jerespochans*, who in the last quarter of the 17th century performed their duties carelessly. Proof of this, according to Kowalczyk, was the appointment in 1681 by the Armenian archbishop of the second *jerespochan*²⁹¹. In fact, the allegations against the administrators of church property were not unique to that time. Also, in the Armenian court books from the first half of the century, i.e. from the times of the greatest splendor of the community, we find accusations against the *jerespochans* of mishandling their duties²⁹².

Complaints of this type were not characteristic only of Zamość and did not concern only the *jerespochans*, but all townspeople holding offices in an ethnic or urban community, a craftsman's guild or a merchant's guild. We can mention the real and alleged misconduct of officials holding important functions in the Old Polish era in many Polish cities. Also, the appointment of the second *jerespochan* was not caused by neglecting the material affairs of the parish. This decision was made by the Archbishop of Lwów in exceptional circumstances after the brutal murder of the daughter of the Armenian juror Zachariasz Browar in November 1680. Since the archbishop was not informed by the *jerespochan*, he lost confidence in him and decided to appoint a second *jerespochan*²⁹³.

The crisis of the commune, and thus also of the Armenian parish, began only in the 18th century. The driving force behind this crisis was the Great Northern War and the capture of Zamość in 1704 by the Swedish army, and then the quartering Saxon troops there. The economic crisis caused by the war hit the Zamość patriciate with great force, including the rich Armenians. In this situation, the church's income also experienced decrease, especially since fewer and fewer parishioners decided to make generous donations to the church. In addition, at the beginning of October 1709, the temple was once again consumed by fire²⁹⁴. The damage caused by the fire was all the more worrying

290 Kowalczyk, "Kościół ormiański...", 218.

291 Kowalczyk, "Kościół ormiański...", 218.

292 APL, AMZ, sign. 64, 140, 142.

293 Marcin Łukasz Majewski, "Karta ze stosunków rodzinnych Ormian zamojskich. Morderstwo Heleny Kisterowiczowej (1680)", *Lehahayer. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Ormian polskich* 8, (2021), 37.

294 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, он. 1, смп. 1995, 1. In his study of the history of the Armenian church, Jerzy Kowalczyk gives an incorrect date of the fire, indicating that it took place on March 4, 1709, see J. Kowalczyk op.cit., p. 218. However, the source cited by the researcher, states that "in the year 1709, on Friday, October 4 (the feast of Saint Francis the Confessor), due to heavy and unbearable sins, God's justice punishing our people with great fire, during a huge fire of the whole city [...]"; see: ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, он. 1, спр. 1995, 7-8. Incorrect dating of the fire led Kowalczyk to the wrong conclusion that the renovation works would start only a year later, i.e. on March 4, 1710. Considering that the church burnt down at the beginning of October, and the winter months made it impossible to carry out construction works on such a large scale, it should be stated that the reconstruction of the church began extremely quickly.

as autumn began, and with it rainfall and higher humidity, which raised concerns about further deterioration of the damaged vaults²⁹⁵. The council, composed of the head of the Armenian nation, Stefan Altunowicz, the mayor of Zamość, Zachariasz Arakiełowicz, the councilor of Zamość, Zachariasz Faruchowicz, as well as Paweł Derbedroszowicz, Tomasz Tumanowicz, Gabriel Derbedroszowicz, Axent Tatułowicz, and Szymon, and Eliasz Takisowicz, gathered at the presbytery to develop a reconstruction plan for the temple²⁹⁶. However, the times were not suitable for this, because after the Great Northern War “the [Armenian] nation became impoverished” and was unable to build a church with its own funds²⁹⁷. Nevertheless, a special collection of money was ordered. Among the donors, apart from the Armenians from Zamość, there were also Armenians from Kamieniec, Jazłowiec (Yazlovets) and representatives of the nobility²⁹⁸. Their donations accounted for as much as 38.8% of the sum collected. In total, a relatively small amount of 1,099.12 *zlotys* was collected for the renovation of the temple. According to the summary of the collection, this sum was higher by 30 *zlotys*²⁹⁹, but it is not known whether a donation was unregistered or whether the writer made a mistake counting individual donations. In addition to money, some Armenians also donated building materials and drinks for the repairers³⁰⁰. Since the amount was insufficient, the council deliberating on obtaining funds for the renovation obliged the parson to apply to the Armenian archbishop of Lwów for permission to pledge or sell church silver³⁰¹. In this way, the Armenian parish managed to obtain a loan of 1,200 *zlotys* from the administrators of the property of the Lwów Armenian Cathedral³⁰². Work on the reconstruction of the church began quickly. Only a week after the fire, the parson in Zamość concluded the first contract with craftsmen to cover the roof of the church³⁰³. Another contract

295 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 1.

296 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 1-2.

297 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 2.

298 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 2. The list of donors was as follows: Rev. Grzegorz Piotr Dawidowicz 300 *zlotys*, wife of the deputy cup-bearer Elżbieta Morełowska 200 *zlotys*, Stefan Altunowicz 118 *zlotys*, Paweł Derbedroszowicz 8 *zlotys*, Tomasz Tumanowicz 4 *zlotys*, Axent Tatułowicz 8 *zlotys*, Eliasz Takiesowicz 2 *zlotys*, oriental merchant Józef Dersukiasowicz (Derłukasowicz?) 18 *zlotys*, Jan Seferowicz 2 *zlotys* and 12 *groszys*, Jan Nikorowicz from Jazłowiec 4 *zlotys*, heirs of Paweł from Metryca 100 *zlotys*, Teodor Kirkorowicz from Kamieniec 8 *zlotys*, Toros Łazarowicz 18 *zlotys*, Zachariasz Arakiełowicz 30 *zlotys*, Zachariasz Faruchowicz 40 *zlotys*, Gabriel Derbedroszowicz 10 *zlotys*, Szymon Takiesowicz 8 *zlotys*, oriental merchant Szymon Arakiełowicz 18 *zlotys*, a merchant named Gabriel 18 *zlotys*, Łukasz Przyzyrwanicy 1 *zloty*, Dzarug from Kamieniec 60 *zlotys*, Walerian Chodykiewicz 20 *zlotys*, Haczyk Hagopsza 24 *zlotys*, Confraternity of St. Anna 50 *zlotys*, Confraternity of the Holy Cross 30 *zlotys*.

299 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 2.

300 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 5-6, 16-17.

301 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 2-3.

302 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 10.

303 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, сир. 1995, 4.

was signed in early March 1710³⁰⁴. The temple was renovated, although it cost the impoverished Armenian community a lot of effort.

In the following years, the Armenian community in Zamość failed to rebuild its economic position. Deteriorating living conditions meant that more and more Armenians were looking for better living conditions by migrating to other urban centers. This process led to the liquidation of the Armenian community in Zamość in 1738³⁰⁵. The crisis experienced by the parish is reflected in the data on the number of baptisms. In the years 1694-1776, 121 Armenian children received the sacrament, but since the records from the first half of the 18th century are incomplete, the number of baptisms was certainly higher. It is noteworthy, however, that in the years 1753-1776 only 10 children were baptized in the parish, and all of them came from mixed marriages³⁰⁶. The maintenance of the temple by such a small group of believers was therefore an increasingly difficult task.

Probably after 1710, the church was not affected by major natural disasters. Nevertheless, in the 1740s, the temple needed another roof repair, as evidenced by the registers of sheet metal intended for this purpose drawn up in June 1748³⁰⁷. The technical condition of the church at that time is presented in a local inspection carried out on Wednesday before the feast of St. James the Apostle, i.e. July 24, 1754. This source, unknown to researchers, is worth attention due to the fact that the Armenian parish in Zamość is thus documented in the final period of its existence. The inspection was carried out by the *vojt* Łukasz Derbedroszowicz, an Armenian by origin, the *vicevojt*³⁰⁸ Michał Malborski and the juror Marcin Wesołowski in the presence of the scribe of the city bench. The report from the inspection was then entered into the Zamość jury book from the years 1749-1755³⁰⁹. The building was generally in good condition. The walls of the temple were assessed as good and not in danger of collapsing. The problem that required urgent intervention was the roofs. They were so damaged that the water entering through the holes flooded the vault, causing it to crack. The roof over the dome was not that badly damaged, but the jurors inspecting the building said it needed a whole new roof. At the same time, it was found that the vaults of the temple will remain stable and pose no danger of collapse, provided that the roofs are repaired quickly³¹⁰. From the

304 ЛННБУВС, КОЧ, ф.141, оп. 1, стр. 1995, 9-12.

305 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy...*, 258-259.

306 Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 64-67.

307 BZNiO, DR, sign. 3687/II, 10.

308 In the case of an Armenian commune, the *vojt* (*wójt* in Polish) is the leader of the commune. In this case, *vojt/vicevojt* is the chairman/vice-chairman of the city bench (in cities under Magdeburg law, the city bench was a judicial body).

309 APL, AMZ, sign. 48, 478v-479v.

310 APL, AMZ, sign. 48, 479.

description it can be concluded that despite the purchase of materials for the renovation of the roofs in 1748, the parish with a small number of believers at that time was unable to start the necessary renovation works for the next six years.

The condition of the parish buildings was also not very good. Cracks, scratches on the walls, and holes in the roofs were noted in all of them. The condition of the corner tenement house was the worst, the roof of which had collapsed and could not be repaired. Only the roof of the presbytery was in good condition, but in the building itself, the back wall by the kitchen had collapsed, threatening to collapse the chimney³¹¹. Probably no repairs were carried out then, since in 1778 the temple still needed renovation. Again, work was not started due to high costs³¹². A plenary indulgence granted in 1781 by Pope Pius VI to all the faithful visiting the Armenian church in Zamość on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Gregory, St. Anthony the Great, and St. Cajetan, and the seven-year indulgence for the faithful coming to the temple on other feasts dedicated to the Mother of God, did not help³¹³.

The problems of the parish were also reflected in the material condition of the clergy. In the 17th and early 18th centuries, although the Armenian clergy from Zamość were not wealthy people, they were the owners of valuable items and real estate³¹⁴. However, Rev. Augustyn Senni³¹⁵, who died in 1753, left only clothes, spoons, a few pewter objects, kitchen utensils, and a clock³¹⁶.

The Austrian authorities ruling Zamość from the First Partition of Poland ordered in 1802 the dissolution of the Armenian church. The equipment of the temple was sold at an auction, and the building itself became the property of the state. It was bought by Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski and donated to the city. The temple was in a deplorable condition at that time. Despite plans to use the building by the Tsar's military staff, the church was finally demolished in the 1820s (or early 1830s), and its existence is now commemorated by a commemorative plaque placed on the facade of the "Renesans" Hotel³¹⁷.

311 APL, AMZ, sign. 48, 479-479v.

312 Barącz, *Rys dziejów...*, 178.

313 Barącz, *Rys dziejów...*, 178.

314 APL, AMZ, sign. 66, 101, 289, 295, sign. 71, 235-235v ; Majewski, "Ormianie w Zamościu...", 18.

315 Augustyn Senni does not appear in the documentation of the Armenian Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, apart from the metrics of the Zamość parish. Perhaps he was a priest of the Latin rite, see: Majewski, "Metryka parafii ormiańskiej...", 9. Monika Agopsowicz -from The Foundation of Culture and Heritage of Polish Armenians, pointed out to me that perhaps Senni was a descendant of Axent from Jassy. The nickname used by his sons took various forms - Jaski, Ascini, Asaj and Seni (Senni).

316 APL, AMZ, sign. 48, 379v.

317 Chrząszczewski, *Kościół Ormian...*, 141.

Conclusion

The history of the Armenian parish in Zamość has never been the subject of detailed research. Historians mainly limited themselves to discussing fragments of the privilege from 1585 regarding the construction of the Armenian church and the salary of the priest serving there. They also mentioned the circumstances of the construction of the brick church in the first half of the 17th century and discussed its architecture and artistic values. Beyond their interest were issues such as the organization of the parish, its property, and the course of the conflict over the union with the Latin Church. Historians also showed no interest in church furnishing and the clergy who served in the parish in the 16th and 18th centuries. Thanks to the research conducted, the beginnings of the parish, its organization and the construction of the first temple has been discussed in detail. Then, the process of building a brick church was discussed and the history of its furnishings was carefully reconstructed. Much space was devoted to parish property and the course of the conflict over the union in the Zamość parish. The article has introduced new, previously unknown findings and verified existing mistakes in the historiography of the Armenian presence in Poland.

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Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Zbiór Aleksandra Czołowskiego, sign. 605, Mandat Tomasza Zamoyskiego wojewody kijowskiego nakazujący gminie ormiańskiej w Zamościu doprowadzenie do końca budowy ich kościoła.

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