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**THE SPECIFICS OF THE ASSIMILATION PROCESSES OF ARMENIANS IN NORTHERN BUKOVYNA  
IN THE LATE XVIII-1-ST HALF OF THE XX CENTURY**

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It is determined that the assimilation processes among the Armenians of Northern Bukovyna intensified from the end of the 18 th century and during the 19 th and first half of the 20 th centuries. It is proved, the main factors that made influence these processes were interfaith marriages of Armenian Catholics with Roman Catholics (mostly Poles and Germans) and Greek Catholics (Ukrainians), education (secondary and higher) and the Church (change of confession). It is found that the intensive processes of Ukrainisation led to the complete loss of the Armenian primary ethno-cultural identity and their transformation into Ukrainians, while interaction with Poles led to the formation of a dual ethno-cultural identity as 'Polish Armenians'.

*Key words:* Armenians, assimilation, culture, diaspora, Poles, Ukrainians.

*Description of the problem.* The study of the processes of migrants' adaptation to a new socio-cultural environment became especially important in the 2 nd half of the XX – early XXI century, in particular, due to tectonic changes in the world economy (globalisation), one of the consequences of which was the migration crisis, highly in Western Europe and the USA. But migration processes are not the prerogative of the globalisation and postmodern era: this phenomenon can be observed throughout human history. The lands of Ukraine are no exception to this rule: for more than a thousand years, it has been a new homeland for a large number of different ethnic groups. The historical interaction of migrants with the autochthonous population over the centuries has shaped different, albeit interconnected, historical and cultural loci within the modern Ukrainian state. One of these ethnic groups, whose representatives arrived in different waves over the centuries, was the Armenians, who not only effectively incorporated into the new socio-cultural and political reality, but also became an important component of Ukrainian cultural life.

At the same time, despite a quite significant number of Armenian studies by Ukrainian and foreign scholars on various political, economic, and ecclesiastical aspects of the Armenian diaspora, the question of the character of the assimilation process has not been raised as a topic of special research. There has been no research on the regional/local specificity of the assimilation processes of Armenian migrants in the lands of Ukraine. Various scholarly studies related to this issue concern general migration processes and diaspora theory, examine the specifics of the formation of the Spurb from the early 20 th century, and works related to identity issues by J. Assman [2] and M. Halbwaks [21], and national memory by A. Bakhchinian [3]. In the case of Armenian migrants on Ukrainian lands, researchers have mostly limited themselves to stating the facts of the noticeable Polonisation/Russification/Romanisation/Ukrainianisation of Armenians, without analysing the general mechanisms and specific local content of these processes. At the same time, works of a more general character, especially those analysing metrical books, contain substantial material for analysing assimilation processes (M. Agopsowych [1], A. Gliński [22] P. Mnacakanian [23], Fr. Wasyl [28; 29; 30] etc.). But in this article, the main material for the analysis has been provided by the documents from the Chernivtsi and Ivano-Frankivsk state archives, which were found by the author and introduced into scientific circulation for the first time.

Therefore, *the aim of the article* is to identify and analyse the main models and ways of ethno-cultural assimilation of Armenian migrants in Northern Bukovyna and partly Pokuttya with the new local socio-cultural environment.

*Explanation of the basic material.* In the XIX th and early XX th centuries, a peculiar process of stratification of Armenian communities along ethno-national lines continued: while fully incorporated into the social environment, some Armenians retained their Armenian identity (sense of being Armenian) in their internal and external life; others became noticeably Polonised (although mostly retaining the memory of their

Armenian roots, in particular, members of the Abrahamovych family), and others became Ukrainianised.

But it raises a question that some Polish researchers, in particular, ask: 'why hasn't an ethno-cultural community of Ukrainian Armenians been formed on the lands of Ukraine (the so-called 'Eastern Little Poland'), unlike the community of Polish Armenians?'. Professor Stopka argued on this basis that no such community was formed because there was no ruthenisation/Ukrainianisation of Armenians [27, 149-174]. This conclusion is completely false, since the absence of a community of Ukrainian Armenians cannot be the basis for such a statement, and archival documents completely refute it.

Since the XVII th century, the Armenians of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth began to identify themselves as Poles on the basis of the state (it was a polytonym), as the Poles were the dominant political nation, while their ethnicity remained primary – Armenians. Why did a similar process of secondary ethnic self-identification not take place in the case of Belarusians or Ukrainians-Rusyns? The answer is obvious: the absence of a sovereign Ukrainian (or Belarusian) state. Since the state, unlike an ethnic group, has mechanisms of control and enforcement to realize its interests, the emigrant people are forced to develop mechanisms to protect their ethno-national identity (greater or lesser autonomy with their own judiciary, internal self-government, religious autonomy, etc.), which allow them to remain within another state for a longer period of time as a separate sub-ethnic group with their own culture, traditions, historical memory, etc. In contrast, there is no need to defend oneself against a dominant autochthonous ethnic group deprived of political rights, given non-hostile coexistence (positive complementarity between the two peoples), as it has no coercive mechanisms or leverage to impose its interests. Therefore, with the long coexistence of Ukrainians and Armenians, some of the latter did not acquire secondary ethnic self-identification (such as «Polish Armenians» or «Russian Armenians»), but completely assimilated into the Ukrainian ethnos. It is no coincidence that, as noted above, surnames that in the XVI th and XVII th centuries belonged mainly to Armenians in the XIX th and XX th centuries became largely Ukrainian, including Avedkovych, Antonovych, Holubovych, Davydovych, Nikorovych, Ogonovskyi, and Stefanovych (we are talking only about western Ukraine, namely Northern Bukovyna, as the onomastic map and historical dynamics were different in central, eastern, and southern Ukraine). Even after the three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which caused the lands of Northern Bukovyna to be ruled by Austria (later by Austria-Hungary), the influence of Polish communities in political life continued to be obvious.

During XIX th and XX th centuries the processes of ruthenisation (Ukrainisation) were becoming more and more noticeable. The example of Volodymyr Zadurovych (born 29.04.1889 in Kozmeni, Eastern Transylvania, now Romania) is extremely illustrative in this regard. The Zadurovychs belonged to Armenian family known in Bukovyna and Pokuttia. The surname appears repeatedly in archival documents of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. In particular, one of the documents of the Chernivtsi State Archives (hereinafter – ChSA) concerning the consideration of the request of the family of Antonius, Gabriel, Stefan and Ariton Zadurovychs for recognition of their noble (gentry) status contains a complaint by Kaetan Zadurovych about the failure of the Austrian government to issue them a document confirming that they had been mazils and nobles since the time of the Moldovan masters, and they have a document to this effect issued to their family in Iasi on 30 December 1809 [6]. Here you can also see the coat of arms of Hryhor, Kaetan and Ioan Zadurovych, who were related to the famous Armenian families of von Capri, Tchaikovsky, Passakas [6; 31]. The same archival file contains birth certificates of Ioan Ignatsy Zadurovych (issued in Sniatyn on 22 April 1883 by the priest of the Armenian church of Sniatyn, Michal Romashkan) [5; 124]; Bohdan Khrystofor Zadurovych born on 3 May 1839 (issued in Chernivtsi on 22 April 1883 by the priest of the Armenian church, Fl. Kaetan Felician Ioan Zadurovych, born on 29 December 1849 (parents Donig Kaetan Zadurovych and Maria from Passakas, baptised and received communion by Christoph Abrahamovych, certificate issued on 6 October 1888 in Kuty by the Armenian priest Fr. Jakob Moshoro); birth certificate of Bohdan Michal Zadurovych [6; 39, 40, 44].

Thus, the Zadurovychs family was definitely Armenian in the XIXth century. However, it was not spared the processes of ruthenisation. The aforementioned Volodymyr Zadurovych, who was born in the Transylvanian village of Kozmeni (parents Joseph and Karolina), is identified in documents as a Ukrainian and a Greek Catholic. This information can be found in his personal file for 10.02.-10.05.1943, as a member of a Ukrainian nationalist organization [20].

The main channels for the erosion and, ultimately, the complete or partial loss of the primary ethnic identity of Armenians were interfaith/intermarriage, education and the church. In general, the marriage traditions of Armenians are a rather vivid illustration of both the ways in which the ethnic field/circle of the Armenian diaspora in Ukraine is preserved and eroded. A fairly stable tendency to marry tribesmen (endogamy) remained in their circle until the 2nd World War, which is undoubtedly evidenced by both metric books and memoirs of their descendants [1; 36]. Monika Agopsovyh writes about marriages between close relatives – cousins or first cousins. Aleksander Agopsovyh's brother married his sister-in-law Maria (i.e., the daughter of his father's brother or sister, his father's cousin); her brother Kazimiezh married the daughter of his aunt's sister (i. e., the daughter of

his mother's brother or sister, his mother's cousin). This is vividly illustrated by Sofia Negrush's memoirs of the 1st quarter of the XX th century about Maria of Zerigevych, the young wife of her cousin Ignacy Pileicki, whose mother was Rosalia Abrahamovych: «She is now doubly related to me, because her mother is from the Negrushov family». In addition to marriages with close family members, the Agopsovych married the Varteresevychs, Zadurovychs, Ohanovychs, Teodorovychs, and were related to the Abgarovychs, Abrahamovychs, Lukasiewiches, Bogdanovychs, Kshechunovychs, Shadbey, etc.

At the same time, the processes of both Polonisation and Ukrainisation are becoming more and more visible, both of which are mainly due to mixed marriages, as demonstrated by metric books and archival documents. Moreover, contrary to M. Agopsovych's assertion that Armenian marriages with Ukrainians and Jews were exclusive [1; 36], the sources show a completely different picture. While marriages with Jews were indeed rare, marriages with Ukrainians were common. The book of registration of premarital agreements of Kuty Armenians (Armenian Catholics) shows clearly the ethno-confessional distribution of marriages in the Armenian environment [30; 93-267]. Most mixed inter-ethnic/interfaith marriages were with Roman Catholics – mainly Poles and Germans (332 records) and with Greek Catholics – ethnic Ukrainians (130 records). There were 2 records with «Orthodox» Armenians, i. e., the faithful of the Armenian Apostolic Church, and 3 records with Greek Orthodox (Ukrainians, possibly Romanians). There are 3 records with Protestants and none with Jews.

The daughter of Kzhyshtof Kzhyshtofovych and Anna Donigevych, Maria Gertruda Kzhyshtofovych, aged 24, became engaged in May 1860 and later married a Greek Catholic, Teodor Kulbicki, a farmer in the village of Ispas in Bukovyna (his mother was an Armenian woman, Rypsima Donabedovych) [30; 98], and in July 1866, at the age of 29, she married Dominik Nedei [30; 115]. From other records we learn that after the wedding, Teodor Kulbyskyi died some time later, and Maria married for the second time in 1867 to an Armenian Catholic widower farmer Zachariash Manugevych, who was born and lived in Kuty [30; 119]. In 1861, Theodor Kulbitski and Maria Kzhyshtofovych had a son, Jan Kulbitski (named after his grandfather), who, according to the law, was of the Greek Catholic faith, learned blacksmithing and lived in Ispas. In 1886, he married his Armenian Catholic peer, Karolina Matushevych, the daughter of Ksawery Matusivych and Anna Agopsovych, who was born and lived in Rybno village – now Rybne village, Kosiv district, Ivano-Frankivsk region [30; 167]. It is worth noting that another daughter of Xavier Matushevych and Anna Agopsovych, Rypsima Matushevych, of Armenian Catholic faith, also married in 1889 Ukrainian Greek Catholic blacksmith, Dmytro Botulynskyi, born in 1865 [30; 173].

Thus, in the 1st half of the XX th century, even such almost completely Polonised Armenian families as Abrahamovych, Donigevych, Zadurovych, etc. had fully Ukrainianised lines: Bohdan Donigevych and his children, including the Greek Catholic priest Ivan (Jan) Donigevych [24]; Kateryna Krzyżanowska and her family [25]; Kateryna and Yurko Abrahamovych's family [26].

The change of confession and later identity also occurred through marriages. In Austria-Hungary, there was a law that determined the confessional affiliation in mixed marriages: the boy was recorded by his father's confession and the girl by her mother's confession. As a result of mixed marriages in such a diverse ethno-national environment, Armenians received surnames that in no way indicated their ethnic roots, so it is necessary to be very careful when determining ethno-cultural identity by surnames. In 1865, a Protestant clerk of the district administration in Vyzhnytsia, Jerzy Renner, a 54-year-old widower from the family of Friedrich Renner and Josefa Rein, married an Armenian Catholic Rosalia Kovacs, 29 year-old the widow of farmer Jan Kovacs, who came from the family of Valentyn Sheppert and Maria Zadygevych /Zadygiewicz from Kuty [30; 112]. In 1869, the honoured Protestant soldier Philip Schweitzer, 35 year-old from the family of Jan and Maria Schweitzer, a resident of Kuty, house 230, married an Armenian Catholic woman Rypsima Secretar, 27 years-old from the family of Mihał Secretar and Katarzyna Szwed [30; 124]. In 1907, the Roman Catholic director of a furniture factory in Bucharest, Rudolf Tatomir (born in Chernivtsi on 05.08.1873, lived in Vyzhnytsia) married an Armenian Catholic Maria Muzykówna, born on 24.03.1888, from the family of Szymon Muzyk and Rypsima Abrahamovych from Kuty [30; 217]. The Roman Catholic family of the Napps, Broshkevychs, Pudłos, Piskozubs, etc. had strong family ties with Armenians.

Another channel of Ukrainisation and partly Polonisation was the Church. Obviously, a significant impetus to this process was given by the creation of the initially purely Armenian Pontifical Theatrical College in Lviv. Opened in 1664, it began accepting Ukrainians into its membership as early as 1701, and as a result received a new name «The Lviv Papal Armenian-Ukrainian College», as documents from the Ossolinsky collection (now Lviv National Scientific Library named after V. Stefanyk) show. The existence of this trend was also recorded by the famous historian of Armenians in Western Ukraine S. Baronch. In his «Lives of Glorious Armenians...» he mentions the Armenian Sylvester Kutlubey, who was the abbot of the Greek Catholic monastery of St. Basil in Bytom (now Brest Oblast, Belarus), and notes that this and other examples show that Armenians were not only «in the Latin... but also in the Ruthenian rite» [4; 178].

After graduating from the Lviv Central Seminary, where children of Armenians, Poles, and Ukrainians studied, Armenian Catholics often transferred to the Greek Catholic or Roman Catholic Churches. There were

several reasons for this: 1) the small number of Armenian Catholic parishes, especially after the Josephine reforms, which made it impossible to get a job (in one's own parish); 2) unwillingness to accept celibacy, which was obligatory for both Roman and Armenian Catholics. For example, the well-known in Western Ukraine Armenian family of Nikorovych in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> – early XX<sup>th</sup> centuries also became largely Ukrainianised in Bukovyna. In the early XX<sup>th</sup> century, already Ukrainians, Volodymyr Nikorovych was a theologian; Omelian Nikorovych from Alt Zhuchka (today part of Chernivtsi) and Cornel Nikorovych from Zastavna were Greek Catholic priests, against whom denunciations were written for their Ukrainianophile sentiments [7].

Also, the change of confession took place when an Armenian wanted to become a monk, and since the Armenian Catholic Church of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth never created its own male monastic order, representatives of the Armenian clergy usually converted to Roman Catholicism.

State policy has always had a significant impact on assimilation processes. During the Romanian period (1918-1940), many Armenians recorded themselves as Germans and Poles in their documents, in contrast to the Romanian state policy, which used every opportunity to record as many people as possible as Romanians. A striking example of such voluntary recording is that of Irena Bohosevych, a member of the numerous and well-known Armenian-Polish Bohosevych family in Bukovyna. In 1936, the Bureau for Control of Foreigners in Chernivtsi opened a file on a stateless woman Irena Bohusievici (in original) 26 years-old, who was born in Berezhany, Ternopil County. The case was opened because she had crossed the border on a certificate issued by the Romanian Consulate in Lviv on 14 October 1935, which was valid for only a month, but she did not return to Poland afterwards. Irena lived in Chernivtsi at Dumbrava Roși Street № 8 and also had a Romanian passport No. 810246/205 issued in Chernivtsi on 27 January 1930. The certificate of the Chernivtsi mayor's office from 29.03.1937 states that her parents Bohdan and Wanda Bohosiewicz (not Bohusievici, as written in the protocol) were recorded in the mayor's registration book on page 1117 as Romanians, therefore, although Irena is not recorded there, being their natural daughter, she is also considered Romanian [19].

The fact that this family had no any relation to the Romanians is evidenced, in particular, by the 1912 entry in the book of the Kutyl' Armenian Church regarding the engagement of professor of the gymnasium Kzhyshtof Kzhyshtofovych/ Krzysztofowicz of the Armenian Catholic faith (parents: Jan Kzhyshtofovych and Emilia Jakubovych). He was born on 07.11.1887 in the village of Ustechko (a village in the Ternopil region, most likely in the Zalishchyky district, but possibly in the Kremenets district), lived in Lviv, and was a parishioner of the Armenian Catholic Church in Lviv). His bride was Wanda Emilia Bohosevych/Bohosiewiczówna of Armenian Catholic faith, born on 23.08.1892 in Sniatyn to Bohdan Bohosevych and Maria Głuchowska, who lived in Kolomyia in 1912 and was a parishioner of the Armenian Catholic Church in Kutyl' [30; 229].

The Austrian citizen Rudolf Kapri, born on 9.01.1887 in the commune of Neuwerk in Austria, was recorded in the passport application documents as a Roman Catholic by religion and as a German by nationality [16]. Eugen (Eugen) Aksentovych from the family of Teofil and Aloysia Aksentovych, born on 14.09.1904 in Boiany, Chernivtsi district, lived in the commune of Kłokuchka, lived in the commune of Kłokučka, was also recorded as German by nationality [14]. The situation is similar with Stefan Mikuli, who was recorded as German in the documents for issuing a foreign passport in 1926-1928, although he was born in 1869 in the commune of Iacobeni (Rom. Iacobeni – a village and commune in the Suceava district in Romania) [11].

Lukasevych / Lukasiwicz Josef and Lukasevych Regina, born in Chernivtsi on 17 May 1884 and 1849 respectively [10], Maria Tabakar born in 1860 [12], Maria Bohosevych born in 1871 or 1876 [15] are recorded as Poles in the same 1926-1928.

Instead, Wilma de Mikuli, born in 1905, who lived in Chernivtsi at Petrovych St. № 9, and Niko Mikuli, born in 1893 in the Radivtsi commune, are recorded in 1935 as Romanians by nationality [15], as is Ioan Stefanovic, born on 25.11.1895 in the Banila above Seret commune (i.e. Banila Pidhirna) [13].

Nevertheless, there were cases of Armenian-Catholic identification, as in the 1935 case of Polish citizen Anna Jakubovych, born in 1896, where she was recorded as an Armenian of the Armenian Catholic faith [17]. The situation is similar with Gerard Negrush, an Armenian Catholic officer of the Chernivtsi police prefecture, who was born on 22.10.1896 in Chernivtsi, studied at the law faculty there, and lived with his parents Viktor and Anna Negrush at Maral Rosh Street № 22 a [9]. There were cases when a person was recorded as an Armenian Catholic by religion and a Pole by nationality, such as Joseph Kaetanovych (born in 1895, in 1925-1926 he produced a foreign passport to travel to Germany to study) [8].

*Conclusion.* Thus, the study of Armenian socio-cultural life in Northern Bukovyna in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries shows the intensification of assimilation processes. Despite the tangible attraction of Armenians, especially through family and cultural ties, to compatriots from their country of origin or their descendants, the blurring of the ethno-cultural field under the influence of external factors is already becoming noticeable. The main factors that had the greatest impact on the assimilation process were the historical dynamics of political power and the character of internal migration policy, the positive complementarity of the autochthonous Ukrainian population,

the general multicultural nature of the social field of Northern Bukovyna, etc. The main ways of Polonisation and Ukrainisation were interfaith marriages, education and the Church (change of confession). The only significant difference between the process of Ukrainisation of Armenians and similar processes of assimilation with the Poles was the total Ruthenisation, as a result of which Armenians became Ukrainians with a single ethno-cultural identity – Ukrainian, whereas Poles had a dual identity as ‘Polish Armenians’. In general, in the XIX-XX centuries, many representatives of the Armenian diaspora already clearly demonstrated a modified/double identity: state identity – Polish/Austrian, and ethnic (historical) identity – Armenian. Ethnic identity is closely linked to religious and mythological consciousness and historical cultural memory. Whereas national identity is determined by the discourse of the authorities/state and mainly has political forms of expression.

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### СПЕЦИФІКА АСИМІЛЯЦІЙНИХ ПРОЦЕСІВ У СЕРЕДОВИЩІ ВІРМЕН ПІВНІЧНОЇ БУКОВИНИ КІНЦЯ ХVІІІ-ПЕРШОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХХ СТОЛІТТЯ

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*Метою статті є виявлення основних моделей і шляхів етнокультурної асиміляції вірменських мігрантів Північної Буковини й частково Покуття з новим локальним соціокультурним середовищем.*

*Методологія дослідження.* У роботі використано базові наукові принципи та методи культурології, історії, філософії та соціології, зокрема, метод мікроісторії, компаративного аналізу та синтезу та історико-культурної реконструкції.

*Результати.* З'ясовано, що дослідження стосовно регіональної / локальної специфіки асиміляційних процесів вірменських мігрантів на землях України відсутні. Доведено, що в соціокультурному середовищі вірмен Північної Буковини кінця ХVІІІ – початку ХХ ст. суттєво посилюлися асиміляційні процеси. Незважаючи на відчутне тяжіння вірмен до співвітчизників із країни походження або до їхніх нащадків, розмивання етнокультурного поля у вірмен у ХІХ ст. під впливом зовнішніх факторів стає помітним. Визначено, що основними чинниками, які найбільше вплинули на процес асиміляції, були історична динаміка політичної влади та характер внутрішньої міграційної політики урядів, позитивна компліментарність автохтонного українського населення, загальна мультикультурність соціального поля Північної Буковини тощо. Доведено, що основними шляхами полонізації та українізації були міжконфесійні шлюби, освіта та церква (зміна конфесії). Виявлено, що істотною відмінністю між процесом українізації вірмен і процесом асиміляції з поляками став тотальний характер рутенізації, в результаті якого вірмени ставали українцями з єдиною етнокультурною ідентичністю – українською, тоді як полонізовані вірмени мали подвійну ідентичність («польські вірмени»). У ХІХ-ХХ століттях чимало представників вірменської діаспори вже чітко демонстрували модифіковану/подвійну ідентичність: державну – польську/австрійську, а етнічну (історичну) – вірменську. Етнічна ідентичність тісно пов'язана з релігійно-міфологічною свідомістю та історичною культурною пам'яттю. Тоді як національна ідентичність визначається дискурсом влади/держави та має переважно політичні форми виразу.

*Наукова новизна дослідження* полягає у визначенні основних шляхів та механізмів асиміляції вірмен у конкретному соціокультурному середовищі Північної Буковини на основі знайдених автором і вперше введених у науковий обіг документів із Чернівецького та Івано-Франківського державних архівів.

*Ключові слова:* асиміляція, вірмени, діаспора, культура, поляки, українці.

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