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SOME PECULIARITIES OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF ARMENIANS IN BUKOVINA

The purpose of the study is to identify the characteristic features of the socio-cultural landscape of Armenian migrants in Bukovina and the main factors that shaped it. **The research** is based on cultural, historical, and sociological approaches, in particular, methods of document content analysis, historical reconstruction, analysis and synthesis, biographical, and comparative. **The scientific novelty** of the study lies in highlighting the cultural aspect of the life of Armenians in Bukovina, which was done mainly on the basis of archival documents found by the author and introduced into academic circulation for the first time. **Conclusion.** The formation of the historical and cultural landscape of the Bukovinian Armenians demonstrates its transcultural and, at the same time, quite holistic character. The functioning of its public and private institutions shows that, being quite effectively incorporated into the new socio-cultural landscape, they simultaneously formed their own autonomous religious and cultural community, which had specific features related to the new socio-cultural environment and at the same time showed a will to preserve the historical cultural memory and traditions that uniquely connected them to their historical homeland. The multicultural nature of the Armenian community in Bukovyna is evidenced by the linguistic situation: the Armenians of Bukovyna were trilingual — they spoke German, Ukrainian, and Yiddish/Polish/Romanian. While working in German higher education institutions, studying in German / Polish / Romanian (depending on the period) schools, they also created their own educational institutions, usually with a distinct charitable component (for orphans, children from poor Armenian families), and cultural and educational societies, whose names and activities showed a will to preserve their historically primary basic ethno-cultural identity, cultural memory and maintain ties with their historical homeland.

Keywords: architect, Armenians, community, culture, identity, musician.

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Щодо деяких особливостей культурного ландшафту вірмен Буковини

Метою дослідження є визначення характерних рис соціокультурного ландшафту вірменських мігрантів Буковини та чинників, які вплинули на його формування. **При дослідженні використано** культурологічні, історичні та соціологічні підходи, зокрема, методи контент-аналізу документів, історичної реконструкції, аналізу та синтезу, біографічний та компаративістський. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у висвітленні культурного аспекту життєдіяльності вірмен на Буковині, який виконано в основному на базі знайдених автором архівних документів, уперше введених у науковий обіг. **Висновки.** Формування історико-культурного ландшафту буковинських вірмен засвідчує його транскультурний і, водночас, цілком холистичний характер. Функціонування його державних та приватних установ показує, що, будучи досить ефективно інтегрованими в новий соціокультурний ландшафт, вони одночасно створювали власну автономну релігійно-культурну спільноту, яка мала специфічні риси, пов'язані з новим соціокультурним середовищем, і водночас демонструвала прагнення зберегти історичну культурну пам'ять і традиції, що унікальним чином пов'язували їх з історичною батьківщиною. Переконливим свідченням мультикультурного характеру вірменської діаспори на Буковині є мовна ситуація: вірмени регіону були тримовними — розмовляли німецькою, українською та їдиш/польською/румунською мовами. Працюючи в німецьких вищих навчальних закладах, навчаючись у німецьких/польських/румунських (залежно від періоду) школах, вони одночасно створювали власні навчальні заклади, зазвичай з яскраво вираженою благодією складовою (для сиріт, дітей з бідних вірменських сімей), та культурно-освітні товариства, назви та діяльність яких свідчили про прагнення зберегти свою історично первинну базову етнокультурну ідентичність, культурну пам'ять та підтримувати зв'язки з історичною батьківщиною.

Ключові слова: архітектор, вірмени, громада, ідентичність, культура, музикант.

Relevance of the research topic. Migration processes have played and continue to play an important role in shaping the socio-cultural landscape of most countries of the world, including Ukraine. Understanding the current problems of the development of Ukrainian culture is impossible without taking into account the ethno-national multicultural diversity that has been formed in our land over the centuries. At the same time, due to the complexity of our political history (the history of Ukrainian statehood), Ukrainian lands represent a complex set of peculiar local multicultural patterns, where the uniting factor was the presence of a quantitatively dominant (except for Crimea) autochthonous Ukrainian population, which intensively interacted with various ethno-cultural enclaves, the density and activity of which depended heavily on political power. The study of each such multicultural locus in Ukraine provides invaluable material for understanding the mechanisms of inclusion of ethno-national minorities in the general cultural field of Ukraine. At the same time, this is an important political / electoral factor, an adequate assessment of which is necessary for the formation of effective state domestic and foreign policy.

Analysis of key studies and publications. Despite a quite significant number of studies of the Armenian colonies in Ukraine, the local history of the Armenians of Bukovyna has been studied very little. A small number of studies on this theme concern some economic aspects of the development of Armenian communities, in particular, the works of O. Osypian [6; 7]. Some studies deal with the musical heritage of the famous Armenian artist Karol von Mikuli [3; 8] and the religious life of the Armenians of Bukovyna — the latter are included in studies of a more general / wider character on the Armenians of Western Ukraine [35]. The biographical studies of Polish scholars, which highlight the peculiarities of historical memory and the perception of the pre-war life (World War II) of the Armenians in the region, stand out [37; 38].

The purpose of the study is to identify the main factors that shaped the cultural landscape of Bukovyna and the place of Armenian migrants in the socio-cultural environment of the region.

The scientific novelty of the research is to highlight the activities of the Armenians of Bukovyna in creating the cultural landscape of Bukovyna, based mainly on archival sources found by the author and introduced into academic circulation for the first time.

Presentation of the main material. The concept of 'cultural landscape', albeit in a purely

geographical sense, appeared in scientific circulation at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, referring to the adaptation of people to the relevant landscape in the process of forming a particular ethnic group, with the emphasis usually placed primarily on the economic and production side. However, it is obvious that when a certain number of representatives of some ethnic group move to a new country, the nature of the changes that occur to them differs from the phenomena and processes that occur to a group of people in the process of ethnogenesis. Firstly, migration processes occur with an already formed ethnic group (or part of it), so migrants have a corresponding set of ethnic characteristics / traits (their own cultural and religious history and memory, traditions, customs, economic skills), which they try to reproduce in the new land, especially in the first period of adaptation. This affects the nature of the selection of the settlement region, which, if possible, should be similar to the landscapes of the mother country or allow migrants to reproduce traditional economic and production practices. Secondly, migration processes are a dynamic factor that introduces tangible changes in the host cultural landscape. Migrants must adapt not only to the new natural but also to the new cultural landscape, which is another important factor in choosing a new country of residence. The existence of the Armenian diaspora in Ukraine is a vivid example of this.

The turbulent political history of Bukovyna, which in recent centuries was ruled by the Principality of Moldova, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Austria / Austro-Hungary, and Romania, has led to an incredible ethno-cultural variety of life in the region and formed an original model of coexistence between different nations, the nature of which was influenced by the political interests of the state authorities and, at the same time, by their own historical ethno-cultural traditions of organisation of the internal socio-cultural space and its interaction with the external environment, which allows us to speak about the formation of certain local specifics of the environment over the centuries. One of the priorities of Austro-Hungary's internal policy was to weaken the cultural influence of the Polish nation, which was politically dominant in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, by a kind of opposition with other ethnic communities. This was done in several ways: by intensifying the resettlement of Germans from different regions of Germany and Austria to Bukovyna and providing them with economic benefits; by intensifying the cultural life of all ethnic communities in the

country by giving them the right and opportunity to create various societies that were not only cultural but also sporting and professional in nature; and by promoting, including financially, the religious life of ethnic communities, but at the same time, limiting the sphere of influence of the Church on the socio-political life of the country.

No wonder people in Chernivtsi have said that even fish speak five languages here: Ukrainian, German, Polish, Jewish / Yiddish, and Romanian. A perfect example of this is the materials of all the cases that include information on the personal data of Bukovyna residents, such as the personal file of the judicial officer Armenian Catholic Theodor Donabidovych (was born in Banyliv Ruskyi 23.02.1878). He spoke and wrote German and Polish and spoke Ruthenian / Ukrainian and Romanian. A similar situation is observed in the vast majority of other residents of Bukovyna, who spoke at least three languages — German and Ukrainian at all times, and the third could be Polish, Romanian or Yiddish [31]. This was one of the results of the long-term intercultural interaction of the main ethnic communities — Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Jews and Armenians, as well as the frequent change of political power.

The Austrian law of 15 November 1867 on 'Company Law' / 'Vereinsrecht', which allowed all citizens of the Austrian Empire to freely form various societies and unite in various public organisations. This law became the foundation for the successful self-government of all national communities in Bukovyna [5, 38]. Archival documents show an incredible number of different societies based on professional, religious, and ethno-cultural characteristics. In the late 19th — early 20th centuries, the Armenian 'Archbishop Isakovych Boarding School for Armenian Catholics in Chernivtsi' functioned in the city [31]. The institution was opened in 1897, and its main patron was the 'Armenian Chrysostom' — Lviv Armenian Catholic Archbishop-Metropolitan Isaak Isakovych (1824–1901, Lviv) [31]. Until 1900, the head of the institution was a member of the Armenian community of the city, a large landowner, a deputy of the Reichsrat and Landtag from landowners Dr Stefan Stefanovych (†28.09.1900). After his death, the Society was headed by Jakob Ritter Symonovych [31].

On 9 December 1902, Chernivtsi officially registered the creation of the 'Society of Armenian Women of Bukovyna', which was headed by Olha Prunkul in 1902–1903. The society was mainly engaged in charity work, women's education. A letter to the Regional Government regarding the establishment of the

society was signed by Olha Prunkul, Kataryna Moisa, and Rypsima Gaina [31]. In 1885–1903, the Armenian society 'Ani' worked in Suceava, headed by Valerian von Prunkul [18].

In 16–17.07.1907 a meeting of the Armenian community in Chernivtsi decided to establish the National Literary Society 'Hayastan'. The meeting was convened by university student Christian Allach and court adviser Hryhor Markevych 'to establish an Armenian humanitarian and literary society, the main purpose of which is to preserve the Armenian language and literature, support the social life of the members and support Armenians' [12]. A construction advisor K. Kosynskyi was elected president of the society, H. Markevych – vice president, and C. Allach – secretary of the committee.

The Armenians of Bukovyna were not only farmers, traders, and craftsmen, but also part of the creative intelligentsia of the region. The aforementioned Christian Allach taught at the Orthodox gymnasium in 1910–1912 [27] and at Chernivtsi University in 1908–1912 [22]. Armenian priest, Doctor of Theology Fr. Antoni Donigevych (1808–1841) also taught there [36, 10]. A. Donigevych was a chaplain of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese, a member of the Imperial and Royal Higher Institution for the Education of Chaplains at the Institute of St. Augustine in Vienna, a doctor of theology and professor at the Imperial–Royal Lyceum in Chernivtsi.

Among the Armenians of the city were engineers and architects. In 1860, Mykola Nehrush asked to be allowed to take the qualifying exams for the position of an architect [10]. Obviously, he passed the exams successfully, because in the following years he was engaged in technical surveys of many churches in Bukovyna [30], built churches [19; 20], as well as customs offices in the communities of Bunesti (village in Suceava county in Romania) and Lukavtsi (village near Vyzhnytsia) [11].

Dominik Lukasevych was an architectural engineer in the late 19th and early 20th centuries [17; 29; 26], who in the 1880s held the position of the chief regional engineer of Bukovyna [9]. The building adviser, architect Krystof Kosiński (he passed the architectural qualification exams in 1879 [16] was involved in the construction, in particular, the Orthodox church in the Chernivtsi suburb of Kłokuchka [24].

The cultural life of Bukovyna is inextricably linked to the name of the famous musician, founder of the Lviv school of piano playing and long-time director of the Galician Music Society

(hereinafter — GMS) Karol/Karl von Mikuli. Before moving to Lviv in 1858, Karol mostly lived in Chernivtsi (except for periods of study at the University of Vienna and then with Chopin in Paris). In his hometown he did a lot for the development of cultural and artistic life: in 1852 he became one of the founders of the city's first public library [2, 93; 8, 416–417]. Also he created a scholarship fund for gifted children in his native gymnasium [2, 93–94]. However, Karol Mikuli focused on the development of the city's musical culture: he helped to create the organisations 'Singing Society in Chernivtsi' (1859–1862) and 'Society for the Promotion of Musical Art in Bukovyna' [8, 419–420]. The trustees and honorary members of the Singing Society, in addition to Karol Mikuli himself, were Karol's younger brother Jakob Mikuli, Bukovinian landowners Johann Mustaca and Otto Petrino and others.

In 1858, Karol Mikuli was elected artistic director of GMS. Before taking up this position, Mikuli not only conducted an active concert career, but also travelled extensively and collected Ukrainian, Armenian, Moldavian, German, Polish, and Romanian musical folklore. Later, this resulted in the creation and publication of the musical collection 'Armenian', the composition of a number of German songs, and the publication of the collection '48 Romanian National Arias' in Lviv in 1850–1854 [3, 79]. In 1840, among the 20 members of the GMS from Bukovyna who donated significant monies for the needs of the Society were a representative of the well-known family of Bukovynian Armenians, Johann von Prunkul [4, 167–168].

In addition, the documents of the ChSA mention the activities of the entrepreneur Stefan Mikuli in the 2nd half of the 19th century [15], but there is no specific information about his entrepreneurship at the moment. Another known Armenian artist, a masterful portrait painter, Antoni Stefanovych (1858–1919) was also connected with Bukovyna. He was born in the Bukovynian village of Tovtry into the family of landowners Kayetan and Emili Stefanovych [14; 38, 53].

In 1862, the Society for the Development of Musical Culture (later the Philharmony) was established in Bukovyna. The society held its events and concerts in the halls of the Moldova Hotel, the town hall, and other rented premises, so it quickly faced the question of building its own premises. The committee for the construction of the building was established at the end of 1868. Its members included representatives of all the major ethno-cultural communities of the city —

Dr K. Wexler, E. Rosenzweig, Dr O. Ambrose, Dr J. Atlas, Baron N. von Mustaca and others, and from the Armenians — the prior of the Armenian parish of Chernivtsi, Fr. Fl. Mitulsky and J. von Petrovych.

As already mentioned, in the 19th century Chernivtsi began to develop intensively, which was largely facilitated by the granting of self-government to the city. In 1832, the Chernivtsi City Administration was reorganised into the Chernivtsi City Magistrate, and it was decided to build a new city centre with a new town hall. However, before the town hall was built, there was already a new trading area, where in 1827 a sculpture of the sorrowful Mother of God was installed, presented to the city by Armenian Lazar Mykhailovych [5, 14–15].

Lazar Mykhailovych was a well-known person in Chernivtsi, actively supporting the development of the Armenian parish and the construction of the church, for which he created the 'Lazar Mykhailovych Charitable Foundation'. The building at Holovna Street №47 (corner with Ruska Street) housed the Paris Hotel, which belonged to the Lazar Mykhailovych Foundation [25]. L. Mykhailovych was a homeowner and landowner in Chernivtsi, and had a factory in Vienna [33]. However, after his death in 1840, the board members did not manage the fund well and misused its funds [13]. Therefore, in 1897, the fund was forbidden to dispose of its capital [21], and in 1911–1913 it was closed down [28].

The initial stage of the professional activity of the prominent Lviv architect, Armenian Julian Zakharevych (17.07.1837–27.12.1892) is also connected with Chernivtsi. From 1858 to 1871, he worked for the Austrian state railway and in 1865 he was appointed head of the Vienna–Krakow–Lviv–Chernivtsi–Jassy line, which was the reason for his transfer to Chernivtsi, where the administration of the Austrian and Romanian railway traffic was located. He lived in Chernivtsi until his final relocation to Lviv in 1871 [1, 16–17].

At that time, Zakharevych's main task was primarily to provide technical support for railway traffic. The route ran from the Chernivtsi railway station in Lviv (the station has not been preserved) to Chernivtsi (Lviv–Khodoriv–Stanislav–Kolomyia–Chernivtsi), in 1869 the railway was extended to Suceava, and in 1870 to Jassy / Iasi. All the stations on this line (except for Jassy) were designed by Ludwik Vezhbytskyi, an engineer of the Lviv–Chernivtsi Railway and a close friend of Zakharevych, although Zakharevych's involvement cannot be categorically denied [1, 17–18]. Only his authorship of the design of the

station in Jassy (1868–1869), which opened in 1870, is documented. Prof Y. Biriulov suggests that Julian Zakharevych could have been involved in the construction of the Hasidic synagogue and the palace of the tzadik in the town of Sathora (since 1965 part of Chernivtsi, M. Toreza Str. № 198) [1, 22–23].

At the same time Zakharevych's authorship of the Tempel choral Reform synagogue in Chernivtsi is undeniable. This synagogue in Chernivtsi was Zakharevych's first work in the Neo-Romantic style in the 1870s [1, 55] and an avant-garde work of the second minute of the 'picturesque' style (pittoresque) of late historicism [1, 59]. The architect believed that the interior and exterior of the temple should ideally correspond to its purpose, for which, in his opinion, 'the Moorish style, which is an expression of the feelings and spirit of the religion of Moses', was best suited; the architecture and decor were dominated by motifs of Jewish and Arab medieval architecture in Spain [1, 59]. During the construction, Zakharevych often made changes to the original project that required additional funds, and only a significant amount of money transferred by H. Wagner allowed the work to continue. The synagogue was inaugurated on 4 September 1877. The temple was designed for 1,000 people. It is impossible not to agree with Y. Biriulov, who wrote that 'Zakharevych's building became an outstanding landmark of Chernivtsi for several decades... This Moorish-Byzantine building, similar to a fairy-tale vision from the Thousand and One Nights, pleased the eye with its light proportions and sophistication of decoration. Contemporaries were impressed by the harmony of its architectural forms' [1, 59]. During the German occupation in 1943, they tried to destroy the Tempel, but synagogue survived. However, in the 1990s the dome was dismantled, the original interior was completely destroyed, and a cinema was arranged in the temple.

Conclusion. The formation of the historical and cultural landscape of the Bukovinian Armenians demonstrates its transcultural and, at the same time, quite holistic character. The functioning of its public and private institutions shows that, being quite effectively incorporated into the new socio-cultural landscape, they simultaneously formed their own autonomous religious and cultural community, which had specific features related to the new socio-cultural environment and at the same time showed a will to preserve the historical cultural memory and traditions that uniquely connected them to their historical homeland. The multicultural nature of the Armenian community in Bukovyna is

evidenced by the linguistic situation: the Armenians of Bukovyna were trilingual — they spoke German, Ukrainian, and Yiddish/Polish/Romanian. While working in German higher education institutions, studying in German/Polish/Romanian (depending on the period) schools, they also created their own educational institutions, usually with a distinct charitable component (for orphans, children from poor Armenian families), and cultural and educational societies, whose names and activities showed a will to preserve their historically primary basic ethno-cultural identity, cultural memory and maintain ties with their historical homeland.

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