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**HISTORICAL TIES OF UKRAINE'S ARMENIAN DIASPORA  
WITH JERUSALEM**

The history of the Armenian colonies in Ukraine counts more than a thousand years. However, the documentary sources about the Ukrainian Armenians' contacts with Palestine only appeared in the XI century. The whole amount of this information could be thematically divided into two categories: 1. records about the Crusaders in the context of the history of the Armenian colonies in Ukraine; 2. information about the members of the Armenian Diaspora of Ukraine who had taken pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This topic has never actually been investigated by either the Ukrainian or foreign Armenology.

A famous historian, a Dominican monk, living in Lviv, by the name of Zadok Baronch wrote, that numerous representatives of the Armenian family of Bohdanovych had arrived in Kiev in 1062, along with 20 thousand Crusaders. The historian refers to the official certificate of Lviv's Armenian Archbishop Ian Simonovych, issued on February 21, 1809, kept in the archives of Lviv's Armenian capitule. The situation was the same with another renowned Armenian family, the Teodorovyches. They also came to Ruthenia with Crusaders, also known as Krzyzaki in the XI century. The Podolian historians wrote, that in the XII – XIII century there had been specific Armenian knights, who would call themselves *Krzyzaki*, i.e. the Knights of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Later on, in the process of formation of the society of Armenian immigrants, those knights' descendants became the aristocratic class<sup>1</sup>.

The first mention of Armenians in Western Ukraine is connected with Armenian military men and the events, associated with the struggle for the throne in Galicia-Volhynia. In 1211, the Hungarian King Andrew II, in alliance with Leshko White (of Cracow) and the Volhynian princes, had put the 9-year-old Roman Galytsky's heir Daniel Romanovych to rule in Galicia. As the Galician boyars had expelled the Romanoviches, from 1214 till 1221 the Hungarian Prince Koloman had been the king of

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<sup>1</sup> *Труды комитета для историко-статистического описания Подольской епархии*, Вып. II, 1878-1879, Каменец-Подольский, с. 177.

Galicia. He was the son of Andrew II Arpad and the brother of Bela IV and had been crowned to be the Galician king by John the Archbishop of Esztergom, with the consent of Pope Innocent III in 1215.

Later, Daniel made an alliance with Mstyslav Udatnyi and began to fight for Galych. In the spring of 1221 Mstyslav Udatnyi had invaded Galicia, defeating the Hungarians at the walls of Galych city, the prince Koloman had got imprisoned, so king Andrew II had to initiate peace talks in order to release him. Mstyslav made peace with him and got his daughter Mary married to king Andrew's son, Andrew, known among historians as the "prince Andriy". In 1245, at the Battle of Yaroslav, Daniel Galician's troops had defeated the Hungarian and Polish regiments, which put the 40-year struggle for the Galician throne to an end. In 1247, the Hungarian King Bela IV agreed to get his daughter married to King Daniel's son Leo.

Apparently, the Armenians were directly involved in all of these tumultuous events. The medieval Lviv historians Y. Alnpek and B. Zimorovych pointed out that the Armenians had been taking active part in Daniel Galytskyi's fight for the throne. B. Zimorovych noted, that after Tamerlane's campaign the Armenians expelled from their homes had first been soldiers in the Tatar army, but they willingly went into military service to Prince Leo. Yan Alnpek, distinguished for his scrupulous working with sources, reported, that the Armenians provided military assistance to Galicia-Volyn Prince Daniel. Thanks to their aid, Daniel subdued the other princes, and his son Leo invited "Armenian Asian warriors, using Tatar weapons, clothing and language" to settle in Lviv. Z. Baronch wrote about that too. According to him, Princes Daniel and Leo had invited Armenians to Galicia long before the Poles did, and the Armenians had helped them to adopt their royal authority in the Galicia-Volhynian state<sup>2</sup>.

It's noteworthy, that this was the only period in the history of the Armenian colonies in Ukraine, when the Armenians were not talked of as merchants, artisans, builders or the like, but solely as soldiers. No less interesting is the fact, that the Armenians are mentioned in historical records in connection with the "*Kzryzakies*", – that is what knights of the Teutonic Order were called in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The arrival of the Armenian-Crusaders to the Rus' principalities may be associated with Cilician Armenia and the Teutonic Order's activity in there and its subsequent transfer on the territory of Eastern Europe. When

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<sup>2</sup> S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów ormiańskich*. Tarnopol, 1869, s. 61.

the fourth Teutonic Order's Master Hermann von Salza realized that the campaigns against Muslims would not bring any success, he began to look for a more convenient arena for the Order's military activities. First, the Order attempted to gain a foothold in the southeastern part of Transylvania<sup>3</sup>. In 1211, King Andrew II granted Hermann von Salza a plot of land in Transylvania, – the area, called Burtsenland, which was allegedly “empty and bad-looking” in those times. This land was meant to remain in the Order's eternal possession<sup>4</sup>. However, the Teuton knights made a failed attempt to turn Burtsenland into a papal feud without informing King Andrew II. That affair ended in a bad quarrel between the Teutons and the king, which led to the Order's expulsion of Transylvania (1218).

At the same time, the Poles had invited the Teutons to their lands to fight the Prussians. Konrad Mazowiecki had long disagreed with the knights' excessive demands and conditions, but eventually he was forced to give up. In 1230, the Leslau agreement was signed in accordance with which the Teutonic Order was granted the territory, called Kulm Lands. It is remarkable that there was nothing said about Poland's unconditional sovereign rights for that territory in the document. Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV immediately took advantage of that, turning the Order's possession into St. Peter feud (which they did not manage to do in Hungary). The described events were followed by the intense conquests and the Teuton Order's joining with the Order of the Sword with their extensive land possessions after which the Teutons became a major political force in Europe. Yet, we focus namely on the Teutonic Order's first attempts to make its foothold in Europe - in Transylvania, ever so closely related to Ukraine, could have been one of the areas of the Armenian crusaders' coming to Ruthenia.

According to the Hungarian historians, particularly K. Lukacsi, Armenians had already been living in Hungary during the reigns of King Andrew II and his son, King Bela IV. They owned monasteries and estates in Transylvania (Monasterium Armenorum, Terra Armenorum and others). In 1243, King Bela IV had confirmed the the Armenians' privileges, and king Vladyslav IV granted the Armenian monasteries St. Augustine's charter in 1281. K. Lukacsi argued that the Transylvanian Armenians are closely related with Western Ukraine, because they were the descendants of the Armenians, who fled to the Crimea under the Genoese protectorate after the kingdom of Bagratid had declined in the XI cen-

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<sup>3</sup> *Эпоха крестовых походов*, под редакцией Э. Лависса и А. Рамбо. М.-СПб, 2003, 1088 с., с. 865.

<sup>4</sup> Циммерман Харальд, “800 лет Тевтонского ордена в Бурценланде”.

ture. After the Crimea was captured by the Turks in 1475 they travelled to Poland and further to Moldavia and Wallachia<sup>5</sup>.

Besides that, the Teutonic Order and Hungarian King Andrew II had established close ties with Cilician Armenia. King Andrew II did that during his crusade in 1217, whereas the Order had done that sometime earlier. In 1211-1212 Grand Master Hermann von Salza made a trip to Cilicia<sup>6</sup>. 13 years before that (January in 1198), Archbishop Konrad had Armenian prince Levon II crowned. The ceremony took place in the city of Tars. That same archbishop had attended in March of 1198 the congregation of the Crusaders' leaders and the clergy, where they resolved to turn the German military hospital into a military order. In April of 1212 king Levon II signed up a contract according to which the Teuton Order became the owner of Amudain castle (*famosum castellum Amudain*), Sespin (Selpin) estate, Buquequia (Buchequia), Kumbetfor and Ayun. The king's decree provided the Teuton knights with a number of trading privileges and allowed them to move freely throughout the entire territory of Cilician Armenia<sup>7</sup>.

Thus, the Armenians crusaders could have gotten through to Ruthenia in several ways: either via Transylvania to which they had come from Cilician Armenia or with King Andrew II after his return from the Crusade, or together with the Teutons. It is also possible that "the Asian Armenian soldiers" could have made their way from the Crimea via the Genoese trading posts in Kaffa, Moncastro and other places where there were large Armenian colonies. A. Jacobson analyzed the reasons for the wide spread of images of a lamb with Labarum (Surb Nishan=the Holy Sign), which is considered to be the symbol of the Crimean Armenians. He believed, that this character had come to the Crimea from Cilicia Armenia<sup>8</sup>. However, there was the image of a lion with a cross, stamped on Armenian coins during the reigns of Levon II the Great, Hethoum I, Levon III, Costantine IV. Indeed, the lamb of God was depicted on Middle East coins, although those were Crusaders' coins of the 2-nd half of the XIII century<sup>9</sup>. Thus, the Armenian Crusaders' arrival in Ruthenia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century appears quite possible and natural, given the close ties, that Hungary, Transylvania and Poland had with the Ruthenian principalities.

<sup>5</sup> C. Lukacsi, *Historia Armenorum Transilvaniae*. Vienna, 1859, p. 12, 65.

<sup>6</sup> А. Баранов, "Тевтонский орден в Киликийской Армении", [deusvult.ru/tevtonskij-orden](http://deusvult.ru/tevtonskij-orden).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> А. Якобсон, *Армянская средневековая архитектура*. М., с. 178.

<sup>9</sup> Я. Дашкевич, "Емблематика та символіка вірмен України XIV-XVIII століть", *Вірмени в Україні: дорогами тисячоліть*, Львів, 2012, 1328 с., с. 877-878.

However, it is rather difficult to explain the arrival of 20 thousand Crusaders to the lands of the present-time Ukraine in 1062. That ought to have happened more than 30 years before the beginning of the Crusades era, and even before the Seljuk Turks conquered Jerusalem in 1071, which actually was the reason, why the Crusades were organized. It is also a problem to answer the question, why such a serious historian as S. Baronch had never doubted the authenticity of this Armenian archbishop's historical evidence.

According to the historians, the Armenians fought together with the Lithuanians and Poles in the famous Battle of Grunwald (1410); King Vladislav had under his authority separate groups of Tatars, Zhmudines, Armenians and Hungarians. Yet, later on we come across the information about the ties between the Armenians and the Teuton Order again. S. Baronch wrote that in 1497, the Armenians had sold their steam baths in Lviv in order to meet with great honors the Crusaders' Master John of Tiefen. He was on his way to provide the military aid against the Turks, but died in the train under the city of Galych<sup>10</sup>. In the late XVII – the early XVIII centuries Armenian Doctor of Theology Vaclav Muratovich was a canon of the Teutonic Order<sup>11</sup>. Also, the historian mentioned a Crusader knight by the name of Vartan Martin, who was living in Lviv in 1544 under the law of St. Anthony the Hermit<sup>12</sup>.

Another thread, linking Armenians of Lviv, Jerusalem, and another popular pilgrimage place – Santiago de Compostela, could be the oldest frescoes, which were discovered in the early XX century in the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv. They depict St. John the Evangelist and St. James of Compostela. Even today, the ways pilgrims would walk are often called “*St. James's roads*”. “*St. James's Way*” actually stands for “The Milky Way” in “the peasants’ language” and the translation of “Compostela” is “the Field of Stars”<sup>13</sup>.

R. Guenon believed, that here “we have to deal with another idea – the idea of “celestial travels”, in correlation with the earthly travels”<sup>14</sup>, since the pilgrimage could also be an initiatory consecration. It is not accidental that “in many traditions different levels of initiation are described as travel stages – sometimes a travel on the ground and some-

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<sup>10</sup> S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów...*, s. 109-110.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>12</sup> S. Barącz, *Żywoty sławnych Ormian...*, s. 349.

<sup>13</sup> Р. Генон, *Масонство и компаньонаж. Легенды и символы вольных каменщиков*, Воронеж, 2009, 192 с., с. 89.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

times on the sea ... This symbolism ... sometimes finds its outward expression in the historical facts, particularly the close relations between the pilgrimages to the Holy Land and the Crusades in the Middle Ages”<sup>15</sup>. Yet, R. Guenon warned, that “ordinary pilgrims should be distinguished from those who disguise among them and externally is their perfect similarity”; the pilgrims’ distinctive sign was a scallop-shell (the shell of St. James) and a crook<sup>16</sup>.

Being the children of materialism and positivism, we involuntarily see in pilgrimage just its main outward feature, inherent to a vast majority of contemporary pilgrims, – just a desire to see and touch the Holy Sepulchre and the Wailing Wall, at the same time getting the remission of our sins and being able to say with a sense of deep satisfaction: “I’ve been there, too!” But the few remaining evidences of Armenians’ pilgrimage to the holy places contain one remarkable fact: *mahdesis* would often be patrons or churchwardens of the building or reconstruction of the Armenian churches and chapels, they would also sacrifice valuable things in favor of Armenian temples. These details, alongside the original character of the church fellowships of Ukrainian Armenians (as certain Charters’ elements prove), suggest that both the church fellowships and pilgrimages particularly used to be a part of the initiatory tradition, but pretty soon it all came to naught and these phenomena became purely profane.

Going back to the earliest surviving frescoes in the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv, we should note that the image of James of Compostela is not traditional for the Armenians of Ukraine. It is actually the only image of this saint, that the scientists are aware of in Ukraine. However, there is the Armenian Cathedral of two Jameses in Jerusalem. According to the legend, it was erected in the place where St. Apostle Jacob’s head had been buried. This cathedral was consecrated in honor of two different saints whose names were James. One of them was Apostle James, or James Senior (Surb Hagop), Zebedee’s son and the brother of John the Evangelist. The other James was James Junior, the first bishop of Jerusalem, whom the Gospels called Jesus’ brother. Whereas St. James’s head was buried in the chapel of the Armenian Cathedral in Jerusalem, then his body was buried in Santiago de Compostela, in Spain, according to the same legend. Pope Calixtus II (1060-1124) granted this town the privilege of full remission of pilgrims’ sins, thereby equating it to the cities of Rome and Jerusalem.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

The Lviv's Armenian Cathedral frescoes date back in the late XIV–early XV centuries. They were custom-made by the order of an unknown Armenian, which is evidenced by the image of the customer's small figure, standing next to the figure of St. James. The Crusades epoch had by that time fallen into oblivion, with Jerusalem remaining under the Muslims' control. In 1375, as a result of the Egyptian mamelukes invasion, Cilician Armenia had declined. A part of Cilician Armenians moved to Western Europe, others moved to the Crimea and travelled from there farther on to the lands of Galicia. At the same time, in the West, the successful Reconquista under the aegis of St. James of Compostela in Spain was nearing its completion. Apparently the reason, why this particular Saint had been selected, was that certain descendants of the Cilician Armenians may have connected the image of Santiago de Compostela with the hope for another successful Reconquista – in the East – as next.

Another striking evidence of the ties between the Armenians of Western Ukraine and Jerusalem are two beautiful icons of the Holy Virgin, stored in St. James' Cathedral. One of them is located left of the altar of the Holy Virgin Hodegetria. On the right of it, there is a replica of the Virgin of Santa Maria di Maggiore, known by the name of «Salus Populi Romani» (“Salvation of the Roman people”). Even though these icons are locked in massive silver settings, which makes their analysis really rather difficult, the stylistic characteristics of the paintings demonstrate their West Ukrainian origin. The experts in the Ukrainian iconography and painting (Dr. V. Aleksandrovykh, prof. d-r L. Milyaeva, prof. L. Skop), the author of this paper has consulted, suppose that the icons could have originated from Ukraine (Eastern Galicia). Dr. V. Aleksandrovykh believed, they could be referred to the period of the Armenian Union, the style of the Hodegetria and the ornament on Emmanuel's clothes being the proof to this viewpoint. There are inscriptions on the icons' frameworks, that relate to the very frameworks and not the icons themselves. The inscription on the icon of the Holy Virgin Hodegetria says, “This silver frame in memory of Patriarch Archimandrite Hovhannes in order to heal his body and soul (has been made) in the patriarchate of archimandrites ter Krikor and ter Hovhannes in 1731 (ՌԷՂ). Remember this for Christ's sake!”. The inscription on the right of the icon says, “This silver frame is from Hakop, the Archimandrite of Balat, in memory of himself, his parents and all of his kin in the patriarchate of ter Grigor and ter Hovhannes. Year 1270 (ՌԷՂ) by the Armenian calendar and 1731 by Gregorian calendar. Remember this for Christ's sake!” Also,

there is a number of books written by Crimean Armenians in the XIV-XV centuries kept in the St. James monastery's book depository<sup>17</sup>.

The documentary material allows us to trace the history of Ukrainian Armenians' pilgrimage to Jerusalem from as long ago as the XVI century. Information about the pilgrims can be obtained on the basis of what is known about individual representatives of the Armenian diaspora, from the travellers' records, as well as from the various epigraphic material: epitaphs on tapanakhars and khachkars (stone crosses) and dedicatory inscriptions on subjects of church utensils. The available documents (for instance, the municipal court books and such like, that is known to the author) contain no mention of intentionally arranged pilgrimages to the Holy Places. Of the total number of the known epigraphic inscriptions (26 pieces altogether) the two oldest ones, mentioning the *mahdesi*, originate from the Crimea and date back in the XVI century. A little more epigraphic monuments with references to *mahdesi* date back in the XVII century: we have 5 ones (two from the city of Lviv, one from the Crimea and another one from Grigoriopol). In the XVIII century the number of such epigraphic documents reached its peak: 16 ones have been discovered (the same geographical location). There is only one epigraphic monument, referred to the XIX century, and it comes from Braile (Moldova-Romania). The dating of two more inscriptions (the icon from Mogiliov-Podolskiy and the Crimean plate) is unknown.

Other documentary sources give us a similar picture. The first written mention of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land is contained in "The Travelling Notes of Simeon Dpir Lehatsi" (XVII century). His records make it clear, that were no special pilgrim caravan around to visit the Holy Places. Those, who wished to make a pilgrimage, had to join merchant caravans, going to the East. First, pilgrims would get with them to Constantinople, from where they had to join similar caravans, going farther to Jerusalem or thereabouts. There may have also been other routes. For example, from Lviv to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Venice and from Venice – straight to Jerusalem. "So there we came to a city called Lviv, where there are the thrones of three archbishops: the Polish, the Russian and the Armenian ones. Towards us came priests and people, who escorted us with honors to St. Achkatar Monastery. They gave a great honor to paronter Ghukas, the nvirak of Jerusalem. There he had

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<sup>17</sup> See *Свод армянских памятных записей, относящихся к Крыму и сопредельным регионам (14-15 вв.)*, Составление, русский перевод, введение и примечания Т. Э. Саргсян, Симферополь, 2010, 312 с., таблица, с. 288-307.



stayed for two weeks, after which he was taken to the city and accommodated in a magnificent palace, the local episcopal residence. For there is the following rule in Lviv: when a *nvirak* comes from Jerusalem or Echmiadzin, he first stops at a monastery. On the third day after the arrival, 12 *ahas* gather up along with church wardens and priests. They send a priest and two *ahas* to the *nvirak* and ask him, what he has come for: to collect [donations] or with another purpose? The *nvirak* tells them the reason and if he has a certificate he is taken into the city with honors. Unless the *nvirak* has got an authorization he gets driven off from the monastery”<sup>18</sup>.

Obviously, it is not without a substantiated reason that the first mention of the pilgrims (*mahdesies*) to the Holy Land dates back in the XVI century. In 1517, Jerusalem was conquered by Sultan Selim I Yavuz. Thus, the Crimea and the cities south of the present-time Ukraine (Ackermann and Kilia) from the late XV century, and Ismail from the 2nd half of the XVI century, as well as Jerusalem, had either been a part of the Ottoman Empire, or were under its protectorate (Kilia), which greatly favoured the improvement of the Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Places.

The documentary sources make it clear, that Armenians from Lviv and other towns in Western Ukraine kept going on pilgrimages to the Holy Places in Jerusalem even after the official signing of the Union with Rome (1630), although it had not lasted too long, until about the beginning of the XVIII century. Those were the Armenians, closely related to Moldovan Armenians' colonies, like Suceava (N. Baydulovych, D. Bogdanovych, M. Bohosevych and others).

As it has already been noted, not only were *mahdesi* deeply respected, but often they held the respectable positions of churchwardens whenever Armenian churches were being built or reconstructed somewhere. For example, the commemorative inscription on the stone in honor of construction of the Armenian Church of the Holy Virgin in Ismail says, “With God’s grace, the church of the Holy Mother of God Virgin has been resumed from the base during the patriarchate of the Holiest Echmiadzin Catholicos, Bishop Hacop X, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Carapet and the Patriarch of Constantinople Archbishop Hacop the Theologian. Under the supervision, with exhortation and diligence of the priest and parishioners of the city, and at the behest and diligence of *mahdesi* Maghakia, the descendant from the East, and his brother, *mahdesi* Hacop.

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<sup>18</sup> Симеон Лехаци, *Путевые заметки*. М., 1965, гл. 15: “Описание города Львова”, [armenianhouse.org/lekhatsi/chronicle-ru/notes/chapter13\\_18.html](http://armenianhouse.org/lekhatsi/chronicle-ru/notes/chapter13_18.html).

Also should be remembered the descendant from the East, *mahdesi* Berkhudar, who has contributed a lot of labor and resources to the construction of this church ... the year of 1212 of the Armenian era (1763) on January 10th<sup>19</sup>. There is another relief inscription, carved on the stone wall of the Armenian Church, which is located 20 miles from Feodosia and 12 miles from the train station in Burunduk (Toplov). The inscription contains 10 lines, written in *Erkatagir* letters (“iron” letters), whose image is attributed to a monk Mesrop, who lived in the V century. It states, “This glorious temple of God in the name of Saint Uratokres has for the second time been resumed from the base on the model of the Armenian (architecture) due to the generous offerings of the Crimean land to be managed by Jacob, the wise priest, with the presiding of *mahdesi* John and *mahdesi* Aytin - natives of the city of Kaffa. (This inscription has been carved) with the hands of stone chisellers Gregory and Tnakan to priest Ter-Vartan»<sup>20</sup>. The last inscription is particularly interesting in the context of this article’s topic. Kh. Kuchuk-Ioannesov believed, that the inscription had been made between 1268 and 1287, since it refers to the Armenian Patriarch Jacob the Wise, who had taken the patriarchal throne in 1268 (†1287), during the reign of King Levon III Rubenid (1269-1289)<sup>21</sup>.

However, the modern-time translations are radically different from Kh. Kuchuk-Ioannesov's translation: “This divine glorified temple, being the image of the Armenian people, has been renewed from the bottom by the grace of the Crimean land, in the name of the Holy Virgin Friday. Under the command of Hakob – the wise teacher (in the other translations “the abbot” - *Author*) and supervision of *mahdesi* Hovannes and *mahdesi* Aytin of Kaffa, with the hands of masons Grigor and Tonakakn, to the delight of Priest ter Vartan, Deacon Sarkis in the Armenian year of 1151 (1702)»<sup>22</sup>. Nowadays the researchers have adopted the point of view, that the church of Surb-Urpat, as well the church of Surb-Sargis in Topolivka (Crimea) had been built in the XIV-XV centuries, and was restored in 1701, as evidenced by the inscription itself. The name Hakop most likely refers to the temple’s abbot, under whose direction it was being restored, as there was no patriarch by the name of Hakop on the Echmiadzin throne in that period.

<sup>19</sup> Центральный Государственный архив Республики Армения (далее ЦГА РА). Ф. 811, оп.1, д. 9. Фонд X. Кучук-Иоаннесова, л. 88.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, д. 23, л. 8.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.10.

<sup>22</sup> ru.hayazg.info.

Two commemorative plates and a beam-shirt with inscriptions of the same content are preserved in the museum of Feodosia (Crimea): 1 a plate with the inscription in Armenian: "In accordance with the king's commandment and under the supervision of *mahdesi* Merkian, directed by Ter-Simeon this small chapel has been built in memory of the whole nation, with the hands of *mahdesi* Mikir and *mahdesi* Toros, architects Sargis and Minas. Year 1005" (1556) (№ К.п.о.ф.497. А-1186. Л-9); 2. a rectangular marble plate of the XVIII century with the inscription in Armenian in 6 lines, written in the middle of the figure cartouche: "By the command of the Sovereign and under the supervision of *Mahdesi* and the direction of Ter ... (Astvatsatur?), the door (?) has been decorated in memory of the whole nation with the hands *Mahdesi*, the architect..." (№ О.ф. А-№ 35. 2160/45 а. Л-116)<sup>23</sup>; 3. a square bar from the Church of St. Sargis in Feodosia with the inscription in Armenian in two lines: "This has been built by mahdesi Amir, a martyr's son. May God have mercy on workers. Year 981 (1532), on the 1-st of August". (№ К.п. 2160 /60. А-1349. Л-65).

There may be traced another consistent pattern: after the Armenian Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth adopted the Union, documentary records about the pilgrims to the Holy Land gradually disappeared. According to the documents, from then on Armenians of Western Ukraine travel to Rome, whereas pilgrimages to the Holy Land continued in the Armenian communities of the South and South-West Ukraine which had not been included in the Union with Rome. However, in the XVII century and even in the early XVIII century, the Armenians of Western Ukraine would contribute money and valuables in favor of the Armenian Church in Jerusalem. In the XVII century, Lviv's Armenian Krzysztof Glushkevych signed over a silver cup to the church in Jerusalem in his will<sup>24</sup>; a rich merchant from Yazlovets Minas Sirinovych in his will on March 15, 1672 donated 50 thalers to the cathedral in Echmiadzin and Jerusalem. In the early XVIII century, Lviv's richest merchant Dominique Bogdanovych (a grandson of Bogdan Donovakovych, the founder of the famous Armenian monastery Khachkatar in Suceava) ordered in his will, that Armenian pilgrims to the Holy Land should be paid 50 zlotyis every year<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> Е. Айбабина, *Декоративная каменная резьба Каффы XIV-XVIII веков*, Симферополь, 2001, с. 130.

<sup>24</sup> S. Barącz, *Żywoty sławnych Ormian...*, s. 132.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

One of the most influential citizens of Lviv of the XVII century was an Armenian Mykolay Baydulovych. He was considered the best knower of Oriental languages in Lviv. On January 14, 1657 the City Council elected him as the city's Chief Tolmach (translator). He had done great on that position, but in 1661 he left this job and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and later to Echmiadzin. He returned to the city on July 13, 1662, "enriched with news from the East", since not only did he "pray and weep at the Holy Sepulchre, but he had also learned a lot about the customs and manners of the local people and the court, in order to obtain necessary skills in the field of diplomacy"<sup>26</sup>. Upon his return, Mykolay Baydulovych took the post of the municipal interpreter again. In 1667, he went to Constantinople as an advisor and interpreter with the Great Crown Ambassador Jerome Radzeyovski. In 1670, the royal charter of the 19-th November granted Mykolay Baydulovych the life-long post of the municipal translator<sup>27</sup>.

Pilgrimages were mostly made by men, but we sometimes come across the mentions of women pilgrims. Thus, Marianna Bohosevych of Kamyanets-Podilskyi went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and later to Echmiadzin in 1650. From Echmiadzin, she headed for Istanbul, where she received the Deacon's consecration from the Armenian Patriarch Philip. Afterwards she went to Rome and eventually returned home<sup>28</sup>.

A considerable part of the documentary material with evidence of Ukrainian Armenians pilgrimages to Jerusalem, especially church utensils, commemorative plates from Grygoriopol and the Armenian churches in Zhvanets, Mogiliov-Podolskiy, have only been preserved in Kh. Kuchuk-Ioannesov's diary on his travel to the Armenian colonies in South and South-West Ukraine. Thus, when the scholar was in Zhvanets, he described a "noteworthy" ancient icon, depicting St. Peter with the following inscription: "St. Apostle Peter in memory of the slave Saka, the son of mugdusi (*mahdesi* - *Author*) Sargis from Erzurum"<sup>29</sup>. There is no information, where this icon is today, as well as it is not known where a number of the other items, described by Kh. Kuchuk-Ioannesov have been gone. In the church of St. Nicholas in Kamyanets-Podilskyi there was an icon of Archangel Gabriel, "in memory of *mahdesi* Pirzat, the son

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58-59.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8-9.

<sup>29</sup> ЦГА РА.Ф.811, оп.1. д. 9., л. 75.

of Kretnvitoran and his concubine, also *mahdesi*, donated to the church of St. Nicholas in year 1102 of Armenian era (= 1653)<sup>30</sup>.

In 1894 the scientist had discovered quite a number of similar monuments in the Armenian Church of St. Peter and Paul and the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Grygoriopol. Among them there were “the bowl (for holy gifts) in memory of Terzi brothers of Izmail, donated by *mahdesi* Hakot to the church of St. Virgin in 1199 of the Armenian era (1750); the bowl in memory of *mahdesi* Sargis, John Pastetsi’s son, donated to the Church of the Miraculous Surb-Nshan in 1198 of the Armenian era (1749); the episcopal tiara in memory of fervat – the son of *mahdesi* Astvatsatur of Tokhat, donated to the church of St. Virgin in Izmail in 1200 of the Armenian era (1751)”. In the sacristy of Grygoriopol’s church of St. Virgin Kh. Kuchuk-Ioannesov was shown an old mitre with an Armenian inscription, saying “In memory of Ter-Arakel, Esaik’s son and his son, *mahdesi* Rstakes, and all their kin – in the year of 1117 of Armenian era (1668)”<sup>31</sup>.

In addition, Kh. Kuchuk-Ioannesov demonstrates the inscriptions on the tombstones near the church of St. Peter and Paul, four of which mention pilgrims to Jerusalem: “This is the tomb of *mahdesi* Ghiferen (Ghiferan) of the East – the son of Babadzhan from the city of Nakhchivan, the village of Syr... [?] Month .. died in 1190 of the Armenian era (1741)”; “This is the tomb of *mahdesi* Iskander – Gregory's son, died in 1198 of the Armenian era (1749)”; “This is the tomb of *mehdesi* Sol..., son of Kho..., died in 1175 of the Armenian era (1726) on March, 1-st. Say the prayer ‘Our Father’ ”; “This is the tomb of Gethsimana – the spouse of *mahdesi* Barkhudar of the East, from the village... in Nakhichevan district, died in 1219 of the Armenian era (1770)”<sup>32</sup>. Archimandrite Gabriel Aivazovskyi described the tombstone of 1710 year at Kinburg fortress, located nearby Ochakiv. The Armenian inscription on it was devoted to the daughter of *mahdesi* Der Baba, Mariam-Bike, the wife of Hovhannes<sup>33</sup>.

A part of Armenian cultural monuments, with inscriptions, mentioning Armenian pilgrims to the Holy Land, have been preserved in the museum collections of Ukraine: 1. The Kiev Museum of Historical

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, д.23, л. 22 оборот.

<sup>31</sup> ЦГА РА. Ф. 40. оп.1, д. 16.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Г. Айвазовский, “Армянские надписи, на юге России”, *Записки Императорского Одесского общества истории и древностей* (далее – ЗООИД), Одесса, 1867, т. 6, с. 323-332.

Treasures: - №ДМ-60. Casket. Late XIX cent. Silver, forging, stamping. On the front lateral wall there is an inscription in Armenian (translation made by His Eminence Bishop Natan Ohannesian): «This casket for preservation of St. Sacrement has been presented by Manuk – the son of *mahdesi* Sarkiz from Braile (nowadays in Romania - *Author*) – to the church of the Holiest Mother of God in Hawshar (it was Causani city (Căușeni) in Moldova. There was the Armenian Church of the Holiest Mother of God there in the XIX cent. - *Author*)»<sup>34</sup>; -№ ДМ-86. Cross in mandorla. 1744. Armenia. There is an inscription in Armenian «Cross has been made and presented to the church of the Holy Virgin in Kilia by God-loving *mahdesi* Harutiu in 1193 of Armenian chronology (1744)»<sup>35</sup>; – the silver plate (№ ДМ-2397), described by Kh. Kuchuk-Ioannesov, with the incription: “This image in memory of *mahdesi* Ohannes of Trapezund and his parents [donated] to Kilia’s Church of The Holiest Mother of God in 1226 of Armenian era (1777 г.)»; 2. The Lviv Historical Myseum: – Tombstone with inscription in Armenian (№ С-491). The XVII cent. Marble. There is the inscription: “The plate is on the tomb of the blessed person from the country of Ersah, Uruhtsuhchi district, by the name of Pieklie *Mahdesi* Astvatzatur, the pious Arutiu’s son. Whoever attends this tomb, let them pray and read “Our Father...”. Amen. It was 1797 A.C. in the month of May, the 15-th<sup>36</sup>; – Four-pointed silver altar cross (№ МТ-1736, СК-250). 1621. It is a work of Lviv’s Armenian craftsmen. On the base is engraved the inscription in Armenian: “This sacred cross is in memory of mahdesi Astvatzatur from Egypt (?) [who has presented] it to the Church of The Holiest and Merciful Virgin. For the sake of salvation of his own soul and the souls of all his relatives: the living and the dead. Year ... the month of May, Diarbekir ....” (translation by Andriy Pisovych and priest Bogos Kodzhanian)<sup>37</sup>. Obviously, it is the cross that was described in the article on the Exhibition of Achievements of Armenian culture in 1932 in Lviv. Dr. R. Menkitsky had attributed this cross to the most remarkable Armenian silver items: the XVII

<sup>34</sup> **И. Гаюк**, *Иллюстрированная энциклопедия армянской культуры в Украине*, Львов: Афиша, 2012, т. I, с. 260.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.

<sup>36</sup> **Я. Р. Дашкевич, Э. Трыярский**, “Армяно-кыпчакская надпись из Львова (1609) и вопросы изучения средневековых памятников армянской эпиграфики”, *Rocznik orientalistyczny*. – Т. XXXV, 2. – S.123-135.

<sup>37</sup> **A. Czolowski**, *Wystawa zabytków ormiańskich we Lwowie*. Lwów, 1932, с. 29; “Ormianie polscy. Odrębność i asymilacja”, *Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie*, Kraków, 1999, S. 106, № 120.

century silver, gilded reliquary in the shape of a cross made in the Gothic style. At the base of the cross there is an engraving with the words: "This is a memory for *Mahdesi* Bogdanovych, donated by Jakub Bogdanovych in 1631"; 3. Local Culture Museum in Feodosia: - № К.п. 492. А-1181. Л-4. Marble tombstone of the XVII century with an inscription in Armenian in 6 lines from Kaffa: "This tomb is the resting place of *Mahdesi* Sinan's son Shemini, brought to Christ in year 1162 (1713) on Saturday. Our Father<sup>38</sup>"; - № К.п.493. А-1182. Л-5. Marble tombstone of 1761 with an inscription in Armenian in 8 lines from Kaffa: "This tomb is the resting place of the daughter of *Mahdesi* Astvatur (a short form for Astvatsatur) by the name of Ripsime. God bless her soul. Year 1210 (1761), month ..."<sup>39</sup>; - № К.п. 6212. А-5106. Л-141. Marble tombstone of 1749 from Kaffa with a poetic inscription in Armenian in 10 lines: "This tomb is the resting place of the obedient and noble daughter of *Mahdesi* Khazarian. A little flower, 13 years of age by the name of Elizabeth who died on the 12-th of November in 1198. Say "Our Father" for her."<sup>40</sup>; - Б/Н. Detail of the XVII century khachkar from the excavations at the Armenian Church of St. Stephan in Feodosia with a partially preserved inscription (just one line) in Armenian language: "... the holy sign in memory of *Mahdesi*"<sup>41</sup>.

Thus, the brief overview of the monuments and documents, regarding the historical ties of Armenian colonies in Ukraine with Jerusalem, leads to the conclusion, that these contacts were multidimensional and should be studied in two interconnected, but different formats. The first would be the relationship of the Armenian colonies in Ukraine in the times of Kievan Ruthenia, Galicia-Volhynia and the early period of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – in the context of the Crusades, political relations between Kievan and Galician princes and Hungary and Poland; the relations of Genoese and Armenian colonies of the Crimea and Southern Ukraine (Moncastro, Kiliya, Kaffa) with Galicia, Transylvania and Cilician Armenia, as well as in the context of the relations of the Teutonic Knights with Cilician Armenia, Hungary and Poland. The second format would be the pilgrimage of Armenians of Ukraine to the Holy Land, its history, character and features.

The available documentary materials allow us to trace the history of

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<sup>38</sup> Е. Айбабина, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89-90.

the Ukrainian Armenians' pilgrimage to Jerusalem, starting from the XVI century. The information on the Armenian pilgrims can be obtained on the basis of records, referring to certain personalities who were members of the Armenian diaspora. One can come across such mentions in books written by travelers at that time or when studying epigraphic material of various kinds (the epitaphs on tapanakhars and khachkars or dedicatory inscriptions on church ritual subjects).

The earliest epigraphic inscriptions known to the researchers, which mention "mahdesi", date back in the XVI century. There are two of them and both were found in the Crimea. In the XVII century, the number of epigraphic monuments, mentioning "mahdesi", became larger. The largest number of such epigraphic monuments refers to the XVIII century, with only one mention dating back in the XIX century. Noteworthy is the monuments' geography: except two inscriptions which come from the city of Lviv, the others were found in the south Ukraine and the Crimea. Pretty much similar appears the situation with the written documents.

### Իրինա Հայուկ

#### Ուկրաինայի հայկական սփյուռքի պատմական կապերը Երուսաղեմի հետ

Երուսաղեմի հետ Ուկրաինայի հայկական գաղութների պատմական կապերին վերաբերող հուշարձանների և վավերագրերի համառոտ տեսությունը ցույց է տալիս, որ այդ կապերը բազմաշերտ էին և պետք է ուսումնասիրվեն երկու փոխկապակցված, սակայն տարբեր մոտեցումներով: Նախ և առաջ պետք է դիտարկվեն Ուկրաինայի հայկական գաղթօջախների հարաբերությունները Կիևյան Ռուսների, Գալիցիա-Վոլհինիայի ժամանակներում և Լեհաստանի ու Լիտվական Մեծ իշխանապետության վաղ ժամանակաշրջանում հաշակրաց արշավանքների, Կիևի ու Գալիցիայի իշխանների և Հունգարիայի ու Լեհաստանի քաղաքական հարաբերությունների, Գալիցիայի, Տրանսիլվանիայի և Կիլիկյան Հայաստանի հետ Ղրիմի ու հարավային Ուկրաինայի (Մոնկաստրո, Կիլիյա, Կաֆա) ջենովական ու հայկական գաղթօջախների հարաբերությունների, ինչպես նաև Կիլիկյան Հայաստանի, Հունգարիայի ու Լեհաստանի հետ Տևտոնական ասպետների հարաբերությունների համատեքստում: Մյուս կողմից պետք է ուսումնասիրել Ուկրաինայի հայերի ուխտագնացությունը Սուրբ երկիր, նրա պատմությունը, բնույթը և այլ առանձնահատկություններ: Առկա նյութերը (հուշեր, տապանաքարերի ու խաչքարների վրա տապանագրեր կամ եկեղեցական ծխական առարկաների վրա մակագրություններ) թույլ են տալիս հետևել Ուկրաինայի հայերի ղեկի Երուսաղեմ ուխտագնացությանը սկսած 16-րդ դարից: