ARMENIAN DIASPORA IN MODERN WORLD

Factors of Changes



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Armenian Diaspora in Modern World

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INTRODUCTION

International Conference "Diasporas: Past and Present" was held in Słupsk, Poland, June 1-2, 2017. The conference was organized by Department of History and Political Sciences at Pomeranian University in Słupsk, in association with Research Institute for European Policy.

Diasporas are a phenomenon which has been present already in antiquity and concerned i.a. such politically shaped nations as Jews, Greeks, Armenians, or Phoenicians. It is noted that they have had a substantial impact on the functioning and history of both their own nation as well as the host societies. Therefore, the recognition of diasporic processes and phenomena of the past – even those as distant as antiquity – and various aspects of diasporas' existence, can engender a valuable factor in researching the issue of modern diasporas and diasporaization.

Thus, the aim of this conference was an attempt to approach the topic of diaspora from possibly broad, historical, and interdisciplinary perspective, and to bring together diaspora scholars from different academic disciplines. The conference addresses issues of theories on diasporas and diasporaization, history of diasporas (from antiquity to modern times), political aspects of creating and functioning of diasporas, revival of "old diasporas", diasporic institutions, relationships between members of diasporas and other ethnic groups, processes of diasporas' declines, and new diasporas in Europe and about the world.

At the same time, the conference was dedicated to the 650th anniversary of King Casimir the Great's conferment of law to settle in the Kingdom of Poland and freedom of worship to the Armenian Bishop, Grzegorz the Great (1367). On this occasion, the conference was attended by JE Edgar Ghazaryan, the Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia in Poland.

This occasion, as well as the increasing interest in research – also in Poland – on the Armenian diaspora in the previous decades, resulted in nearly the half of topics being dedicated to the issues of this diaspora. Various approaches presented in this area, deriving both from its interdisciplinary nature (from the perspective of history, anthropology, political science, to economy) as well as the research subject (from the analysis of cases of local communities, through the entirety of society of a given country, to at attempt at analysing the phenomenon of the Armenian diaspora in a global perspective), were foundations for the decision to present them in the form of a monograph.

The notion of this work was based on assumption that researching diasporic phenomena associated with the Armenian diaspora due to the length of its existence, wide territorial dimension of functioning, and various relations and undergoing civilizational and cultural transformations in numerous regions, countries, and societies around the globe, provides valuable comparative material for analogous research on other diasporas or migration phenomena, as well as theoretical research on diasporas, diasporaization, transnationalism as civilizational, political, etc. phenomena.

The work "Armenian Diaspora in Modern World. Factors of Changes" is an attempt at defining the specificity of modern Armenian diaspora and the transformation it was undergoing in the last century, i.e. from the beginning of the 20th century until today. This definition is made by both the analysis of reasons, process, and results of the Armenian diaspora transformation as a phenomenon of a global, transnational scale, and by the analysis of changes in the Armenian diaspora in Poland, which are interesting due to the centuries-old continuity in the presence and functioning of the Armenian community in Poland's territories.

The first part of this book presents issues on transformation of the Armenian diaspora as a global phenomenon, identifying factors and directions of its changes. Political scientists and diaspora scholars, Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski and Rafał Raczyński, present the phenomena of modern diasporas from the perspective of political sciences, indicating the political nature of this phenomenon by the example of the Armenian diaspora. A historian, Edita Gzoyan, offers a closer look at the significance of the impact the League of Nation on shaping the post-genocidal Armenian Diaspora. A historian, Hayk Yengibaryan, presents motives of the Soviet politics in organising the return of Armenian people from the diaspora to the country

in 1946-1948, the so-called Great Repatriation, and the role of the Armenian Apostolic Church in that policy. A cultural anthropologist, Adam Pomieciński, analyses the process of adaptation and integration of the Syrian Armenians, tens of thousands of whom emigrated to Armenia after 2011, into the society of this country. Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski presents political factors in changes of the Armenian diaspora in the modern world, such as the creation of the bipolar global order of the Cold War period, local armed conflicts in the Middle East, threat to fatherland, the collapse of the Eastern Block, the emergence of the independent Republic of Armenia. In the last chapter Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski undertakes to identify the impact of security issue on the transformations in the modern-day Armenian diaspora, distinguishing areas such as existential, cultural, political security, as well as the one of the original fatherland.

The second part presents characteristics of the transformation specificity of the Armenian community in Poland. A cultural anthropologist, Nicol Margaryan, analyses the phenomenon of Armenians' integration into Poland through the example of Armenian names and surnames. A historian, Marek Lichota, presents characteristics in the functioning and transformations of the Armenians community in Zamość, from the time of its foundation to modern times. Grzegorz Pełczyński, an ethnologist, presents specificity and factors of changes in the Armenian-Catholic Church in Poland in the 20th century. Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski presents the process of and factors in shaping the Armenian institution in modern day Poland, indicating the major features in their diversification. Renata Król-Mazur, a historian and political scientist, examines the internal diversity of modern Armenian community in Poland, its division into the so-called old emigration and new emigration, and relationships between the two groups. In the last article, Renata Król-Mazur analyses legal conditionings and peculiarities of the Armenian education in contemporary Poland from the perspective of one of the recognised national minorities as well as the part of the global Armenian diaspora.

PART I

The Global Perspective

1. Modern Diasporas from a Political Science Perspective: the Case of Armenian Diaspora

Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski
&
Rafał Raczyński

Introduction

Analysing the contemporary migration processes at the general level, there are discernible two important tendencies which have clearly intensified in the last few decades. The first one, of a quantitative nature, is associated with a steady increase in the number of international migrants on a global scale. According to the estimates of the International Organization for Migration, the number of persons residing in a country other than their country of birth in 2015 reached almost 244 million, which means that it was higher by almost 100 million compared to 1990 and more than three times higher than in 1970, when the number of such migrants was estimated at 84 million (see Table 1)[1]. It means that today, with a to-

1 Marie McAuliffe and Martin Ruhs, *World Migration Report 2018* (Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2017), https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2018_en.pdf, 15.

tal population of 7.3 billion people, one in thirty people in the world is an international migrant. At the same time, the percentage of migrants in relation to the global population is relatively stable and has increased by only 1% in the last four and a half decades (from 2.2% in 1970 to 3.3% in 2015).

The development of migration processes has led to a natural growth in the number of diasporas shaped and functioning in different countries. In spite of large discrepancies related to methodological difficulties in defining the notion of diaspora as well as in obtaining reliable data, it is considered today that countries with the largest diaspora populations scattered around the world include: India, Mexico, Russia, China, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Ukraine, Philippines, Syria, Great Britain, Afghanistan, Poland, Germany, Romania[2].

The second important tendency related to the phenomenon of migration is, on the other hand, of a qualitative nature and consists in the increase of the role and importance of diaspora communities. Until recently, with some exceptions, diasporas did not play a significant role in the process of shaping state policies. This situation, however, has undergone major revaluation in recent years. Today, diasporas are considered to be important political, economic or cultural actors, with the ability to effectively influence both the international environment and international relations as well as home affairs of many state organisms. Therefore, as emphasized by Alan Gamlen, in many countries all around the world, the members of diasporas, in the past often perceived as victims, traitors or deserters, are now considered the national heroes[3]. Francesco Ragazzi regards this change as "the diaspora turn in policy"[4]. It stems largely from the fact that emigrants and their descendants living abroad began to be perceived as a resource with the political, economic or socio-cultural capital. On the other hand, the diaspora communities themselves have also become

2 "International Migration Report 2015: Highlights", Department of Economic and Social Affairs (New York: United Nations, 2016), http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2015_Highlights.pdf, 18.

3 Alan Gamlen (et al.), "Explaining the Rise of Diaspora Institutions", IMI Working Paper 78, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, Oxford, 2013, 4.

4 Francesco Ragazzi, "A comparative analysis of diaspora policies", *Political Geography* 41 (July 2014), 74-75, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2013.12.004.

aware of their importance and possibilities, with respect to both the country of origin as well as the country of residence.

Table 1. **International migrants, 1970-2015**

Year	Number of migrants	Migrants as a % of world's population
1970	84 460 125	2.3%
1975	90 368 010	2.2%
1980	101 983 149	2.3%
1985	113 206 691	2.3%
1990	152 563 212	2.9%
1995	160 801 752	2.8%
2000	172 703 309	2.8%
2005	191 269 100	2.9%
2010	221 714 243	3.2%
2015	243 700 236	3.3%

Source: McAuliffe and Ruhs, *World Migration Report 2018*, 15.

Defining diaspora

Diaspora belongs to the category of terms relatively difficult to define. So far, a clear and universally accepted definition of this concept has not been developed. Etymologically, the word diaspora is derived from the Greek language and means "a scattering or sowing of seeds". Originally, the term was used to describe Greek migration and Mediterranean colonization of 800 – 600 BC[5]. Then, the concept took on a new, very specific meaning. It got associated with the expulsion of Jews from their historical homeland and their dispersion in various parts of the world (the Jewish Diaspora). Relatively recently, the term diaspora began to refer to other emigrant communities which left their native lands forcedly (e.g. Armenians, Africans or Irishmen)[6]. In this "traditional" approach – as stressed

5 Adam Walaszek, "Polska diaspora", in *Polska diaspora*, ed. Adam Walaszek (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2001), 8.

6 Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. Second edition (London and New

by Adam Walaszek – "almost universally and quite colloquially, diaspora was understood only as, often connected with a tragedy, often forced, dispersion of a certain national, ethnic, cultural, religious group outside of the place of their origin"[7]. The examples of that phenomenon included diasporas perceived today as "classic": Greek, Jewish and Armenian.

In recent years, however, the breadth of the term has been further expanded. There was observed - as Rogers Brubaker coined it - its proliferation[8]. In the early 1990s William Safran in his widely commented article *Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return* wrote that "«diaspora» and, more specifically, «diaspora community» seem increasingly to be used as metaphoric designations for several categories of people– expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants, and ethnic and racial minorities (...)"[9]. The term diaspora in its modern understanding refers not only to the communities and clusters that left their homeland as a result of coercion, but also include communities and clusters formed as a result of voluntary migration motivated by economic reasons or imperial expansion. Therefore, diasporas generally started to be identified with emigrant populations, with different authors pointing to different "features" that the emigrant communities should be distinguished by, so that the term diaspora could be applied to them.

According to such an approach, in the literature today there are found many definitions which in a more or less complex way try to explain the term in question. For instance, Steven Vertovec understands diaspora as "a self-identified ethnic group, with a specific place of origin, which has been globally dispersed through voluntary or forced migration"[10]. Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth define diaspora as "a people with a common origin who reside, more or less on a permanent basis, outside

York: Routledge, 2008), 2-3.

7 Walaszek, "Polska diaspora", 8.

8 Rogers Brubaker, "The 'diaspora' diaspora", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (2005): 1-4, https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000289997.

9 William Safran, "Diasporas in Modem Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return", *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 83, DOI: 10.1353/dsp.1991.0004.

10 Steven Vertovec, "Diasporas Good? Diasporas Bad? Working Paper No. 41", University of Oxford, 2006, accessed October 17, 2018, https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/WP-2006-041-Vertovec_Diasporas_Good_Bad.pdf, 3.

the borders of their ethnic or religious homeland – whether the homeland is real or symbolic, independent or under foreign control"[11]. According to Gabriel Scheffer, "modern diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origins – their homelands"[12]. A very similar definition was proposed by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Migration Policy Institute, according to which diaspora refers to "emigrants and their descendants, who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry, either on a temporary or permanent basis, yet still maintain affective and material ties to their countries of origin"[13].

As for the attempts to define the breadth of the term diaspora more precisely, in particular to indicate the aforementioned features distinguishing diaspora communities from other migration or minority categories, it is worth adducing two already classic views. The first one was formulated in the early 1990s by William Safran, according to whom the concept of diaspora can be applied to expatriate minority communities whose members share several of the following characteristics: 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral", or foreign regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland – its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe that they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return - when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to

11 Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth, "Diasporas and International Relations Theory", *International Organization* 57, no. 3 (Summer, 2003), 452, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818303573015.

12 Gabriel Sheffer, "A New Field of Study: Modern Diasporas in International Politics", in *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, ed. Gabriel Sheffer (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 3.

13 Dovelyn Rannveig Agunias and Kathleen Newland, *Developing a Road Map for Engaging Diasporas in Development. A handbook for policymakers and practitioners in home and host countries* (Geneva: International Organization for Migration and Washington: Migration Policy Institute, 2012), https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/diaspora_handbook_en_for_web_28may2013.pdf, 15.

the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship[14].

The second concept concerning the distinctive features of diaspora was developed in the second half of the 1990s by Robin Cohen. He distinguished as many as nine elements which make up the diaspora phenomenon, noticing that they do not have to appear collectively. Cohen included the following common features of diasporas: 1) dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions; 2) alternatively or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions; 3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements; 4) an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation; 5) the frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland; 6) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate; 7) a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group; 8) a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial; and 9) the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism[15].

The role and importance of diasporas in the modern world

Nowadays, many diasporas have a significant development potential, political power and desirable socio-cultural resources. At the same time, emigrants and their descendants, thanks to the progress of civilization,

14 Safran, "Diasporas in Modem Societies", 83-84.

15 Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 17.

are able to foster relations with the countries of origin, and also to preserve their ethnic and cultural identity formed in the native country. The technological development, in particular the development of modern communication channels and transportation means, made it possible for the members of diasporas to live in a way in two different realities at the same time: in the country of residence and in the country of origin. This way, diasporas can effectively act as interest representatives, pressure groups or communication channels in contacts between these two categories of countries. However, it should not be forgotten that diaspora communities can also function as independent actors whose activities are in conflict with the interests of countries (both home and host one). Although it is governments and other state institutions that are the main partners and recipients of diaspora activities, they often try to influence also the functioning of international organizations, mass media, non-governmental organizations, business institutions or opinion leaders.

As it has been already indicated, the role and significance of diasporas nowadays is not based solely on sentimental and symbolic issues, but eventuates from the real resources that they possess. In the first place, more attention has been paid to the economic potential embedded in diasporas. Interest in this sphere was evinced particularly by countries that are economically lagging behind as well as by international organizations whose activities concern pro-development assistance. Possibilities of diasporas in this area are most easily illustrated by financial flows. According to IOM, the estimated value of remittances transferred by emigrants in 2014 reached USD 583 billion[16]. For many countries these funds account for a large part of their GDP (for instance, at the beginning of the 20th century in Tajikistan, they created 31 percent of GDP, in Lesotho, they were close to 30 percent of GDP, and in Moldova, Nepal and Lebanon, more than 20 percent GDP)[17].

16 "Facts & Figures on World Migration", International Organization for Migration, accessed March 8, 2018, https://www.iom.sk/en/migration/migration-in-the-world.html.

17 Sonia Plaza, "Diaspora Resources and Policies", in *International Handbook on the Economics of Migration*, ed. Amelie F. Constant and Klaus F. Zimmermann (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013), 509.

Functioning of diasporas is also of great importance for the development of trade relations. A study conducted on the American continent demonstrated that a 10% increase in immigrants to United States is associated with a 4.7% increase in United States exports to immigrant's countries of origin and an 8.3% increase in imports from immigrants' countries of origin'. Similarly, in Canada, a 10% increase in the number of migrants has been associated with a 1% increase in export to, and a 3% increase in imports from, their countries of origin[18].

Diasporas can also constitute a potential source of foreign direct investments, which currently have a large impact on the economic condition and the situation on the labour markets. In this context, Javocik, Ozden, Saptareaunu and Neagu, who analysed the correlation between the presence of immigrants in the US and American direct foreign investments located in 56 countries of origin of immigrants, showed that "a one percent increase in the migrant stock is associated with a 0.3 percent increase in the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) stock"[19]. In addition, in the economic sphere the emigrant communities are essential for the sake of investments in Capital Markets, diaspora bonds, investment funds, skills and technology flows and tourism.

In addition to financial and economic issues, diasporas not infrequently are characterized by significant political capital. It may be demonstrated, among others, through: lobbying activities in the interest of the country of origin; support to the government or opposition in the country of origin; financial assistance for political parties, non-governmental organizations or social movements; conducting the so-called diaspora diplomacy; incorporating specific issues into the public debate (e.g. drawing the attention of politicians and media to certain problems); involvement in advisory and expert activities; exerting influence on the formation of public opinion; promotion of specific values, ideals and concepts. Nowadays, emigrant communities, in order to undertake political activities have at their disposal an extensive catalogue of measures and strategies to achieve their intended goals, such as: lobbying and direct participation in government, lawsuits, fundraising, demonstrations, electronic communications

18 Plaza, "Diaspora Resources and Policies", 511.

19 Plaza, "Diaspora Resources and Policies", 517.

and even electoral participation[20]. In the US, the most influential ethnic groups include Jews, Irishmen, Cubans, Armenians, Greeks, Mexicans, Indians[21].

Apart from the economic and political resources, diasporas can be a valuable source of broadly understood social capital, especially for developing countries undergoing political transformations or reconstruction after conflicts. Emigrant communities functioning in developed, rich and stabilized countries may in such cases stimulate deepening democratization processes, initiate the development of civil society, support desired economic changes, as well as contribute to the exchange of knowledge and the transfer of skills and technologies to the country of origin. Moreover, in the country of residence the diaspora members can play an important role in the promotion of the national cultural heritage, building a positive image or protecting the good name of the country of origin.

Considering the ties of kinship and the potential of diasporas indicated above, particular countries more and more often show the will to preserve and foster contacts and relations with their emigrant communities, striving this way to manage their own resources. For this reason, they introduce various types of solutions of a political, socio-economic or symbolic nature. The most important of them include:

a) in the political sphere: recognition of dual citizenship; granting electoral rights (both passive and active); the possibility of having representation in political assemblies; appointment of special representative bodies that constitute alternative forms of political representation (e.g. in France the interests of non-residents are represented by the Assemblée des Francais de l'Etranger, in Italy a similar function is fulfilled by Comitati degli Italiani Residenti all'Estero);

20 Kathleen Newland, *Voice after Exit: Diaspora Advocacy* (Washington: Migration Policy Institute, 2010), 2, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/voice-after-exit-diaspora-advocacy.

21 James M. McCormick, "Ethnic Interest Groups in American Foreign Policy", in The *Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*. Sixth Edition, ed. James M. McCormick (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 67-86; Josh DeWind and Renata Segura, "Diaspora-Government Relations in Forging US Foreign Policies", in *Diaspora Lobbies and the US Government: Convergence and Divergence in Making Foreign Policy*, ed. Josh DeWind and Renata Segura (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 3-18.

b) in the socio-economic sphere: enabling members of diasporas to access the social security system, health care system or education; protection of employees employed abroad; assistance in tax matters, integration in a new environment or arranging correct relations with foreign employers; reducing the costs of financial transfers to the country of origin; pro-investment incentives; programs conducive to the transfer of knowledge, experience and technology;

c) in the symbolic sphere: appeals and declarations in the statements of leading politicians; organization and celebration of holidays devoted to emigrants; initiating and supporting among the members of the diaspora the country of origin history and language learning; organization of conferences and meetings with representatives of the diaspora; co-financing of emigrant media and creation of media dedicated to emigrants; introduction of symbolic provisions in the constitutions; funding research on emigration and establishment of institutions that are supposed to commemorate emigration.

Many countries establish various institutions dedicated to contacts with diasporas. As noticed by Alan Gamlen, while there were only a few institutions of this type in 1980, they are currently functioning in more than half of the countries which are members of the United Nations[22].

These organized activities oriented towards diaspora communities are increasingly taking the form of holistic policies, defined as diaspora engagement policies. The comprehensive diaspora engagement policies consists of three main pillars:

1. capacity building policies, aimed at discursively producing a state-centric 'transnational national society', and developing a set of corresponding state institutions;
2. extending rights to the diaspora, thus playing a role that befits a legitimate sovereign;
3. extracting obligations from the diaspora, based on the premise that emigrants owe loyalty to this legitimate sovereign[23].

22 Alan Gamlen, "Diaspora Institution and Diaspora Governance", *International Migration Review* 48, no. 1 (Fall 2014), 181-182, https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12136.

23 Alan Gamlen, *Diaspora Engagement Policies: What are they, and what kinds of states use them?* (Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, Working Paper No. 32, Oxford: University of Oxford, 2006), 5-6.

Through the implementation of these policies, states aim not only to gain access to the desired, diaspora-owned resources, but also to extend their governmentality in the transnational sphere[24].

Example of the Armenian Diaspora

Specificity of changes and a new role of diasporas in the modern world is well-illustrated by the Armenian diaspora. Due to the length of its functioning in the conditions of expatriation and the lack of an independent fatherland, large numbers and presence on all the inhabited continents, it developed not only anti-assimilation instruments but also various instruments of political influence and ethnical mobilisation on a global scale. Owing to these elements, it has become a factor of internal and external politics in many countries, i.e. in the USA, France or Lebanon, and since 1991 also in Armenia. The Armenian diaspora is therefore a good material for the analysis of trends in the changes of diasporic communities in the modern-day world but also for comparative studies.

Diasporality, i.e. residing of the majority of a nation's representatives abroad is one of the characteristics of the Armenian nation[25]. It evolved as a result of voluntary and compulsory emigrations of Armenians, long-lasting periods without their own statehood, initiated already in antiquity, and a necessity of a multigenerational existence in the conditions of expatriation. Similarly to and on a par with Jewish diaspora, the Armenian diaspora is referred to as an archetypal diaspora, prototypical diaspora, classical or classic diaspora, ideal diaspora and traditional diaspora[26].

24 Gamlen, *Diaspora Engagement Policies*; Rafał Raczyński, "Relations Among The State And The Diaspora In The Context Of The Diaspora Engagement Policy". In *Governing for the Future: Interdisciplinary Perspectives for Sustainable Word*, ed. by Andrei Taranu (Bologna: Medimond, 2016), 41-48.

25 Andrzej Chodubski, "Ormianie jako diasporalna wspólnota narodowa i etniczna", in *Tożsamość kulturowa. Szkice o mniejszościach narodowych na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski and Andrzej Krzysztof Waśkiewicz (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuki, 2006), 67.

26 Archetypal diaspora: John A. Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1982), 206-207; prototypical diaspora: Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 2-4; classical or classic diaspora: Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 75; Brubaker, "The

These approaches treat the Armenian diaspora as a whole, as a certain community distinguished by a set of identical traits. While undertaking research on the Armenian diaspora, one should however bear in mind its heterogeneity, determined by the historical (temporal) and geographical (political) context. It is worth to note here that one hundred as well as fifty years ago the Armenian communities, e.g. in France, Iran, Poland and Russia were very different from each other. Their considerable integration and unification took place in the last half-century, decisively contributed by the process of globalisation (by the development of means of communication in particular), which allows to perceive the modern-day Armenian diaspora as a distinctive transnational political community referred to by Razmik Panossian as a diasporic nation, and by Khachik Tölölyan as the Armenian transnation[27].

At the same time, individual communities did not lose their specificity. Internal diversity of the diaspora is also indicated by e.g. Susan Pattie and Laurence Ritter[28]. Therefore, the phenomenon of the Armenian diaspora is examined on two levels: 1) from a global perspective (macroscale), i.e. the entirety of the Armenian communities living outside their fatherland as a whole (as one community), 2) from a local view (microscale), i.e. as separate communities existing in individual countries (or regions), for differentiation of which the term "local diasporas" (e.g. Armenian di-

'diaspora' diaspora", 2; Janine Dahinden, "The dynamics of migrants' transnational formations: Between mobility and locality", in *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, ed. Rainer Bauböck, Thomas Faist (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 67; Maria Koinova, "Conflict and Cooperation in Armenian Diaspora Mobilisation for Genocide Recognition", in *Diaspora as Cultures of Cooperation: Global and Local Perspectives*, ed. David Carment and Ariane Sadjed (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 118; ideal diaspora: Lily Cho, "The Turn to Diaspora", *TOPIA* 17 (Spring 2007, "Diasporic Pasts and Futures: Transnational Cultural Studies in Canada"), 17; Thomas W. Gallant, "Writing Mediterranean Diasporas After the Transnational Turn", in *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century*, ed. Maurizio Isabella, Konstantina Zanou (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 205.

27 Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars* (London: Hurst & Company, 2006), 292; Khachig Tölölyan, "Elites and Institutions in the Armenian Transnation", *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 9, no.1 (2000), 109.

28 Susan Pattie, "New Homeland for an Old Diaspora", in *Homelands and Diasporas: Holy Lands and Other Places*, ed. André Levy and Alex Weingrod (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 51-52; Laurence Ritter, *Ormiańskie losy. Historia i przyszłość diaspory* (Warszawa: Armenian. Fundacja Ormiańska KZKO, 2009), 17-22.

aspora in France or in Poland; they can also by internally differentiated) has been adopted[29].

Due to its specificity, the modern-day Armenian diaspora in the macro-scale is sometimes referred to as a victim diaspora (diaspora of victims)[30]. For it is argued that it was established as a result of a forced expatriation which followed the extermination policy of the Ottoman Empire in the last decade of the 19th century and in the second decade of the 20th century, and the fall of the first independent Republic of Armenia in 1920. This perspective is also accepted by the officials of the Republic of Armenia, who define the Armenian Diaspora (*Haykakan Spyurk*) as "The Armenian population living united outside Armenia in different countries since 1920s"[31].

This approach involves, however, a certain simplification and narrows down the understanding of the phenomenon due to the fact that in many countries the Armenian settlement has centuries-old history of settlement dictated by economic factors, as well as continuity of institutions established by its representatives. Even before the 20th century, the diaspora had become an important constituent of the national Armenian revival, renaissance of culture and education, diffusion of progressive socio-political ideas[32]. Moreover, the Armenian colonies also have become distinctive political centres undertaking attempts to defend the Armenian nation during the Turkish supremacy and to encourage the idea of restoring sovereign Armenian, which was supported by the national Armenian Church operating also outside the borders of the fatherland. The impact of the "post-Ottoman" victim diaspora in the 20th century was also not complete; it did not influence e.g. the functioning of the Armenian community in Poland, which was shaped already in the Middle Ages and early modern period[33].

29 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Diaspora ormiańska w polityce Armenii: relacje i obszary oddziaływania", in *Armenia: dziedzictwo a współczesne kierunki przemian kulturowo-cywilizacyjnych*, ed. Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski (Poznań: Fundacja Czystej Energii, 2016), 145-146.

30 Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 3, 18, 39.

31 "Handbook for Armenians Abroad", International Labour Organization and Ministry of Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan 2012, accessed March 8, 2018, http://www.ilo.org/dyn/migpractice/docs/178/Handbook12.pdf, 6.

32 Panossian, *The Armenians*, 87-126, 128-187.

33 The 650th anniversary of the existence of the Armenian diaspora was celebrated in Poland in 2017.

Despite geographical proximity, the Armenian Genocide of 1915 was also not an event shaping the identity of the Armenian community in Iran, which became formed by the experience of enforced resettlements of Armenians to Iran in the 16th and 17th century[34].

It should be also added that from the end of the 20th century the Armenian diaspora has been undergoing transformations due to the latest numerous emigration from Armenian (and other countries of the former USSR), dictated by economic factors. It was practically non-existent in some of the countries before 1991, as e.g. in Czech Republic, or it was small, as e.g. in Sweden, where it currently has, as estimated, around 13,000 people[35].

Nevertheless, a distinctive feature of the modern-day Armenian diaspora as a global community was really conferred by the communities shaped or dominated by the "post-Ottoman" emigration (the so-called "great emigration") from 1915-1925. Its communal experiences helped to build up diaspora-wide institutions (political, humanitarian, formational, cultural and educational), which fulfilled shared needs (expectations) and then influenced the cross-border integration[36]. A distinctive catalyst in this process was the 50th anniversary of the genocide perpetrated in Turkey in 1915 (Armenocide) and the threat to the Armenian community in Lebanon following the civil war in 1975[37]. The wish to commemorate this extermination and then the willingness to rescue compatriots in Lebanon became two factors mobilising the Armenians in exile, and thus – factors in their integration around the nationwide ideas.

From the end of the 1980s, a new mobilising and integrating factor was the need to rescue the threatened fatherland which was at first affected by a disastrous earthquake in 1988 and then by fighting for the liberation

34 Khatchik Der Ghoukassian, "Lebanon in my mind. The civil war and the centrality of the Lebanese-Armenian community in the making of the Armenian Diaspora nationalism", in *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community; the trilingual proceedings of the conference held in Haigazian University, Lebanon, September 12-15, 2005 = Les Arméniens du Liban = Libanani hayere*, ed. Aïda Boudjikanian (Beirut: Haigazian University, 2009), 416.

35 "History Of Armenian Community In Sweden", Embassy of the Republic of Armenia to Sweden, accessed November 12, 2017, http://www.sweden.mfa.am/en/hoverview/.

36 Panossian, *The Armenians*, 291-293.

37 Der Ghoukassian, "Lebanon in my mind", 416.

of Nagorno-Karabakh, and the war against Azerbaijan, politically supported by Turkey.

Reclaiming the memory of the genocide until the 1960s and the Turkish policy of its negation caused the experience of the genocide, through transference, to be passed on to new communities and generations, and in the 21st century it constitutes one of the components of the Armenian diaspora's identity as well as the Armenians in the fatherland[38]. This is clearly illustrated by the annual "silent/rememberance marches", taking place all over the world on April 24 in front of Turkish diplomatic missions, which in many places are an important (if not the major) mobilisation instrument for the Armenian community. Thereby, we are dealing with two formulated and fixed factors of ethno-mobilisation (in macroscale), such as: 1) existential threat to one's own ethnic group and original fatherland, 2) desire to commemorate victims of the crime from 1915 and to universally recognise it as a genocide.

Mechanisms and Areas of Influence of the Armenian Diaspora

The occurrence of the abovementioned new challenges of a nationwide significance induced the Armenian diaspora to pursue a more effective influence on the transnational (international) sphere. Diasporic institutions in particular, but also individual representatives of diaspora, as personalities of cultural, social and political life of host countries, have become the instruments of this influence.

It should be noted that Armenians have traditions dating back to the Middle Ages in establishing institutions, particularly religious but also secular ones, in exile. Until the end of the 19th century the major representative of the Armenian affairs, both nationwide as well as those of individual communities in exile, was the national Church, the structures of which reached almost every place where its faithful were. At the turn of the 19th and 20th century new institutions of great importance for the contemporary diaspora were shaped in conditions of exile,

38 Hranusz Charratian, "Rodzinne opowieści, narodowa tragedia: historia pamięci o ludobójstwie Ormian", in *Armenia: kultura współczesna w ujęciu antropologicznym*, ed. Lewon Abrahamian and Konrad Siekierski (Warszawa: Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2014), 81.

i.e. one of the first Armenian political parties: Social Democrat Hunchakian Party (1887) and ARF Dashnaktsutyun (1890), as well as diasporic cultural, charity and structural organisations, including the largest Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) (1906). Gradual development of the network of these institutions, linking communities in various countries, was observed in the 20th century. On the other hand, the dynamics in creating charity and "umbrella" organisations, and political agencies has increased since the last decade of the 20th century[39].

It is possible to distinguish four major objects of influence of these institutions: 1) Armenians in exile; 2) Armenians in their fatherland (both the society and its institutions); 3) societies and institutions of countries of residence (host countries); 4) international institutions. Significant means of influence of the diaspora's institutions are as follows: 1) political lobbying; 2) financial and material assistance (mainly foundations and targeted aid schemes); 3) social pressure in the form of public articulation or demonstrating support or opposition; 4) military activity (active and organisational involvement in fighting for national liberation).

In many countries Armenian communities, through their own institutions or via their representatives, attempt to influence the public authorities. In the former case, Armenian National Committees (ANC), established in the mid-20th century and currently functioning in many countries (e.g. in Poland since 2014) serve as an example; in the latter case, there are politicians of Armenian descent such as Marios Garoyian in the Republic of Cyprus – President of the Chamber of Deputies (2008-2011), Patrick Devedjian in France – the Member of Parliament, Minister for the Implementation of the Recovery Plan for the reason of the economic crisis (2008-2010), Joe Hockey in Australia – the Member of Parliament and minister for various ministries for several times (since the late 1990s).

Institutions of the diaspora implement dozens of aid schemes directed from the late 1980s mainly towards compatriots in the fatherland, i.e. in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, but also towards the diaspora itself (particularly, in the latest period, to the Syrian Armenians). Subsidies are granted to building transport infrastructure, hospitals,

39 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Wektory polityki diaspory ormiańskiej w Unii Europejskiej". In *Szkice europejskie. Unia Europejska wobec wyzwań współczesności*, ed. Benon Gaziński (Olsztyn: Instytut Nauk Politycznych UW-M w Olsztynie, 2015), 67-71.

cultural and educational centres, houses, but also to offering humanitarian aid in areas of armed conflicts.

An important form of impacting societies of host countries are demonstrations that gather the diaspora's representatives and supporters of their cause. "Silent/remembrance marches" are the most frequent for they are cyclically organised, taking place on April 24 in dozens of the diaspora's centres all over the world. Demonstrations serve to articulate also other expectations as was the case, for example, in 2014 in France where the local Armenian organisations started protests in the largest cities against the announced visit of President François Hollande in Turkey.

A less universal impact, but one that nevertheless does occur, is a direct involvement of the diaspora's representatives and its institutions in armed conflicts. Participation of armed troops under the banner of the ARF and Hunchakyan party was recorded during the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh in 1991-1994[40]. A symbol of a direct involvement of the diaspora in the conflict was Monte Melkonian (1957–1993); coming from California, he was a participant in the defence of the Armenian district in Beirut during the Lebanese civil war (in the late 1970s) and then a member of the ASALA who, after arriving in Armenia in 1991, joined the fight for Nagorno-Karabakh where he died at the war front.

One should be reminded of secret Armenian organisations in the diaspora, considered to be of a terrorist nature, i.e. the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG), which in the period between 1975 and the late 1980s accomplished their goals through attacks.

Significance of the Armenian Diaspora as a Centre of Influence

Naturally, while considering the types of multidimensional impact of diasporas, a question arises on the real influence and its scale in both the national (hosting countries) as well as the international (including the original fatherland) dimension. These qualifications depend on

40 Thomas de Waal, *Black Garden. Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2003), 18, 161, 163, 205; Patrick Wilson Gore, *'Tis Some Poor Fellow's Skull: Post-Soviet Warfare in the Southern Caucasus* (Lincoln: iUniverse, 2008), 95.

factors such as: 1) size of diaspora (small numbers and substantial dispersion of a community usually diminishes the likelihood of impact; it is also important that the community is perceived as significant by the host society); 2) socio-political environment (reception of diaspora in the host country, i.e. bilateral relations with the host society, as well as the general place of the minority in the political and legal order); 3) consolidation of a community, manifesting itself in institutionalisation and ability to ethno-mobilisation; 4) economic situation (wealth) of diaspora.

The Armenian authorities estimate the size of the Armenian diaspora at 10 million people, which is three times more than in Armenia of nearly 3 million inhabitants[41]. The diaspora is significantly dispersed – it is estimated that the Armenian communities of more than one thousand people had been established in 53 countries all over the world[42]. However, in some of the countries a more numerous, and simultaneously more influential, communities were formed. One can point out here mainly Russia (1,2 million - 2 million)[43], USA (0,5 million - 2 million)[44], France (350 - 450 thousands)[45] and Lebanon (150 – 234 thousands)[46]; the latter gained in the last quarter of the 20th century the title of "the centre of Di-

41 "Handbook for Armenians Abroad", 1.

42 *Armenia 2020: Diaspora-Homeland Issue Paper*, ed. Thomas J. Samuelian, Yerevan: Arak-29 Foundation, 2003, http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.468.6733&rep=rep1&type=pdf, 6.

43 "Национальный состав населения, социально-демографический портрет России по итогам всероссийской переписи населения 2010 года", in Статистика России (Moskva: Информационно-издательский центр «Статистика России», 2012), 72; Юрий Арутюнян, Об этносоциологических исследованиях Армян России, „Պատմա-Բանասիրական Հանդես" (*Историко-филологический журнал*) (2010), no. 1, 129.

44 2016 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, United States Census Bureau, https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk, accessed December 11, 2017; *About Community*, Embassy of Armenia to the United States of America, http://usa.mfa.am/en/community-overview/, accessed December 11, 2017.

45 Claire Mouradian and Anouche Kunth, *Les Arméniens en France: du chaos à la reconnaissance* (Toulouse: Attribut, 2010), 10; *Armenia 2020*: Diaspora-Homeland Issue Paper, 6.

46 Until the 1970s, the Armenian community in Lebanon was estimated at 250.000-300.000 people. Cf. "Armenian Community in Lebanon", Embassy of Armenia to Lebanon, accessed December 11, 2017, http://www.lebanon.mfa.am/en/community-overview/; *Armenia 2020: Diaspora-Homeland Issue Paper*, 6.

aspora" and Beirut – "the diaspora's capital"[47]. Numerous communities live also in Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Greece, Georgia, Spain, Iran, Canada, Germany, Poland, Romania, Syria, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Great Britain. Attention is drawn to problems on determining the actual number of diasporas, which consists of a few factors, such as: a considerable spatial mobility of some of the communities (including the Armenian one in particular), internal differentiation (various legal status in the countries of residence, various degrees of ethnic and religious identification), as well as diversity and imperfection of instruments for examining migration and ethnic structure[48].

It is noted that the Armenian diaspora had a diverse political and economic impact. In the local dimension (microscale) one can notice influence on societies and politics in many countries. Most frequently indicated example is the adoption by the US Congress in 1992 of a resolution banning the supply of arms to Azerbaijan in reaction to this country's economic blockade of Armenia[49]. Another example of this influence is set by France, the National Assembly of which adopted a law in December 2011 on criminalising public denial of the genocide of Armenians in 1915, approved in January 2012 by the Senate, but eventually repealed by the Constitutional Court.

In macroscale, i.e. in the global or regional dimension, the efforts of the Armenian circles and organisations were acknowledged by adopting resolutions by the European Parliament in 1987, 2005 and 2015, which pointed at Turkey as the country responsible for the genocide in 1915.

The Armenian diaspora is also an important factor influencing the socio-political reality of the original fatherland, which currently consists of two formally separate political entities, i.e. the Republic of Armenia and, not acknowledged by the international community – Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh. Political instruments for influence are locally-func-

47 Panossian, *The Armenians*, 292; Der Ghoukassian, "Lebanon in my mind", 415, 420, 421, 422.

48 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Obraz aktywności społeczno-politycznej diaspory ormiańskiej w krajach Unii Europejskiej", in *Mniejszości narodowe w państwach Unii Europejskiej. Stan prawny i faktyczny*, ed. Ewa Godlewska and Magdalena Lesińska-Staszczuk (Wydawnictwo UMCS: Lublin, 2013), 188.

49 "Freedom Support Act - Section 907 (Public Law 102–511) Washington DC, 24 October 1992", Government Publishing Office (US), accessed March 8, 2018 https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-106/pdf/STATUTE-106-Pg3320.pdf.

tioning structures of the diasporic parties: the ARF, Hunchakian and ADL Ramgavar. It was, however, only the ARF that gained an actual influence on the internal affairs of both countries. In the Republic of Armenia this impact increased as a result of successful elections in 2003 and 2007, which provided, respectively, the fourth and third position in the Parliament, as well as due to entering the pro-presidential coalition, which gave four ministerial offices to the Dashnaks' representatives (in the ministries of: agriculture, education and science, labour and social affairs, and health)[50]. It also enabled legal regulation of some of the diaspora's instantaneously long-awaited expectations, e.g. in 2005, the adoption of the amendments to the constitution on the right to dual citizenship and the RA's obligation to deepening relations with the Armenian diaspora, and in 2007, the amendments to the law on citizenship, granting the right to the citizenship of Armenian to all people of the Armenian descent[51]. The ARF enjoys even greater support in Nagorno-Karabakh, which results from a great role played by the Dashnaks in the process of creating the Republic[52]. In the parliamentary elections the RGK ARF received in the last decade almost 1/5 of votes (19% in 2010 and 18.8% in 2015)[53].

Simultaneously, there is an economic impact of the Armenian diaspora, which affects the mitigation of the results of modern-day national disasters (i.e. earthquake and war with Azerbaijan) and the socio-economic transformation, but it also has an indirect influence on the political life in the country. Financial aid estimated at a few billion US dollars from compatriots living abroad is a significant factor stabilising the situation

50 Krzysztof Fedorowicz, *Transformacja ustrojowa w Armenii w latach 1991-2016* (Poznań: Instytut Wschodni UAM, 2017), 340-343.

51 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Diaspora ormiańska w polityce Armenii", 165-166.

52 Sergey Markedonov, "Republika Górskiego Karabachu: kształtowanie się niepodległego państwa", in *Armenia i Górski Karabach w procesach transformacji społecznej i politycznej*, ed. Rafał Czachor (Wrocław: Fundacja Instytut Polsko-Rosyjski, 2014), 146.

53 May 23, 2010, Summary of votes cast for parties through the proportional electoral system, Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh) Republik Cen¬tral Electoral Commision, http://cecnkr.am/լդհ-ազգային-ժողովի/23-մայիսի-2010թ/?lang=en, accessed September 12, 2018]; 2015թ. մայիսի 3-ի ԼՂՀ Ազգային ժողովի համամասնական ընտրակարգով ընտրությունների քվեարկության նախնական արդյունքների, Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh) Republik Cen¬tral Electoral Commision, http://cecnkr.am/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Նախնական-արդյունքներ.pdf.

in the country, including political one[54]. Programmes of building and renovating schools, hospitals, infrastructure, etc., covered by the diasporic funds, supported significantly the efforts of the Armenian authorities to lift the country out of the economic crisis and to modernise it. As an example, AGBU allocated before the end of 1991 more than 10 million USD to the aid of the victims of the earthquake in 1988, while around 100 million USD was allocated in 1991–2005 to support processes of political system transformation[55]. At present, it continues to implement 33 projects and social, humanitarian, medical and cultural programmes (31 in the RA, 2 in Nagorno-Karabakh). Lincy Foundation, on the other hand, (established in 1989 in response to the earthquake in Armenia by the Armenian billionaire from the US, Kirk Kerkorian), has entered into contract with the government of the RA in order to transfer 100 million USD as an interest-free loan for the implementation of a private enterprise development programme in Armenia, while in 2000 the two parties signed a memorandum to allocate 165 million USD to the economic development of Armenia[56]. Fund for Armenian Relief (FAR), established by the diocese of the Armenian Church in America, also in response to the post-earthquake devastations, deployed by 2016 more than 290 assistance, social, educational and cultural projects, which were worth more than 300 million USD (directed not only to Armenians in Armenia, but also in Nagorno-Karabakh and Georgian Javakheti)[57].

Significant share in GDP of Armenia comes from the annual influx of private postal orders from abroad, mainly from the representatives of the new emigration. In 2004 it reached a record level of up to 22%[58].

54 "Armenia's Diaspora – Its Role & Influence, 2014", Foreign and Commonwealth Office, accessed November 4, 2015, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/armenias-diaspora-its-role-and-influence.

55 "AGBU in Armenia", The Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), accessed September 5, 2015, http://agbueurope.org/about/agbu-in-armenia/

56 "Lincy Foundation, that financed multi-million projects in Armenia, terminates its activity", Banks.am, accessed April 11, 2015, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX-.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS?end=2017&locations=AM&start=1970&view=chart.

57 "Annual Report 2016", Fund for Armenian Relief (FAR), accessed September 5, 2015 http://farusa.org/documents/FAR_2016_AR-FINAL.pdf, 1.

58 "Personal remittances, received (% of GDP)", The World Bank, accessed December 11, 2017, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS?locations=AM

Table 2. **Personal remittances to Armenia, 2010-2016**

Year	Billion USD	%GDP
2006	1.169	18.3
2007	1.644	17.9
2008	1.904	16.3
2009	1.44	16.6
2010	1.669	18.0
2011	1.799	17.7
2012	1.915	18.0
2013	2.192	19.7
2014	2.079	17.9
2015	1.491	14.1
2016	1.382	13.1

Source: The World Bank Data[59].

The increase in the significance and impact of the diaspora on Armenia is illustrated by the change of politics in the last decade of the ruling camp towards the diaspora. The Ministry of Diaspora, the role of which is to comprehensively and effectively advance, deploy and improve the state's policy in the area of developing the partnership between Armenia and the Diaspora, and to coordinate activities of public authorities, began to operate on October 1, 2008. The importance of building up the two-way relations is illustrated by foreign visits of President Serzh Sargsyan during which (in the period between 2008 and 2018) he held 76 meetings with the representatives of the diaspora[60]. This approach was emphasised by the presidential journey taking place in October 2009, which was a response to the diaspora's negative reaction to the presidential policy of rapprochement with Turkey. Serzh Sargsyan travelled at that time to the diaspora's major centres, i.e. to Paris, New York, Los Angeles,

59 "Personal remittances, received (% of GDP)"; "Personal remittances, received (current US$)", The World Bank, accessed December 11, 2017, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.CD.DT?locations=AM.

60 Study based on "Foreign visits", President of the Re¬public of Armenia, accessed April 11, 2018, http://www.president.am/en/foreign-visits.

Beirut and Rostov-on-Don, thus engaging for the first time in the history of Armenia in an equal dialogue with it.

Summary

Migration processes, weakening of assimilation factors, integration of emigrant communities, broad possibilities for preserving relations with the primary fatherland, as well as the increase in their political awareness and institutionalisation of life in exile which are all taking place in the current period, contribute to the growth of the role and scale of influence of the minority ethnic groups who often have arrived only recently and, at the same time, are culturally distant. Generally, they are already identified, from both an external and internal perspective, as diasporas, which means that nowadays there are dozens (if not more) of different diasporas. Development of the phenomenon of diasporisation contributes to the global growth in the interest expressed in issues concerning diasporas which, in general perspective, are perceived as noteworthy, often homogenous, participants of international and intra-state affairs[61]. Simultaneously, it is noticeable that as independent actors they are more frequently becoming a challenge for present-day political systems[62]. This new reception generates numerous questions and new research areas, particularly in the field of political science, thus conferring on diasporas the characteristics of a political sciences (politological) category.

The Armenian diaspora appears here as an exemplification of transformations of emigration communities in the modern world. It has major characteristics of the new type diasporas, such as a high degree of integration, institutionalisation, politicisation, capacity for ethno-mobilisation and transnational impact. Moreover, it has defined objectives of its impact (political, economic and cultural), in creating and implementing of which it aims at preserving the autonomy towards its primary motherland, making it a centre and actor of the Armenian politics, which is separate from

61 Jan E. Zamojski, "Migracje – zjawisko historyczne w dobie współczesnej (XX-XXI wiek)", *Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego* 65 (2002), 9-13.

62 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, „Diasporyzacja jako wyzwanie dla współczesnych systemów politycznych", in *Zmiany w systemach politycznych w Europie i na świecie*, ed. Katarzyna Kamińska-Korolczuk, Margaretta Mielewczyk and Rafał Ożarowski (Gdańsk: Athenae Gedanenses, 2017), 259-279.

its country. Due to the specificity of local diasporas, a significant variety of models and mechanisms of their functioning, as well as instruments and objectives of their impact, is at the same time revealed in the microscale. Thereby, the modern-day Armenian diaspora appears, from the political science perspective, to be a particularly interesting and cognitively valuable object for research in the areas of studies on diasporas.

2. The League of Nations and Formation of Armenian Diaspora

Edita Gzoyan

The League of Nations played an important role in the formation of the post-genocidal Armenian Diaspora. Failing to accept the mandate of Armenia as well as to admit the young Armenian Republic as a member of the organization during its First Assembly, the League of Nations reformulated its policy towards the Armenian question, shifting from the political to the humanitarian initiatives.

The humanitarian actions developed by the League of Nations were carried out in several different directions with an aim to rescue, liberate, relocate and as a result save the remnants of the Armenian population after 1915 genocide and its aftermath events. One of the important initiatives of the organization was the liberation of the Armenian Genocide survivors, mainly women and children, from the Turkish and Islam institutions, where they had been closed as a result of forced transfer and forced Islamization during the Genocide. The second important initiative of the League was connected with the salvage and settlement of thousands of Armenian refugees scattered throughout the world as a result of genocide and its following events. This was made true via a huge settlement scheme developed by the organization, which involved provision of Nansen passports to the Armenian refugees, settlement of the Armenian refugees

in Soviet Armenia, the League's initiative to build an experimental colony in Madagascar to relocate the Armenian refugees as an alternative to the Soviet plan, settlement in Syria and Lebanon and the establishment of Armenian communities in different parts of the world - from Algeria, Iraq, Ethiopia, Persia to Romania, France, Greece, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, Switzerland, from USA to Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Uruguay, etc.

The massive program elaborated by the League of Nations for the settlement of the Armenian refugees laid a foundation for the establishment of Armenian Diaspora in different parts of the world political map.

Introduction

The problem of refugees has deep historical roots, arising after practically every war and resulting in mass movements and relocations of thousands of people from the scene of military operations to other areas. However, WWI was unique not only in its magnitude related to the numbers of deaths and casualties, but also related to the number of refugees that scattered around the world as a result of world scale war and its subsequent crisis.

For Armenians WWI was a dual catastrophe: after the outbreak of the Great War the Young Turks' Government implemented unparalleled and extensive massacres and deportations of their Ottoman Armenian population, which resulted in death of nearly 1.5 million Armenians[63]. Another consequence of the Armenian Genocide was a huge number of refugees. Those who escaped and those who survived the massacres and deportations faced a new catastrophe – refugeehood. During and after 1915 massacres and deportations, huge numbers of Armenians moved to Syria, Greece, Bulgaria, Russia, others were scattered in other countries of the Near East, Egypt, France, USA, etc.

WWI also brought considerable changes in the world political map. After the conclusion of Mudros Armistice, which officially ended the hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and Allies, the British troops occupied Constantinople and Transcaucasia, while Italian and Greek forces entered into Anatolia. The subsequent Treaty of Sèvres (August, 10 1920) put the end

63 For more about the Armenian Genocide see Raymond Kevorkian, *The Armenian Genocide, a Complete History* (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

to the Ottoman Era, officially partitioning the Ottoman Empire into zones of Allies' influence: parts of Southern Anatolia, Cilicia, Syria, and Lebanon were put in the hands of the French, while the British took control of Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq. Thrace was occupied by Greece, who also took possession of Smyrna. Constantinople was put under the control of the chief Allied powers.

WWI and the Bolshevik Revolution created a new political and historical situation also in the territory of the Russian Empire. As a result of the collapse of the Russian Empire, on May 1918 the Republic of Armenia (together with other new republics on the territory of former Russian Empire) was formed in the Caucasus, comprising also some territories from Western Armenia (Eastern Anatolia). So, as a result of post WWI developments, most of the Armenians sheltered in the Allied-occupied territories were temporarily freed from the Turkish rule.

This new situation gave the Armenian refugees an opportunity to find a shelter in the Republic of Armenia as well as to return to Cilicia and Anatolia. Nearly 200,000 Armenians moved to Cilicia with the aim to establish a national home[64]. Considerable number of Armenians (according to different estimations nearly 400,000 – 420,000) headed to the newly established Armenian Republic and other parts of Russia. However, soon the situation was drastically changed. The nationalistic movement in Turkey headed by Mustafa Kemal started armed resistance against the Allied Powers and the Republic of Armenia aiming to restore its control over Anatolia known as the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923). On September 24, 1920, the Turkish nationalist forces invaded the Republic of Armenia, re-conquering the lost territories in Eastern Anatolia[65].

Then, the attention of the nationalist Turks was shifted towards France. After the conclusion of the Angora Agreement with France at the end of 1921, French troops started to evacuate Cilicia, where, as already mentioned, nearly 200,000 Armenians were settled in the wake of geno-

64 Yuri Barsegov, *Геноцид Армян. Ответственность Турции и обязательства мирового сообщества: Документы и комментарий. Том 1* [*The Genocide of Armenians: the Responsibility of Turkey and the Obligations of the World Community. Documents and Commentaries, Vol. 1*] (Moscow: Gardariki, 2002), 674.

65 For more on this see Edik Zohrabyan, *1920 թվականի թուրք-հայկական պատերազմը և տերությունները* [*The Turkish-Armenian War of 1920 and the Great Powers*] (Yerevan: Voskan Yerevantsi, 1999).

cide. Despite the assurances from the French and Turkish authorities on the recognition and respect of minority rights, Armenians preferred to leave Cilicia en masse. After some vain attempts to move to Egypt, Cyprus and Palestine, after the departure of the French troops nearly 50,000 refugees moved to Syria[66].

The next event that further exacerbated the Armenian refugee issue was the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1923) and the subsequent defeat of Greece, which left the East Thrace and Western Anatolia to Turks. The Greco-Turkish war ended with the recapture and subsequent destruction of Smyrna (Great Fire of Smyrna) by the Turkish forces, involving the killings of thousands of Greek and Armenian inhabitants[67]. After the evacuation of Eastern Thrace by the Greek forces, new waves of Armenian and Greek refugees moved to Greece and Bulgaria.

The Turkish War of Independence resulted in the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Thereafter the Treaty of Sèvres was nullified and replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which further complicated the refugee issue. Hundreds of thousands of Armenian and Greek refugees from Smyrna (130,000) and Broussa region (70,000), who had fled the Turkish territory, crowded around Constantinople[68]. It was decided to exchange the ethnic populations between Greece and Turkey to resolve the minority issue. In 1923 the League of Nations administered a compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey to "un-mix" the Muslim and Christian communities[69]. While Greek refugees had a nation state to move to, the Armenian refugees were left hopeless without state assistance, since the short-lived Republic of Armenian (1918 - 1920) had ceased to exist being absorbed by the Soviets[70]. The Republic of Turkey as a successor state of the Ottoman Empire not only rejected to provide "National Home" for the Armenians but opposed any possibility

66 Barsegov, *Геноцид Армян*, 675.

67 Martyn Housden, *The League of Nations and the Organization of Peace* (London: Pearson Longman 2012), 67.

68 Harry Psomiades, *Fridtjof Nansen and the Greek Refugee Crisis 1922–1924: A Study on the Politics of International Humanitarian Intervention and the Greek-Turkish Obligatory Population Exchange Agreement* (New York: Pella Pub co, 2011), 37.

69 Psomiades, *Fridtjof Nansen and the Greek Refugee Crisis*, 53-83.

70 On December 2, 1920, Soviet power was established in Armenia and the Republic of Armenia was replaced by the Soviet Republic of Armenia.

of their mass return to the Turkish Republic. After the Smyrna events, the Armenians were given passports only to leave the country without possibility of return[71]. The Armenian properties in Turkey were being considered abandoned and distributed to the Turkish refugees, thus closing any possibility of return of the Armenian refugees[72].

> "Greek refugees were coming from the country where they had been a minority, but were established in a country where they were citizens, which was not true in the case of Armenian refugees, whose status and settlement were tough issues"[73].

Hence, the Armenian refugee settlement issue was left open.

So, the crowds of the Armenian refugees were the primary result of the Armenian Genocide and its aftermath events.

From Politics to Humanitarianism: The League of Nations and Armenian Refugees

After WWI, on January 10, 1920, an intergovernmental organisation – League of Nations – was established with a mission to maintain world peace through preventing the possibilities of future wars and their devastating effects and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration[74]. The League of Nations was also concerned with the social issues related to fair and humane conditions of labour, just treatment for indigenous peoples, trafficking of women and children, traffic of opium and other dangerous drugs, trade in arms and ammunition, prevention and control of disease, and the promotion of Red Cross organisations[75].

71 In rare cases only individual permits to return were issued to the Armenians.

72 Makich Arzumanian, *Հայաստանը 1914-1917 թվականներին* [*Armenia in 1914–1917*] (Yerevan: Hajastan, 1969), 464.

73 Dzovinar Kevonian, *Réfugiés et diplomatie humanitaire, Les acteurs européens et la société proche-orientale pendant l'entre deux-guerres* (Paris: Sorbonne, 2004), 311.

74 "Covenant of the League of Nations", Yale Law School, accessed November 12, 2017, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp.

75 "Covenant of the League of Nations", Articles 23-25.

Despite the huge number of refugees in post WWI period[76], the League of Nations failed to address the issue from the beginning by including a provision in its Covenant related specifically to the refugee problem. However, soon the League of Nations was faced with the necessity to deal with the refugee issue. The work on behalf of the refugees was started at a request of relief organizations and affected governments, while the system on how to deal with the issue was developed on practice through the international legal Arrangements concluded within the framework of the League of Nations[77].

> "What distinguished the refugee problem with which the League of Nations had to cope with after the World War was partly its magnitude, unexampled in modern times, and partly the fact that for the first time a serious attempt was made to deal with it systematically, and along international lines"[78].

This humanitarian mission was evolved as a result of refugee issues related to Russians, Armenians, Greeks and Bulgarians. It was understood that these were not problems affecting only those four nationalities or could be solved by them alone. Most of the world powers shared in some degree the responsibility for the catastrophe. Hence, the League of Nations as the supreme international authority became involved in the maintenance and settlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees.

Although the Armenian refugee problem came to the historical scene earlier, it appeared on the agenda of the League of Nations later. The refugee work of the organization started from the Russian problem still in spring of 1920 and involved the repatriation of over 400,000 prisoners of war from Siberia and Central Europe[79] effectuated quite successfully under

76 The total number of refugees was estimated nearly 2,100,000, another figure commonly given is 1,500,000.

77 Gilbert Jaeger, "On the history of the International Protection of Refugees", International Review of the Red Cross 83, no. 843 (September 2011): 729, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1560775500119285.

78 Carlile Macartney, *Refugees, the work of the League* (London: Pelican Press, 1931), 5.

79 Martyn Housden, "When the Baltic Sea was a "Bridge" for Humanitarian Action: the League of Nations, the Red Cross and the Repatriation of Prisoners of War between Russia and Central Europe, 1920–22", *Journal of Baltic Studies* 38, no. 1, (2007), 61–

the direction of the High Commissioner for the League of Nations, Dr Fridtjof Nansen. Soon thereafter the organization had to test further its notion of humanitarianism by facing the Russian refugee crisis.

On February 1921, the President of the International Red Cross Committee officially appealed to the League of Nations to appoint a Commissioner to supervise the work related to the Russian refugees, "as the only supranational political authority capable of solving a problem which is beyond the power of exclusively humanitarian organizations"[80]. The main task of the High Commissioner for the Russian Refugees should be repatriating the refugees, defining their legal status and organising employment issues, and coordinating the efforts of different charitable organizations. The general purpose of the League of Nations "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security," as well as Articles 23 and 25 were referred as a basis for League's involvement in the refugee issue, however with two basic reservations – the organization would not take any financial or organizational responsibility for of relief and its involvement should be temporary[81].

In August 1921, Dr Nansen was appointed the League of Nations High Commissioner for the Russian Refugees. He was cooperating with the International Labour Organization; England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland appointed representatives, with whom Nansen communicated. In its turn, the High Commissioners' representatives were appointed in all the mentioned countries, plus in Turkey and Hungary. Finally a joint Committee made of the main European, American, Russian, Jewish and Armenian charitable organizations was established, which played a crucial role in the refugee settlement activities[82]. Meanwhile, International Red Cross Committee and the Save the Children Fund put their local representatives at Dr Nansen's disposal, while Dr Nansen headed an Advisory Committee com-

83, https://doi.org/10.1080/01629770701223569.

80 Louise W. Holborn, "The League of Nations and the Refugee Problem", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 203 (May 1939), 124, https://doi.org/10.1177%2F000271623920300115.

81 Holborn, "The League of Nations and the Refugee Problem", 125.

82 Macartney, *Refugees, the work of the League*, 26.

posed of representatives of the interested governments and charitable organizations[83].

Dr Nansen was soon entrusted to deal also with the acute situation in Constantinople, where he set up an office to coordinate the relief work and distribution of refugees. In September 1922, as a result of Greek disaster nearly 130,000 Greeks and Armenians and 75,000 Turks entered Constantinople. During the 3rd Assembly of the League of Nations, Dr Nansen reported on the critical situation of more than two hundred thousand Armenian and Greek refugees arriving in Constantinople from Smyrna and Broussa, and requested a permission to use the High Commissioner's office in Constantinople to assist those refugees. At its meeting of September 19, 1922, the Assembly adopted a resolution recommending that the High Commissioner be authorized to utilise the services of the Russian Refugee Organization to administer money collected for this new purpose, it being understood that the League of Nations accepted no responsibility for the Armenian refugees, that the work for the Russian refugees would continue without hindrance and that the Armenian project be of only a temporary nature[84].

So, on this vague basis and within the mentioned limitations, the League of Nations became involved in issue of the Armenian refugees, the number of who by 1923 was estimated nearly 320,000 (apart from those who had already moved to Russia) scattered throughout Syria, Iraq, Cyprus, Palestine, Greece, Bulgaria, and other European countries[85]. The Armenian Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference gave a somewhat big number with the following distribution of the Armenian refugees: 150,000 in Syria, 120,000 in Greece, 20,000 in Bulgaria, 2,000 in Cyprus, 12,000 in Palestine, 8,000 in Mesopotamia and 20,000 in Central Europe.

In June 1924 Nansen offered to transfer the League of Nations activity in respect of refugees to the International Labour Organization. The reflected new circumstances and perceptions concerning refugees. In particular

83 Holborn, "The League of Nations and the Refugee Problem", 125.

84 League of Nations Archive and Historical Collection Section, United Nations Archives in Geneva (hereinafter UNOG), Registry N 20c 16983, 16983 (1928-1932), Classement: Refugees Armenian.

85 Walter Adams, "Extent and Nature of the World Refugee Problem", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 203, (May 1939), 28, https://doi.org/10.1177%2F000271623920300104.

it was felt there was a need for a permanent body to deal with issues including labour, unemployment, settlement and immigration. Consequently, 1924 was marked by a division of roles: the League of Nations retained the political management of refugee affairs while the International Labour Organization assumed day-to-day responsibilities[86].

Thereafter, finally in 1930 an International Refugees Office was established under the authority of the League of Nations to organize humanitarian assistance, with the League's Secretary General assuming only the legal protection of refugees[87].

Defining the Legal Status of Armenian Refugees: Nansen Passports

The League of Nations refugee work had two distinct separate aspects: a legal aspect related to the legal protection, legal status and civil rights of the refugees, and humanitarian aspect related to social side of the work – livelihood, relief, employment and other similar issues.

From the beginning the legal aspect of the refugee work was put on the agenda. As one of its main functions Dr Nansen was negotiating with different governments to find jobs for the refugees and solve a possible repatriation issue. However, in order to travel to find a job or be settled in another country, there was an acute need to define a legal status of the refugees, as well as provide identity certificates. With this aim Dr Nansen convened an Intergovernmental Conference in July 1922 which adopted a model certificate later known as "Nansen Passport" to be given to Russian refugees[88]. The certificate which was approved by the Council of the League of Nations was to be issued for one year by a competent authority of concerned governments to the Russian refugees in their territory, giving particulars of the certificate-holder similar to those in the ordinary passport[89]. The document also mentioned the nationality of the bearer

86 Kevonian, *Réfugiés et diplomatie humanitaire*, 444.

87 UNOG, League of Nations Official Journal, Special Supplement. Records of the Eleventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly, Plenary Meetings, Text of the Debates 84 (1930), 537.

88 Fifty - two governments adopted these documents.

89 "Nansen Passport" did not provide for equal treatment with citizens regarding labor

and that he/she had not since acquired another nationality. The entry visas were put on the certificate, however they did not allow a return visa, unless a special provision was made. However, later by an Arrangement of May 1926 the right to return to the country issuing the identity certificate was granted to the certificate – holder[90].

From the legal point, the Armenian refugees were divided into 5 groups:

1. Refugees who left the Ottoman Empire with Ottoman passports before and after the war until the Mudros Armistice. Their passports were valid for 1 year, although Consular Services refused to prolong them.

2. Refugees who fled the Ottoman Empire after the Mudros Armistice with their documents and passes provided by the Allied Powers. These documents were not passports.

3. Refugees who fled the Ottoman Empire with passports provided by the representative of the Transcaucasia Armenian Republic in Constantinople. The Armenian Republic ceased to exist because of the establishment of Soviet power there. Thus, the passports provided by them had lost their validity.

4. Nearly 100,000 refugees who fled Asia Minor rapidly in the autumn of 1922 and who had no documents.

5. Refugees to whom the Turkish Government provided passports with a notice that they "will not return to Turkey", when they left Turkish territories[91].

By an Arrangement of May 31, 1924, similar certificates were approved for the Armenian refugees with thirty-eight states accepting this. Those certificates gave the Armenian refugees a certain widely-recognized legal status and enabled them to move. In order to raise the practical benefit of these documents a supplementary Arrangement was adopted at the third inter-governmental Conference of May 1926, giving the following definition to the term "refugee" for Armenians:

permits, social security, taxation, etc., however, by an Arrangement of June 30, 1928 the Inter-Governmental Conference recommended favorable treatment for the refugees in such matters.

90 Adopted only by twenty-three governments.

91 The issue discussed between the Legal Section of the League of Nations Secretariat and the Armenian National Delegation.

> "Any person of Armenian origin formerly a subject of the Ottoman Empire who does not enjoy or who no longer enjoys the protection of the Government of the Turkish Republic and who has not acquired another nationality"[92].

Settling the Armenian Refugees: Formation of Armenian Diaspora

Armenian communities in different countries, international relief organizations, governments of the United States, France and others contributed to the maintenance of the Armenian refugees. Bulgaria and Greece accepted a huge number of the Armenian refugees and maintained them within their territories. However, all these were ad hoc measures and there was a need of systematic and comprehensive plan, as the efforts of the governments and relief organizations could not be sustained forever. Because of the Turkish policy which was against the return of Armenians[93] (moreover, by the law of May 23, 1927, former Ottoman subjects who had not returned to the country by the time of promulgation of this law lost their Turkish citizenship[94]) and while the Soviet Armenian government could not undertake a full burden, there was a necessity to decide on the final settlement of the Armenian refugees.

With an unavailability or impossibility of return to their homeland the solution of the Armenian refugee issue bore some distinctive features. What made the Armenian refugee settlement different from that of Greek, Bulgarian and Turkish was that the first was a "dispersion" settlement rather than a central concentration, when groups of population were depositing in "countries with which they had few intimate ties"[95]. In the case of Greek, Bulgarian and Turkish refugees, their vast majority

92 UNOG, Registry N 20c 16983, 16983, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

93 The Turkish Government even rejected individual petitions for entry to Turkey of the Armenians. An Armenian from Greece named Alexan Moutafian wanted a visa to enter Turkey, where his mother Armenouhi Moutafian was living, but was rejected an entry visa. UNOG, Registry N 20C 80605 16983, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

94 Bedros Der Matossian, "The Taboo within the Taboo: the Fate of the 'Armenian Capital' at the End of Ottoman Empire", *European Journal of Turkish Studies* (2011): 1-23, accessed October 22, 2018, http://journals.openedition.org/ejts/4411.

95 Adams, "Extent and Nature of the World Refugee Problem", 28.

was returned to their homeland. In the Armenian case, there were two possible solutions to the refugee problem: the one was through limited repatriation to Soviet Armenia and the second through gradual dispersal in different parts of the world.

There was an opposition to the repatriation solution from both sides involved. The Europeans did not want to let "their adherents go over the Soviet allegiance", plus the fear that the repatriates could become victims of political persecution. The Soviets in their turn opposed to the influx of refugees out of security concerns. In this sense the personality of the High Commissioner for Refugees played a crucial role in that he enjoyed confidence of both sides[96].

Soviet Armenia

The League of Nations' first settlement scheme for the Armenian refugees was the Establishment Plan in Soviet Armenia or the Erivan Plan[97]. In September 1923 the League of Nations was asked to assist in the settlement of 50,000 Armenian refugees in Soviet Armenia[98]. The number of Armenian refugees who had fled to Russia and Soviet Armenia from Turkey and boarder territories was estimated at about 400,000 – 420,000[99]. From 1921 to June 1925 the Soviet Armenia received 13,539 refugees, partly directly from Turkey, partly via Mesopotamia, Persia and Greece, while planning to receive 7,000 more refugees from Greece, Constantinople and Mesopotamia[100].

In September 1924 the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted a resolution inviting the International Labor Office in collaboration with Nansen to study the possibility of settling a substantial number of the Armenian refugees in the Caucasus or elsewhere. International Labor Office set up an expert commission headed by Dr Nansen to present a report on different settlement possibilities. The expert Commission visited

96 Macartney, *Refugees, the work of the League*, 30-31.

97 For more on this issue see League of Nations, *Scheme for the Settlement of Armenian Refugees. General Survey and Principal Documents* (Geneva: Publications of the League of Nations, 1927).

98 Fridtjof Nansen, *Armenia and the Near East*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976), 5.

99 UNOG, *Société des Nations Journal Officiel, Supplement special* 38 (1925), 89–91.

100 League of Nations, *Scheme for the Settlement of Armenian Refugees*, 70.

Erivan in June 1924 and after some investigations concluded that nearly 10,000 Armenians from Greece and 5,000 from Constantinople, who were in acute necessity, could be repatriated to Soviet Armenia[101]. Meanwhile, some aid should be provided to Soviet Armenia in order for the latter to be able to receive and settle a considerable number of refugees. Following these inquiries and investigation, in 1925 Dr Nansen suggested a settlement scheme in Erivan under which 25,000 Armenians could be established with a loan of $4,500.000 to be raised through the League of Nations under the guarantee of the Armenian and the Soviet Governments to meet the expenses of transport and settlement. The Commission approved the technical and financial aspects of the scheme[102]. However, the ideological and political rivalry between the capitalist and communist regimes prevented the implementation of this project. The Western countries did not want to finance projects to assist the rebuilding of the Soviet Union. The official statements by the Soviets that the loan for the project would be guaranteed by a Soviet bank seemed untrustworthy[103]. For their part, the Soviet leaders feared that the project was an attempt to infringe on their domestic affairs.

Finally, in 1929 the Assembly of the League of Nations rejected the Erivan project. So, despite huge efforts of Nansen, it proved impossible to develop a single settlement scheme for the Armenian refugees in Soviet Armenia; however, Nansen worked out a dispersion migration plan. Through an agreement between Greece and the Soviet Union in 1927 and a scheme promulgated by the Nansen Office in 1936 for repatriating Armenians, nearly 16,000 Armenian refugees mostly from Greece, Bulgaria and France were settled in Soviet Armenia[104]. Soviet statistics provide a much larger number of Armenian refugees settled in Soviet Armenia by the initiative of the Soviet government[105].

101 The Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic was founded in 1920, had an area of nearly 30.000 square kilometres and a population of 1 million.

102 UNOG, *League of Nations Official Journal* 9 (1926), 1340.

103 Housden, *The League of Nations and the Organization of Peace*, 71.

104 UNOG, Registry N 20c 180359, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

105 For more on this see Makich Arzumanyan, *Նանսենը և Հայաստանը* [*Nansen and Armenia*] (Yerevan: Hajastan, 1986).

Syria

In 1926 during the League of Nations' Assembly the High Commissioner and the International Labor Office brought to the attention of the organization the uncertain situation of the thousands of the Armenia refugees in the Near East. They asked the Assembly to provide some expenses to coordinate and develop various efforts to establish the Armenian refugees in Bulgaria, Greece and Syria. By the Assembly's resolution of September 25, 1926, a special committee to deal with Armenian refugee issue was set up in the International Labor Office, headed by Nansen's former deputy T. F. Johnson[106].

In 1926 the High Commissioner of France in Syria asked the League of Nations to cooperate with local authorities in the final settlement of the Armenian refugees in Syria, where more than 100,000 Armenians had found shelter during and after WWI. 40,000 of the Armenian refugees were living in temporary shelters in camps under a precarious situation. The High Commissioner appointed a special delegate of the League of Nations entrusted to direct the settlement operations. A special mission was sent to Syria to investigate the feasibility of the project. As a result, the League of Nations favored the "more realistic" Syrian plan[107].

France pursed several aims in initiating and carrying out the Syrian settlement plan. Overall, France wanted to strengthen its presence in Syria through settling Christian Armenians, who favored the mandate regime in the region, among the Muslim community[108]. Another important reason was the presence of nearly 63,000 Armenian refugees in France and constant move of Armenian refugees from Syria and Lebanon to France, which the latter wanted to stop[109].

106 UNOG, The records of the 7th Assembly Plenary Meetings (Geneva: 1927).

107 For more on the issue see Edita Gzoyan, "The League of Nations and Armenian Refugees. The Formation of the Armenian Diaspora in Syria", *Central and Eastern European Review* 8, no 1 (2014), 84-102, https://doi.org/10.2478/caeer-2014-0004.

108 Keith Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), 211–308.

109 UNOG, Nansen International Office for Refugees, Report of the Governing Body for the year ending June 30, 1936, Official No. A 23.1936. XII.

In coordination with the relief organizations and France, a settlement scheme was carried out, settling as many as nearly 37,000 Armenian refugees by the end of December 1937, when the Nansen Office had to suspend its activities in Syria. The refugee work in Syria was then carried out by the Armenian Benevolent Union.

In parallel to the settlement scheme developed to move the Armenian refugees in Syria from the barracks of the camps to permanent dwellings, the League of Nations was also involved in the individual or group transfer of the Armenian refugees to Syria and from Syria. The League of Nations gave money, obtained visas and even tried to solve the employment issues of the refugees. For this reason they furnished information about the age, physical condition and technical qualifications of the refugees, in order to be able to make a proposal to the competent authorities. The League of Nations organized the transfer to Syria of the Armenian refugees from France[110], Poland[111] and Switzerland[112].

Some Armenians were transferred to South America, the main destination being **Argentina**[113]. In 1931 there were already 15,000 Armenians in Argentina. There was a direct connection between Beirut and Buenos Aires at a very affordable price, which considerably eased the move of the Armenians from Syria to Argentina, plus an opportunity to gain citizenship in only 3 years[114].

Greece

The situation in Greece was also quite desperate. After the Asia Minor disaster nearly 60,000 - 80,000 Armenians moved to Greece[115]. Half of these refugees gradually left the country towards other destinations; from those

110 UNOG, Registry N 20b 80419, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian; UNOG, Ra 412/122/70/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

111 UNOG, Registry N 20c 81356, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

112 UNOG, Registry N 20c 80439, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

113 UNOG, Registry N 20b 80991, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian; UNOG, Registry N 20b 19296, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

114 UNOG, Registry N 20c 18252, 17142, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

115 According to the Greek delegation to the League of Nations, the number of Armenian refugees in Greece in 1922 was 100,000. UNOG, *League of Nations Official Journal, Special Supplement*, 159.

who remained, nearly 10,000 became self-supporting, being absorbed into different industries, small trades, and so forth. Nearly 20,000 lived in miserable conditions, looking for an opportunity to leave the country. The Greek authorities were in great anxiety after the Assembly decided to discontinue its involvement in the settlement of the Armenian refugees in Erivan. Meanwhile, the Greek government made a separate arrangement with the Soviet Government to repatriate the Armenian refugees, and although some 30,000 Armenian refugees expressed a desire to be repatriated, only 16,000 were able[116].

However, in 1930 there were still 33,000 Armenian refugees in Greece, from which 3,000 have obtained Greek citizenship[117]. For ameliorating the situation the authorities granted some land to the Nansen Office to build some houses for the refugees, which was implemented on a repayable loan basis. The Nansen Office planned to build 400 to 500 houses to accommodate more than 2,000 refugees, but shortage of money forced a reduction of the number. By May 1938, 123 houses were constructed at a cost of $30,000[118].

By the assistance of the League of Nations the Armenian refugees from Greece were moved and established in different parts of the world: to Egypt[119], Algeria[120], Ethiopia[121], Venezuela[122], Paraguay[123], Bolivia[124], Brazil[125], Japan[126], Serbia[127], Cyprus[128], etc. It should be noted that any mass flow of the Armenian refugees to **Cyprus** was opposed by the Greek gov-

116 UNOG, Registry N 20c 17729, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

117 UNOG, Registry N 20c 23283 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian. Office International Nansen pour les Réfugiés. Conseil d'Administration. Première Session, 10 Mars, 1931. Rapport Préliminaire sur la Situation des Réfugiés arméniens en Grèce.

118 Holborn, "The League of Nations and the Refugee Problem",128.

119 UNOG, Ra 412/1/26/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

120 UNOG, Registry N 20c 24557, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

121 UNOG, Registry N 20c 80374, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

122 UNOG, Registry N 20c 81180, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

123 UNOG, Registry N 20c 81180, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

124 UNOG, Ra 412/126/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

125 UNOG, Ra 412/126/9/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

126 UNOG, Ra 412/126/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

127 UNOG, Ra 412/1/26/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

128 UNOG, Registry N 20c 17729, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

ernment, as they aimed to take the possession of the island. However, despite this attitude of the Greek authorities, the movement of Armenians from Greece to Cyprus was implemented steadily, however on small scales, especially in view of open willingness of the Cypriot authorities[129].

There was a considerable flow of the Armenian refugees from Greece to France[130]. Some Armenian refugees, mostly farmers, and orphans were moved there[131]. However, the main direction of move of the Armenian refugees from Greece was towards Soviet Armenia and South America[132].

The League of Nations was negotiating also with Australia about the transfer of Armenian refugees from Greece. However, this prospect was closed due to unwillingness of the Australian authorities and their involvement in the settlement of refugees from England[133].

Some considerable number of Armenian refugees was moved from Greece to Syria, because many Armenian refugees in Greece had relatives and friends in Syria to support them, so they did not become a burden on public funds; besides, the country offered the best and the most immediate possibilities of absorption of further number of Armenian refugees. Nearly 8,000 Armenian refugees in Greece applied to be transferred to Syria. The cost of removal and settlement was in the nature of an advance to the refugee to be repaid over a term of one year[134].

Bulgaria

Although the Armenian settlements in Bulgaria dated back to Byzantine era, mass flow of Armenians to Bulgaria was after the 1915 Genocide and aftermath events. In 1922 Bulgaria sheltered nearly 25,000 Armenian refugees, while their number in 1926 amounts to 36.568[135].

129 UNOG, Registry N 20c 24532, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

130 UNOG, Ra 412/1/26/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

131 UNOG, Registry N 20c 17729, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian; UNOG, Ra 412/126/70/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

132 UNOG, Ra 412/1/26/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees; UNOG, Registry N 20c 17729, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

133 UNOG, Registry N 20c 17729, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

134 UNOG, Registry N 20c 24249 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

135 Evgenia Miceva, "The Armenians in Bulgaria: a community portrait", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 179 (2006), 91, 99, https://doi.org/10.1515/

The Armenian refugees from Bulgaria were transferred mainly to Soviet Armenia, however by the League of Nations initiative the Armenians were transferred also to Argentina[136], Algeria[137], Cyprus[138], etc. Some considerable numbers of Armenians, mainly agricultural workers, were moved from Bulgaria and settled in France (nearly 160 families)[139], while another 18 families found refuge in Syria[140].

Palestine

The Armenian population of Palestine was about 2,000 – 3,000 people before WWI. The main influx of Armenians was from Cilicia during WWI, among them also the Catholicos of Cilicia. Apart from Armenians who flew the massacres, Jamal Pasha, the commander of the Ottoman Fourth Army, was sending hundreds of Armenians to Palestine to save them. However, the vast majority of Armenians moved to Palestine after Mustafa Kemal's offensive in Cilicia. By 1925 the number of Armenians in Palestine was 15,000, concentrated mainly in Jerusalem, than in Haifa and Jaffa[141]. However, the League of Nations documents are silent on the role of the organization in the move and establishment of the Armenian refugees in Palestine[142].

Madagascar

Before involvement in the Syrian plan, in 1926 the League of Nations elaborated an interesting plan for the establishment of an experimental colony in the island of Madagascar for the Armenian refugees from Greece

IJSL.2006.027.

136 UNOG, Registry N 20c 18155, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian; UNOG, Ra 412/110/2/1 Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

137 UNOG, Registry N 20c 24532, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

138 UNOG, Ra 412/1/124/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

139 UNOG, Registry N 20c 17136, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian; UNOG, Ra 412/110/22/1 Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

140 UNOG, Registry N 20b 80367, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

141 Bedross Der Matossian, "The Armenians of Palestine 1918-48", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41, no. 1 (Autumn 2011), 29-30, doi: jps.2011.XLI.1.24.

142 However, we do not preclude that there are such documents.

and France. According to the plan, the experimental colony would consist of 50 Armenian families, nearly 150 people. The Government of Madagascar would be invited to afford a concession of 5,000 hectares on long credit at about 10 francs per hectare. Additional 25,000 francs would be required for the transportation of the refugees and their maintenance during the first year, establishment expenses, animals, tools, seeds, etc. This capital should be raised from rich Armenians, with the land as guarantee, it being estimated that under cultivation this land would rapidly reach a value of 1,000 francs per hectare. Although the scheme was without political connotations as compared to the Soviet Armenian settlement, the only capital objection was its cost, which was as twice as more than the Soviet Armenian Scheme[143]. Although the plan was not realized, the initiative was quite interesting and well elaborated, and demonstrated the League of Nations was concerned with the final solution to the Armenian refugee issue.

Other Countries

Another big harbor for the Armenians after 1915 Genocide was France. According to the League of Nations' documents there were nearly 63,000 Armenian refugees in **France**. While being concerned with the employment and other social issues connected with the refugee settlement in France, the organization was also moving the Armenians from France to Syria[144], Egypt[145], Argentina[146], Romania[147], at the same time, organizing the transfer of the Armenian refugees from Finland[148], Czechoslovakia [149]and other countries to France.

By the efforts of the League of Nations, the Armenian refugees were settled also on the American continent, most notably in **Argentina**. Other countries include **Brazil**, **Bolivia**, **Venezuela**, **Paraguay**

143 UNOG, Ra 412/1/80/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.
144 UNOG, Registry N 20b 80419, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.
145 UNOG, Registry N 20c 80728, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.
146 UNOG, Registry N 20c 80372, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.
147 UNOG, Registry N 20b 80866, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.
148 UNOG, Registry N 20c 24101, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.
149 UNOG, Registry N 20c 20303, 17136, Classement: Refugees Armenian.

and **Uruguay**. What relates to the USA, according to the League of Nations' archival documents, the number of Armenians allowed to enter USA annually was 124. Because the price of the land offered and the cost of transport from Europe were too high, these precluded the majority of refugees to move to the USA[150].

Summary

Established after WWI the League of Nations became involved in the Armenian refugee settlement issue as one of its humanitarian mission. After Genocide and consequent events, the Armenian survivors faced new great sufferings and hardships in the face of refugeehood. On the initiative of Fridtjof Nansen, the League of Nations High Commissioner for the Russian Refugees, the organization took the responsibility of the Armenian refugee issue.

The League of Nations' first settlement scheme for the Armenian refugees was the Establishment Plan in Soviet Armenia or Erivan Plan. Although the Plan was finally abandoned by the League of Nations, due to the individual efforts of Nansen, some thousands Armenia refugees were settled in Soviet Armenia. The next scheme was much more effective. By the cooperation with France, the League of Nations succeeded in sheltering as many as 37,000 Armenian refugees in Syria. The organizations also organized individual and group transfer and establishment of the Armenian refugees in different parts of the world. The geographical distribution of the Armenian refugees was quite large, including nearly every continent. By the efforts of the League of Nations the Armenian refugees were harbored from Switzerland to Persia, from Ethiopia to Argentina.

So, the organization has elaborated a massive settlement program for the Armenian refugees, which laid a foundation for the establishment of Armenian Diaspora in nearly every corner of the world.

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150 UNOG, Ra 412/1/61/1, Sujet: Armenian Refugees.

3. The State Plan for the 1946-1948 Great Repatration of Armenians and the Armenian Apostolic Church

Hayk Yengibaryan

Introduction

The years following the Second World War (1946-1948) saw the repatriation of Diaspora Armenians to Soviet Armenia, which received about 100,000 Armenian immigrants from 12 countries around the world. According to the accepted opinion of Armenian historiographers, the purpose of the Soviet policy on organizing repatriation was to see the return of Armenian lands by way of presenting territorial demands to Turkey for the benefit of the two republics of the Soviet Union, i.e., Soviet Armenia and Soviet Georgia[151]. In this article, I will try to dispute this statement

151 Hovik Meliksetyan, *Հայրենիք-Սփյուռք առնչությունները և հայրենադարձությունը (1920-1980թթ.)*, Երևան, Երևանի համալս. հրատ., 1985: [Armenia-Diaspora Relations and Repatriation (1920-1980)]; Lendrush Khurshudyan, *Հայկական հարցը*, Երևան, Համազգ. հայ կրթ. մշակութ. միության հրատ., 1995: [The Armenian Cause]; Eduard Melkonyan, *Հայկական Բարեգործական Ընդհանուր Միության Պատմություն*, Երևան, «Մուղնի» հրատ., 2005: [History of the Armenian General Benevolent Union]; Amatuni Virabyan, *Հայաստանը Ստալինից մինչև Խրուշչով, հասարակական-քաղաքական կյանքը, (1945-1957 թթ.)*, Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Գիտություն» հրատ., 2001:

and suggest that the claims for lands was only a bait that Stalin had thrown in order to make the immigration of Diaspora Armenians massive, to convey the spirit of patriotism and to give a sweep to it and that, in reality, the Great Repatriation was only a portion of the post-war political plan of the Soviet Empire and Stalin.

By organizing repatriation, the Soviet authorities were pursuing two main goals. The first was political, i.e. to prevent the formation of a foreign opposition to the Soviet authorities. The second was economic, i.e. it was necessary to have industrious people return to the Soviet Union, especially amid the post-war economic chaos.

***

After the Second World War, the Soviet authorities were already concerned about the fact that, after the defeat of Hitler's Germany, the Allied Forces, obsessed with the post-war race, would not make contributions to the Soviet country with financial and other forms of assistance in order to heal the wounds of the war and help recover the devastated economy of the country. In order to not be defeated in the social and economic fronts and not to lose everything following the victory that had been achieved at the expense of great losses, it was necessary to mobilize all possible and even impossible resources in order to engage them for the recovery of the country. It was no secret that the country had been deprived of the resources of healthy and industrious people. Several people who had returned from war were wounded or disabled. Many of the workers were women, there were not many professionals, and the people were hungry and had no clothes to wear. Large numbers of the useful workers were abroad due to the war, and several Soviet nationals (including prisoners of war) were based in foreign countries. However, many of the prisoners of war preferred to stay in the West since they knew that the Soviet authorities considered them traitors of the nation[152]. It should be noted that

[Armenia from Stalin to Khrushchev: Social-Political Life]; Armenuhie Stepanyan, *XX դարի հայրենադարձությունը հայոց ինքնության համակարգում*, Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Գիտություն» հրատ., 2010: [20th Century Repatriation in the Armenian Identity System].

152 Гульжаухар К. Кокебаева, „Репатриация советских военнопленных, служивших в восточных легионах" [„Soviet prisoners of war serving in the Eastern

there were numerous Soviet nationals in the British and American camps in Europe who were a great concern for the allies. It was necessary to feed them and determine their fate somehow, and since the West did not need any more problems, this was exactly why the leaders of the Allied countries gladly agreed with Stalin to return the Soviet nationals, even if that required certain expenditures.

During the forum held in Crimea from February 4 to 11, 1945, among other issues, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill secretly came to an agreement that all Soviet nationals who had stayed abroad, including millions of prisoners of war had to return to the Soviet Union whether they wanted to or not[153]. This led to the start of a process that is known as repatriation, even though, in many cases, it is safe to refer to it as compulsory or forceful deportation[154]. According to the confidential agreement reached in Crimea, the British and the Americans had expressed commitment to return – to the Soviet Union – the prisoners within their respective camps and all the prisoners of war in their respective occupied territories, as well as those who would acknowledge the fact that they were citizens of the Soviet Union and, if necessary, to use force. However, British and American officials would conceal all this information. Since, according to democratic laws, those who did not wish to return to their respective countries should be granted political asylum. Both the British and the Americans had assured everyone that there would be no forceful return. This is exactly the reason why people with an anti-Soviet disposition view repatriation as betrayal on the part of the British and the Americans[155]. However, even

legions"], accessed May 8, 2017, http://www.rusnauka.com/5_SWMN_2011/Istoria/2_79640.doc.htm.

153 According to Stalin, all soldiers of the Soviet Union who had been voluntarily or forcefully held captive by the Germans, as well as the nationals who had been abroad and seen another life for short while, were considered traitors and state criminals; so, they had to return to their country, whether they wanted to or not. Нелли Зак, "Репатриация советских граждан: как это было" ["Repatriation of Soviet citizens: how it was"], accessed May 8, 2017, http://ricolor.org/journal/26/istoria/3/.

154 Михал Шмигель, "Советская акция по репатриации на территории Словакии (1945-1948) (по материалам словацких архивов)" [Soviet campaign of repatriation in Slovakia (1945-1948) (according to the Slovakian archives)], in *Крыніцазнаўства і спецыяльныя гістарычныя дысцыпліны*, vol. 7, ed. С. М. Ходзін, (Мінск: БДУ 2012), 100, http://elib.bsu.by/bitstream/123456789/18633/1/Shmigel.pdf.

155 Зак, "Репатриация советских граждан".

in this case, the allies would act for their own interests since, in the territories seized by Soviet troops and especially in Poland and East Germany, there were camps where British and American prisoners of war were kept, and the allies feared that the Soviet party could delay their return. There is evidence showing that there were 20,000 American and 30,000 British prisoners of war in the Soviet camp after the war[156].

According to the data drawn up by Commissar of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR for Repatriation Affairs, Colonel-General (later Marshal) Golikov[157], approximately 5 million citizens of the USSR were located beyond the borders of the USSR, and there were 1.8 million prisoners of war. Overall, there were more citizens and prisoners of war (about 8.7 million people, including 5.45 million USSR citizens, and 3.25 million prisoners of war), in spite of the fact that not everyone survived until the victory in May 1945[158].

Touching upon this issue, a writer and publicist Alexander Usovsky states the following: "The problem is that the Germans removed the best Soviet citizens who were the best in the sense of professional readiness, education and culture. In essence, the Germans removed the elite of industrial workers, including engineers, technicians, as well as healthy and diligent young people who did not manage to (or did not wish to) be evacuated"[159].

Thus, during the Crimea Conference, Stalin already knew that there were more than 8 million people on the opposite side of the battlefield, whom he could bring back to the homeland in order to start working on bringing the country out of the ruins. The fact that among those people were not only citizens of the USSR forcefully deported to Germany, but also 1.5 million people with an inimical attitude towards the Soviet authorities, also did not bother Stalin. First of all, he knew that anyone could be forced to work, irrespective of his or her political conviction, and, ac-

156 Зак, "Репатриация советских граждан".

157 Former chief of intelligence of the Soviet army.

158 Александр Усовский, "'Обязательная' репатриация 1945 года – прихоть Сталина или жестокая необходимость?", [The 'forced' repatriation of 1945 is Stalin's whim or cruel necessity?], accessed January 14, 2019, https://usovski.livejournal.com/644326.html?fbclid=IwAR2Ts6lMNnJF2sKCBG_EWCr-Y8pw_dOzSdp74BMxdTINNoa1gVN9uVWYQXQ

159 Усовский, "'Обязательная' репатриация 1945 года".

cording to Stalin, in the case of anti-Soviets, it was good so long as they knew they have committed a crime, and if they were sent to the mine pits to work, it would be impossible to expect them to declare workers' strikes or hold other demonstrations[160].

It should be noted that, in this case, recovery of the country's economy was the only thing that was important for Stalin. For the most part, it did not matter to him how it would be done and who would do it, be it through the efforts of German captives[161] or Soviet prisoners of war, or other anti-Soviet troops. The only thing that was important for Stalin was the outcome for which, during the Crimea Conference held in February 1945, he had claimed that immigration would be considered mandatory. In the articles devoted to this issue, Soviet immigrants are sometimes referred to as "the victims of Yalta", while Roosevelt and Churchill are referred to as accomplices to the "crime"[162]. In 1944, the first ships headed from the American and British camps to Murmansk and Odessa, transporting thousands of Soviet citizens. Many did not want to return, and the American and British troops were meeting the Soviet government's condition for immigration through force, trickery and cunningness[163].

It should be noted that the Ukrainians were also displaced from Poland between 1944 and 1947. This phenomenon can be considered a unique process of expulsion that was delayed for several years. The process officially began with the Treaty of Lublin concluded between the Government of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ukraine and the national and liberation commission of Poland on September 9, 1944 under the title "Evacuation of the Ukrainian population from the territory of Poland and of the Polish population from Soviet Ukraine". Nikita Khrushchev, who was the chairperson of the Council of People's Commissars of Soviet Ukraine at the time, signed the treaty on the part of Ukraine. According to the signed treaty, evacuation was supposed to be carried out on voluntary basis, but it turned into forceful displacement[164]. And it is in the whole context of Sta-

160 Усовский, "'Обязательная' репатриация 1945 года".

161 As is known, their return to their homeland was delayed for more than ten years.

162 Виктор Земсков, "Репатриация перемещённых советских граждан" [Repatriation of displaced Soviet citizens], accessed May 10, 2017, http://scepsis.net/library/id_1234.html.

163 Зак, "Репатриация советских граждан".

164 Татьяна Максимчук, "Переселение украинцев из Польши в 1944-1947гг." [Re-

lin's policy on repatriation that the repatriation of Armenians was taking place between 1946 and 1948.

Whereas it was possible to implement forceful immigration of prisoners of war of the Soviet Union and Soviet citizens who had taken shelter abroad, it was impossible in the case of the Armenians. Thus, in this situation, Stalin set forth the issue of the return of Armenian lands from Turkey, knowing very well that there was a need for the national factor (the claims of the Armenians) in order to motivate the Armenians and encourage them to come to Soviet Armenia with excitement.

However, the repatriation of the Armenians would not have been substantial, if, of course, it was not for the support of the Armenian Church. Stalin knew well that it would be impossible to connect Diaspora Armenians to the homeland without the Church since it was the Church that served as the main guarantor of consolidation of the Armenians and preservation of the Armenian identity abroad; thus, the Church was somewhat the symbol of the homeland for Diaspora Armenians. With its calls and reputation, as well as hierarchical sees and the worldwide dioceses, it was the Church that would highly contribute to the advocacy of patriotism. On the basis of this knowledge, Stalin tried to take advantage of the Armenian Church. With that prospective goal, he had already mitigated his policy on the Church, satisfied the demands that elected Vicar, Archbishop Grigor Chorekchyan, had presented during a meeting with Stalin on April 19, 1945 and had allowed to hold a national ecclesiastical assembly and elect a Catholicos. Thus, Stalin was preparing the Church to play that role in advance. Moreover, it would not be wrong to say that Stalin's inspiring promise to help Armenians claim their lands was first and foremost addressed to the elite of the Armenian Church and then to Diaspora Armenian intellectuals and others since the Armenians of the Diaspora would mainly be encouraged and guided by the joint calls of the two wings of the Armenian Church (the See of Ejmiatsin and the See of Antelias).

The Soviet authorities, in 1945 acting as if they appreciated the contributions of the Armenian Church and its line of conduct during WWII,

settlement of Ukrainians from Poland in 1944-1947], accessed May 10, 2017, http://dn.archives.gov.ua/articles/stat13.htm; Павел, М. Полян, *Жертвы двух диктатур: Остарбайтеры и военнопленные в третьем рейхе и их репатриация* [Victims of two dictatorships: Ostarbeiters and prisoners of war in the Third Reich and their repatriation] (Москва: Ваш выбор, 1996).

changed their attitude and adopted a policy through which they did not reject the Church, but tolerated it[165]. However, the mitigation of the attitude towards the Church, starting in 1940, was due to the fact that the world war had broken out. Stalin and his administration were compelled to mobilize forces and resources; therefore, they were also compelled to take advantage of the resources and potential of the Armenian Church. So, based on the logic of the attitude that existed up to 1938, if the war had not stood in the way, by the will of the Soviet dictatorship, the Armenian Church would have probably been eliminated in Armenia, and Ejmiatsin would have probably been merely historic and symbolic. The existence of the Armenian Church in the conditions of war was ensured because it became of importance on the anti-German front and in the propaganda of pro-Soviet morals and ideology. The Armenian ecclesiastical establishment managed to fully participate in the "military recruitment" of anti-war forces and made more contributions to victory than were expected, but nobody even knew if the price of that was the right to exist or if that would also be ignored after the war. Judging from the methods of implementation of Stalin's post-war policy, among which violence and state terrorism were the primary methods, it is safe to say that, after the war, the Church would not even have had a chance to exist, if the Soviet government had not felt the need for the Church to implement certain tasks. Fortunately, the Church was necessary in Stalin's calculations because the role of the Church would be irreplaceable in the post-war pro-Soviet propaganda and popular diplomacy, as well as for the organizing of the repatriation of Diaspora Armenians. This is what Stalin was planning before the war was even over, without letting his administration know about this. It is with this logic that the Church became involved in the preparations for repatriation. This led to the implementation of the massive repatriation as a state plan of the Soviet empire between the years of 1946 and 1948. During these years, the Armenian Church, along with its hierarchical

165 Eduard Melkonyan, «Ստալինի աշխարհաքաղաքական նկրտումները և հայերի հայրենադարձությունը 1946-1948թթ.», in *«1946-1948թթ. հայրենադարձությունը և դրա դասերը. հայրենադարձության հիմնախնդիրներն այսօր», համահայկական գիտաժողով, զեկուցումների ժողովածու*, Եր., «Միմուշ» հրատ., 2009, էջ 25-26 [Geopolitical aims of Stalin and the Armenian Repatriation 1946 – 1948, The 1946-1948 Repatriation and the Lessons Learned: Issues of Repatriation Today. Pan-Armenian Conference, Collection of Papers].

sees, dioceses and other resources, became a major lever for organizing the repatriation[166].

Why was repatriation impossible without the Armenian Apostolic Church? Firstly, the two wings of the Church – the dioceses pertaining to Ejmiatsin and Antelias – were composed of the prevailing sectors of Diaspora Armenians, and at the time, the two Catholicosates were in solidarity, shared the same views and had the same benefits, along with their church leaders. Thus, secondly, the two wings of the Church had to show the media that there was church life in a Soviet country and that the Church was serving the spiritual needs of citizens so that they could engage believing compatriots. Thirdly, it was necessary to give the Church and all the other preachers the opportunity to know the purpose (repatriate for territorial demands). To gather the nation, then to gather the lands.

Thus, the issue of claims for Armenian lands from Turkey became a part of the Soviet political agenda, and of course, this was the cherished dream of Diaspora Armenians, for which they were preparing to immigrate to the homeland. However, even though Stalin had no real military or political goal to solve the Armenian Cause, he set forth the issue, causing a stir of emotions in the entire Armenian Diaspora. He was simply taking advantage of this claim to organize repatriation, and if Turkey and its supporting international forces suddenly became weak and ceded the lands, it would be better. This is why Stalin would state the claim at the international level as an issue of humanism in spite of the corresponding parallel state measures (centralization of the army on the border, appointment of future regional governors), without revealing the political "bluff". This implied that the issue of the Armenians' claims for lands was starting to be seriously discussed at different international platforms.

Therefore during the first founding assembly of the Organization of the United Nations held in San Francisco from April 25 to 26 June 1945, the Armenian National Council of America and the Armenian National Committee submitted memoranda to the participating states, raising the issues of the return of Armenian lands and repatriation. The "Case of the Armenian People" memorandum of the Armenian National Council of America demanded that the Armenian territories under the domina-

166 Hayk Yengibaryan, "The Relations of the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Soviet Authorities During the Years of Service of Vicar Chorekchyan", '*Kantegh' Collection of Scientific Articles* 1 (58), (2014), 52-70.

tion of Turkey be joined to Armenia, which would provide the 1.5 million Armenians living abroad with the opportunity to return to the homeland[167]. Naturally, these memoranda would spark great reactions among Armenians in the homeland and in the Diaspora, motivating all Armenians around the world.

Everyone believed that the Armenian lands would be returned, and the first was the Armenian Church, which touched upon the return of the Armenian lands from Turkey and the immigration of Diaspora Armenians in the letter that the national Church council addressed to Stalin in 1945. The letter read as follows:

> "...Great Stalin! We also join the declaration of the Armenian National Council of America addressed to the delegates of San Francisco and the media and, on behalf of the 1.5 million Armenians in misery and deprived of their homeland, address you with the request to integrate the Armenian people by annexing the lands of Trkahayastan to the territory of Soviet Armenia and order the return of Armenians abroad to the motherland"[168].

The government and political parties of Armenia and the political elites of the Soviet Union were instilling faith. It is clear that all Armenians had a unified stance on the land claims presented to Turkey, and the national councils established in the Diaspora had started making serious efforts in this direction.

It should be noted that the Dean of the Canterbury Cathedral of Great Britain, Hewlett Johnson, had also expressed his position on the issue of land claims of the Armenians during a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists on June 29:

> "I fully and cordially agree that the regions stolen by Turkey need to be returned to Armenia as soon as possible. In my opinion, the declaration of the Armenian National Council of America[169] is

167 Kristine Melkonyan, Հայկական տարածքների պահանջատիրության հարցը և հայ եկեղեցին 1945–1949 թթ., Պատմաբանասիրական հանդես, 2010, № 3, էջ 94-101: [The claims of Armenians lands and the Armenian Church 1945-1949.]

168 Lraber (New York, February 16, 1946), 3-5 pp.

169 This refers to the memorandum that the Armenian National Council of America

> definitely just and substantiated. Turkey was annihilating the Armenian population with unimaginable implacability. After the First World War, the winning powers declared that justice requires that those regions be returned to their rightful owners. What was written back then needs to be implemented today. I welcome the publication of the declaration and consider it very current"[170].

On March 19, 1945, the Government of the USSR annulled the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality of December 17, 1925. During the Soviet-Turkish negotiations in June 1945, the Government demanded the return of certain Armenian territories (Kars, Ardahan, Ardvin) and suggested revising the 1936 Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of the Straits. On June 22, 1945, Ambassador of the Soviet Union to Turkey Sergey Vinogradov reported to the Turkish authorities that the Soviet Union was ready to conclude a new treaty on friendship, if the Turkish authorities agreed on control over the straits and if Kars, Ardvin and Ardahan were returned to the Soviet Union[171]. Turkey was actually provided with the opportunity to bargain the issue of Western Armenia at the expense of the Kars region and even keep Kars to itself, if it agreed to cede the straits to the Soviet Union.

Afterwards, the issues of Soviet-Turkish relations and territories are also considered during the Berlin (Potsdam) Conference held with the participation of the leaders of the USA, Great Britain and the USSR from July 17 to August 2, 1945. At the Berlin Conference, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Molotov presented to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain the issue of return of territories from Turkey, stating that there were about 1 million Armenians living outside of Soviet Armenia and when the Armenian territory expanded, many Armenians living abroad would aspire to return to the homeland[172]. The territorial de-

submitted to the United Nations during the founding assembly of the United Nations held in San Francisco from April 25 to June 26, 1945.

170 Soviet Armenia, June 26, 1945. 2-3 pp.

171 Zaven Msrlian, Հայկական հարցի հոլովոյթը 1939-2010, Պէյրութ, «Սիփան» հրատարակչատուն., 2012, Ա. հ, էջ 36. [History of the Armenian Cause 1939-2010].

172 Hovik Meliksetyan, *Հայրենիք-Սփյուռք առնչությունները և հայրենադարձությունը (1920-1980թթ.)*, Երևան, Երևանի համալս. հրատ.,1985, էջ 173 [Armenia-Diaspora Relations and Repatriation].

mand and later the issue of repatriation were introduced in the advocacy for foreign policy.

Diaspora Armenians would actively respond to every speech and every demonstration for claims. Some of them even thought the return of territories referred to Western Armenia as a whole, not just the state of Kars which, according to Molotov, was supposed to be adjoined to Soviet Armenia, and Ardahan and Ardvin were expected to be annexed to Georgia.

On July 5, 1945, ahead of the Potsdam Conference, with the request for territorial claims, the Armenian National Committee submitted a memorandum to the leaders of the Allied States, including Stalin, Truman and Churchill, asking for a fair solution to the Armenian Cause. Diaspora Armenians were demanding that not only the regions of Kars and Ardahan be adjoined to Soviet Armenia, but also Turkish Armenia, which U.S. President Woodrow Wilson had demarcated upon the proposal of the Allied countries[173]. On July 17, 1945, the Armenian National Council of America also submitted a similar document to the leaders of the superpowers with the demand to include the Armenian Cause in the agenda of the Conference. It should be noted that, by raising the issue of the Armenian Cause at the Potsdam Conference, the Soviet Union also wanted to exert pressure in regard to the issue of Bosphorus and Dardanelles; so, for the USSR, the Armenian Cause was also a bargain[174]. Here is where the most in-depth goal of Stalin's diplomatic "bluff" is hidden. However, for the USSR, discussions on the Armenian Cause were only aimed at inspiring all Armenians to state claims for lands to the extent that they would forget the dictatorial and anti-human regime in the USSR and the anti-religious and anti-church ideology so that the caravans of immigrants would be formed quickly. If the political "bluff" did not lead to any other outcome, it it would have been a real achievement.

The Armenian national councils also sent memoranda regarding the Armenian Cause to other conferences, including the Moscow, London, Paris and New York Conferences. Among the particularly important

173 East Yearbook, (Aleppo, 1948), 73-75.

174 Norik Sargsyan, 1945-1953 թթ. ԽՍՀՄ-ի կողմից Թուրքիայից հայկական տարածքների պահանջը որպես Հայկական Հարցի լուծման խոչընդոտ, *«Պատմություն և մշակույթ» հայագիտական հանդես, 2011*, համար Ա, էջ 220-229, ["The Demand of the USSR for Armenian Territories from Turkey as a Hindrance to the Solution to the Armenian Cause"],

event organized by Diaspora Armenians was the convention of the World Armenian Congress held from April 30 to May 4, 1947 and initiated by the Armenian National Council of America. The Government of Soviet Armenia and Catholicos Gevorg VI conveyed their greetings to the Congress. Nevertheless, the discussions on the Armenian Cause did not lead to any positive outcome abroad and in the Diaspora.

On November 21, 1945, the Government of the Soviet Union adopted a decision "On measures to be taken for the return of Armenians abroad to Soviet Armenia"[175]. On December 23, 1945, Catholicos Gevorg VI issued a circular regarding the organizing of immigration, inspiring and encouraging all Diaspora Armenian organizations (presses, charitable companies and national benefactors).

> "...Today, when the issue is a large-scale issue, we need to take advantage and explain to our crowds the current situation, keep them motivated with motivating speeches, set up groups of migrants and compatriotic unions and be informed about all of this so that the process unfolds and is under state care.
> The media, especially the media outlets with a positive stance on the issue, can be extremely useful in terms of keeping this issue in the focus of all Armenians. So, it is necessary to use the media to provide the people with coverage and inspire them.
> The Armenian government is apparently paying heed to the successful solution to the issue of immigration, but it is also necessary to see the support of Armenian benevolent organizations and national benefactors who have always shown participation in such cases with pleasure and generosity. It is necessary to stimulate, awaken the emotions and motivate people with this sacred idea and act of humanitarianism"[176].

175 Հայաստանի Ազգ. Արխիվ, ֆ. 326, ց. 1, գ. 74, թ. 1: [NAA, f. 326, l. 1, c. 74, n. 1]; see also Soviet Armenia, December 2, 1945, 2 pp.

176 *Վավերագրեր Հայ եկեղեցու պատմության (1938-1955 թթ.), գիրք Զ, կազմող՝ Ս. Բեհբուդյան*, Երևան «Ոսկան Երևանցի» հրատ., 1999, էջ 309 [Documents About the History of the Armenian Church (1938-1955), ed. Sandro Behbudyan].

In his circular condac issued on December 20, 1945 and addressed to dioceses, Catholicos Garegin I Hovsepyan of the Great House of Cilicia also expressed his position.

The Catholicos of Cilicia urged Diaspora Armenians to show active participation in the fundraisers for immigration, stating that the Diaspora needed to make its contribution to the intellectual and material reconstruction of the homeland, just like it had made its contribution during the fundraiser for the "Sasuntsi Davit" column of tanks. Garegin I also informed that there was already a central committee in Beirut that was in charge of organizing the fundraiser and would obtain necessary equipment for a shoe factory and send the equipment to Armenia with the funds raised through the combined efforts of all the dioceses and the local committees in Egypt. According to the report submitted in 1946, the funds raised in the course of six months in Syria and Lebanon alone made up 175,248 Lebanese Pound, which was supposed to be completely transferred to Armenia; half of the funds were supposed to be used for immigration expenses, and the other half was supposed to be used for a shoe factory[177].

The structures and dioceses of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the Diaspora were making serious efforts to organize repatriation, supporting immigration committees on the spot and organizing fundraisers. Upon the proposal of Catholicos Gevorg VI, the properties of immigrating Armenians needed to be deposited under the condition of being levied and returned at the expense of estates to be sold in the future. Armenian benevolent organizations of the Diaspora would also provide their material assistance in order to organize immigration and accommodate the immigrants. In this sense, what was particularly important was the donation of the Armenian General Benevolent Union, which donated over $1,000,000 from April 1946 to June 1947[178]. This laid the foundation for massive repatriation, and on June 27, 1946, the first caravan of repatriates traveling from Syria and Lebanon reached the harbor in Batumi

177 Buzand Yeghiaian, *Ժամանակակից պատմութիւն կաթողիկոսութեան հայոց Կիլիկիոյ 1914-1972*, Անթիլիաս-Լիբանան, 1975, տպ. Կաթողիկոսութեան Հայոց Մեծի Տանն Կիլիկիոյ, էջ 607 [Modern History of the Catholicosate of the Armenians of Cilicia 1914-1972].

178 Eduard Melkonyan, *Հայկական Բարեգործական Ընդհանուր Միության Պատմություն*, Երևան, «Մուղնի» հրատ., 2005, էջ 364 [History of the Armenian General Benevolent Union].

via the "Transylvania" ship. The Soviet government would not be capable of organizing the repatriation of so many people, if it had not been for the Armenian Church since the Armenian Church was the great pan-Armenian force that was going to lead Diaspora Armenians to the homeland. The Church would not have participated in that process, if it had not been for the idea of the "gathering of lands" that Stalin gladly presented as an ambiguous diplomatic bluff.

Summary

Summing up, let us mention that historiographers mainly link the political goal of organizing repatriation to the return of Armenian lands. The ecclesiological examination of the Great Repatriation discloses Stalin's political "game", i.e., the goal of the Soviet government of organizing repatriation was not to present a land claim to Turkey through the use of repatriation, but the opposite – to use the land claim to organize repatriation.

There was only one thing that gave meaning to discussions on the Armenian Cause for the USSR. By raising the issue of the Armenian Cause, the Soviet Union wanted to exert pressure on Turkey in regard to the issue of the Bosphorus Strait and the Dardanelles Strait; therefore, for the USSR, the Armenian Cause was also worth bargaining for. Here is where the most in-depth goal of the diplomatic "bluff" of Stalin was concealed.

The 1946-1948 Great Repatriation of the Armenians was one of the post-war policy plans of Stalin and completely stemmed from the fact that the Soviet Union was in a state of chaos following the war and needed to bring productive people back to the Soviet Union. Whereas it was possible to organize the forceful immigration of prisoners of war of the Soviet Union and Soviet nationals who had taken shelter abroad, in the case of the Armenians, it is safe to say that it was impossible, and Stalin was raising the issue of return of Armenian lands from Turkey, knowing well that it was necessary to use the national factor (the land claims of the Armenians) in order to motivate Armenians and lead them to the Soviet Union. The number one outcome of the state plan for the Great Repatriation had to be replenishment of the workforce in Armenia, a fact that the Armenian Church was unaware of.

The process of the Great Repatriation was unprecedented in terms of coverage and number, and it was based on the various political motives.

The synthesis of various archival materials and historiographical and ecclesiological studies shows the relations between the Soviet authorities and the Armenian Church in the process of organizing the repatriation. Around the axis was also the awareness that the implementation of repatriation would not be substantial without the help of the Armenian Apostolic Church since it was the Church that would be of great help in preaching repatriation with its reputation, its calls, as well as its hierarchical sees and its dioceses established in different parts of the world[179].

The Soviet government would not be capable of organizing the repatriation of so many people, if it had not been for the Armenian Church since the Armenian Church was the great pan-Armenian force that was going to lead Diaspora Armenians to the homeland. The Church would not have participated in that process, if it had not been for the idea of the "gathering of lands" that Stalin gladly presented as an ambiguous diplomatic bluff.

179 Yengibaryan, "The Relations of the Armenian Apostolic Church".

4. Syrian Armenians in Armenia. Adaptation-Reintegration-Diaspora[180]

Adam Pomieciński

In 2010, a large portion of population in Arab countries expressed their dissatisfaction and called for the improvement of living conditions. People who took to the streets began to openly criticize the nepotism and corruption of authorities, as well as their autocracy and the lack of civil liberties. The root causes of transformations were similar – political criticism went hand in hand with economic demands. Anti-government movements, which started in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, brought about violent political and social outbursts. Soon, these events, which were initiated by various protest movements in the Middle East, became known as "the Arab Spring"[181]. The wave of anti-government movements caused

180 This article is the amended and completed version of the article entitled "Aliens in Their own Homeland? Syrian-Armenians in Armenia", which appeared in Polish in journal entitled *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Etnograficzne* 45, no.1 (2017), 15-33.

181 As noted by some anthropologists, the term "Arab Spring" is problematic. Even though this name is used in numerous academic publications, Arabs themselves to not refer to these events using this name. For many of them, this term is rather a "rhetorical formula" characteristic of the Western approach to the Arab world Donnchadh Mac an Ghoill, "The 'Arab Spring' and the Seduction of the Western Left", accessed September 6, 2017, https://zeroanthropology.net/2013/08/26/the-arab-spring-and-the-seduction-

a "domino effect" and quickly spread to other countries, such as Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon, Morocco and Oman.

Finally, mass protests reached the Syrian Arab Republic, where civil war became particularly bloody. The Syrian version of the Arab Spring is often described as "bloodshed" or more bluntly as "the biggest humanitarian disaster of this century"[182]. Prior to the outbreak of social unrest, high authoritarianism in Syria made it impossible to publicly express views which contradicted the existing social order. This is why the calls to overthrow the dictatorship of Bashar Al-Assad became very popular slogans during the protest. Importantly, the calls to end the regime were not supported by all Syrians. They were lacking the unanimity of views and goals visible at least to some extent in the attitude of Egyptians and Tunisians. It was of particular importance when protests took place on public squares. The main cities, Aleppo and Damascus, with their middle and upper classes, did not support their countrymen from Hama and Homs, where most bombardments took place. This ideological split in Syria did not run only along ethnic and religious lines, but was also affected by conflicts between social classes. The fact that most protests against the regime took place in smaller towns is illustrative of the division between urban communities, as well as between the rural and urban populace. Simultaneously with protests calling to overthrow Assad, demonstrations which supported the regime were organized both in Syria and beyond[183]. As a result, a bloody conflict broke out and exceeded the borders of Syria.

Soon, on the ruins of a part of the failed state, the Salafi terrorist organization proclaimed a caliphate and created a quasi-state – the so-called Islamic State (ISIS), which extends to a part of Iraq. ISIS has become a serious threat not only to the citizens of these two countries but also, or rather primarily, a threat to ethnic, national and religious minorities

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of-the-western-left/.

182 *Arabska Wiosna. Kulturowy obraz przemian w świecie arabskim po 2010 roku*, ed. Katarzyna Górak-Sosnowska (Smak Słowa: Sopot, 2016), 12; Joseph O'Rurke, "Education for Syrian Refugees: the Failure of Second-Generation Human Rights During Extraordinary Crises", *Albany Law Review* 78 , no. 2 (2015), 711, http://www.albanylawreview.org/Articles/Vol78_2/78.2.711%20ORourke.pdf; Shirley Fedorak, *Anthropology Matters. Third Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 158.

183 Faedah Totah, "The Syrian Regime and the Opposition", accessed September 6, 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/american-anthropological-association/the-syrian-regime-and-the_b_1392023.html.

which have inhabited the territories affected by the conflict for centuries. These minorities are facing the risk of a possible genocide. One of these minorities are Syrian Armenians, who had to leave their homes and flee the country plunged in chaos. Many of them came to Armenia, the land of their fathers. The aim of this article is to present the current situation of Syrian Armenians who, as both refugees and repatriates, were given shelter in Armenia, and to examine closely the process of their assimilation to a new cultural environment.

In 2012, Armenia officially announced that it is ready to welcome Syrian Armenians in their historic homeland. Between 2011 and 2015, over twenty thousand Armenians came to Armenia from Syria[184]. According to the official estimation, about four thousand have already left and moved on to various other countries, mainly to Western Europe, seeking asylum and safe stay there. Doubtlessly, Armenia is in the lead of countries which welcomed a significant number of refugees from war-stricken Syria. However, in comparison with Germany or the Scandinavian countries, Armenia is facing far more serious economic and political problems. Complicated power relationships, the unsolved territorial dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh and high unemployment rate cast a shadow over present-day Armenia. It is also worth noting that Armenia is one of the smallest countries of the Caucasus and the majority of Armenians live abroad. Therefore, it is easy to calculate that the ratio of refugees to native inhabitants of the country is 6 to 1,000[185].

184 There is no centralized registry of persons displaced from Syria by the Armenian Government. An estimated 20,000 – 22,000 Syrian Armenians found shelter in the country since the start of the Syria crisis until recently, accessed: May 17, 2018, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/eutf_madad_action_document_armenia_30602017.pdf. It needs to be said that during field research, representatives of aid organizations gave smaller numbers concerning Syrian Armenians in Armenia (15,000 to 17,000). It should also be added that other ethnic groups, such as Yezidis, Syrians without Armenian ancestry and Iraqis also came to Armenia with Syrian Armenians.

185 See i.a. Andrzej Grajewski, "Nowy exodus Ormian", accessed September 8, 2017, http://gosc.pl/doc/3712213.Nowy-exodus-Ormian.

Methodology and theoretical framework

The war in Syria forced members of the Armenian diaspora to leave their homes. As a non-Muslim minority, they had to flee the war-stricken territory in the wake of the growing influence of ISIS and the Jihadi conquest of Aleppo, which used to have the highest Armenian population in Syria. The looming fear of an actual risk to life and of mass emigration turned Syrian Armenians into refugees. As noted by Dawn Chatty, Syria, which used to be a haven not only to Armenians but also to other groups (such as Kurds, Palestinians and Iraqis), caused the biggest refugee crisis after the Second World War[186]. Therefore, Syria could no longer offer ethnic and cultural protection to minorities, especially when it comes to non-Muslim and Christian minorities, to which the whole Armenian community belongs. Nicola Migliorino noted that when the Al-Assad family came to power, Syrian Armenians adopted a certain method of tacit agreement with the regime[187]. The conflict in Syria put an end to this kind of social agreement and became the catalyst for forced migration for the majority of Syrian Armenians.

The obvious direction of flight for Syrian Armenians was Armenia, the land of their fathers. It is well-known that for years various centres representing the diaspora cherished and developed the relationships with the national community in Armenia. A significant factor in the process of maintaining these relationships were various institutions whose financial and material support was of utmost importance during the times of deep crisis in the homeland[188]. In October 2012, as the number of Armenian refugees coming from Syria was growing, the Armenian parliament made certain legislative changes. It unanimously adopted amendments to the so-called Act on State Fees. Pursuant to these amendments, foreigners of Armenian heritage were exempt from fees for obtaining an entry

186 Dawn Chatty, *Syria. The Making and Unmaking of a Refuge State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 12 ff.

187 Nicola Migliorino, *(Re)Constructing Armenia in Lebanon and Syria. Ethno-Cultural Diversity and the State in the Aftermath of a Refugee Crisis* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 189.

188 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Diaspora ormiańska w Polityce Armenii: relacje i obszary oddziaływania", in *Armenia. Dziedzictwo a współczesne kierunki przemian kulturowo-cywilizacyjnych*, ed. Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski (Poznań: Fundacja na rzecz Czystej Energii, 2016), 160.

visa and a temporary residence permit if they had fled their homeland due to an emergency situation which threatened their life and health. Prior to the vote, Diaspora Minister Hranush Hakobyan stressed the fact that at that time, only thirty percent of Syrian Armenian refugees had Armenian citizenship. The rest, who did not want to go back to Syria due to the deteriorating situation there, had problems with renewing visas and temporary residence permits[189]. In public discussions (including the political and academic discourse), Syrian Armenians were no longer referred to only as "refugees" but also as "repatriates" returning to the land of their fathers[190]. Armenia, which had been facing the problem of emigration for years, began to harbour the hope that at least some refugees/repatriates would settle in the country for good and would therefore reverse the negative depopulation trend. The government in Yerevan expected that Syrian Armenians would quickly assimilate with the inhabitants of the country. However, assimilation understood as the process of "conformation" or, simply put, "identification" with the culture of the welcoming nation came up against many problems[191]. The common Armenian heritage and the sense of national community spirit did not translate into an easy assimilation process. The diaspora policy which focused on the involvement of the next generations of migrants who have never lived in their homeland, proved to be insufficient[192].

Empirical data used in this article have been collected during field research which I carried out in September 2016 in Armenia. At that time, I conducted 30 in-depth ethnographic interviews with refugees from Syria,

189 I used data published by Portal Arcana: „Armenia zaprasza Ormian żyjących w Syrii", accessed September 6, 2016, http://www.portal.arcana.pl/Armenia-zaprasza-ormian-zyjacych-w-syrii,3332.html.

190 E. g. Arsen Hakobian, *Syrian Armenians in Armenia: Repatriates or Refugees? Legal, Cultural and Social Adaptation Issues* (Yerevan 2014); Mateusz Kubiak, "Syryjscy Ormianie wracają na Kaukaz", accessed September 7, 2017, http://www.kaukaz.net/cgi-bin/blosxom.cgi/polish/syryjscy-ormanie; Justyna Wróbel, "Armenia – kraj uchodźców. Tysiące syryjskich Ormian powraca na ziemię przodków", accessed September 7, 2017, http://www.eastbook.eu/2017/02/13/armenia-kraj-uchodzcow-tysiace-syryjskich-ormian-powraca-na-ziemie-przodkow/.

191 John W. Berry, "Contexts of Acculturation", in *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*, ed. John W Berry and David L. Sam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006), 37-38.

192 Steven Vertovec, *Transnarodowość*, trans. I. Kołbon (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2012), 104.

mostly coming from the regions of Aleppo, Damascus, Raqqa and Latakia. Conversations with Syrian Armenians were held in English or in Eastern Armenian which was translated into Polish. I also talked to representatives of non-governmental organizations who deal directly with providing help to refugees from Syria. Most research took place in Yerevan, as it is the capital city of Armenia that became "the new home" to the majority of Syrian Armenians. Yerevan also plays a dominant role as the only large metropolitan centre of the country. About 1/3 of all inhabitants of Armenia live in Yerevan and the most important state institutions are located there[193]. I was trying to compare the information obtained during interviews with observations carried out when I met with respondents and when they were performing everyday activities.

I also used legacy materials, mainly statistical data on the number of refugees in Armenia, information on the policy of the country and the activities of NGOs dealing with Syrian Armenians and settlement projects. When it comes to the methodological approach, I held dear the view summed up years ago by Max Weber, namely that the examination of cultural phenomena does not consist in describing them, but in understanding them in context (the *Verstehen* concept). The research pathway is established not only by the respondents' narration and stories, but also by various complex contexts behind the phenomena which accompany these stories[194]. What is commonly referred to as "the Syrian refugee crisis" appears to be an "international problem". However, it is often treated "one-dimensionally" (e.g. in the media or political discourse), even though in practice its nature turns out to be a lot more complex and "curious", as evidenced by the example of Syrian Armenians in Armenia.

193 Konrad Siekierski, "Armenia: kultura współczesna w ujęciu antropologicznym – wprowadzenie", in *Armenia: kultura współczesna w ujęciu antropologicznym*, ed. Lewon Abrahamian and Konrad Siekierski (Warszawa: Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego and Wydawnictwo DiG; Erywań: National Academy of Sciences Republic of Armenia. Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, 2014), 16.

194 Theodore Abel, "The Operation Called Verstehen", *American Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 3 (1948), 211, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2770547.

Armenian diaspora in Syria

Because of its geopolitical location, the territory of Armenia has been the bone of contention for centuries. Big empires fought for it and it was invaded multiple times by Arabs, Seljuk Turks and Tatar-Mongols. As a result, Armenians were forced to emigrate, hoping that they will find a safe haven in neighbouring or far-away countries[195]. This situation fostered the spread of the Armenian diaspora to new countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. One of the countries in which the Armenian diaspora was particularly numerous was Syria. Over time, Syrian Armenians have gained recognition among Syrians. In various historical periods, they helped Arabs fight for independence. Armenians played a particularly important role in the second half of the 19th century, at the time of *Al-Nahda*, or the Arab renaissance, which contributed to the national, cultural and political heyday of Syria. Many Armenians became officers in the Syrian Arab Republic. Others, such as Adib Ishak, contributed to the creation of Arabian theatre or became pioneers of Arabian political journalism, like Rzkallah Hasun[196].

Even though Armenians have lived in Syria since the ancient times, the formation of the contemporary Armenian diaspora in this country dates back to 1915, when Armenians began to be persecuted and deported[197]. At that time, the Armenian community in Syria grew significantly due to migrants fleeing the Ottoman Empire and then Cilicia for fear of genocide. The Armenian enclave in Syria, called *Hayy al-Arman* (*Armenian District*) consisted of over 220,000 people[198]. Armenians lived

195 Armenuhi Stepanian, "Armenia: od ojczyzny mitycznej do rzeczywistej", transl. Jakub Ozimek, In *Armenia: kultura współczesna w ujęciu antropologicznym*, ed. Lewon Abrahamian and Konrad Siekierski, (Warszawa: Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego and Wydawnictwo DiG; Erywań: National Academy of Sciences Republic of Armenia. Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, 2014), 37.

196 Araks Pashayan, "Problems of the Armenians of Syria: the Armenian Community of Damascus", accessed September 12, 2017, http://www.noravank.am/eng/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=3702.

197 See i.a. Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Historia Armenii. Wydanie drugie poprawione i uzupełnione* (Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1990), 98-99.

198 Nicole M. Campos, *Historical Trauma and Refugee Reception: Armenians and*

mostly in Syrian cities and dealt with trade, handicraft and services. The biggest Armenian groups settled in Aleppo (about 70,000), as well as in Qamishli, Damascus, Latakia, Raqqa, Al-Hasakah and Deir ez-Zor[199]. Prior to the Arab Spring, it was officially said that over 100,000 Armenians live in Syria.

As Simon Payaslian wrote, Syrian Armenians had to go a long way to change their status from refugees to a diaspora[200]. Generally, they were welcomed and well-treated by Syrian society. Even though they were a minority group, they contributed significantly to the demographic, economic and social development of Syria. After the trauma of the genocide, Syrian Armenians worked hard to rebuild their lives and at the same time they were trying to preserve their own culture, traditions and the memory of their tragic past. The first generation of refugees succeeded in establishing local diaspora organizations in Syria, such as the aid organization *Armenian General Benevolent Union* and the centre-left political party *Armenian Revolutionary Federation* (also known as *Dashnak*). They were successfully developing their own businesses and quickly became renowned craftsmen, jewellers, restaurant owners, mechanics and constructors. In Aleppo and Damascus, as well as in other Syrian cities, Armenians run hospitals, libraries, theatres, language schools and sports clubs[201]. Their only serious problem was Arab nationalism which was gaining popularity as the political and economic situation in Syria was deteriorating[202].

The Armenian diaspora centred mainly on religion and language, which made it stand out in a Muslim country. Until the outbreak of the civil war and the expansion of the so-called Islamic State, various Christian denominations, such as the Armenian Apostolic Church, which had two dioceses in Aleppo and in Damascus, and the Armenian Catholic Church, coexisted peacefully in Syria. Some Armenians also belonged to evangelical communities[203]. There was strong cooperation between Armenian Apostolic,

Syrian-Armenian Co-Ethnics (University of San Francisco, 2016), Master's Theses, 205, https://repository.usfca.edu/thes/205, 13.

199 Migliorino, *(Re)Constructing Armenia in Lebanon and Syria*, 33-36.

200 Payaslian 2007, 92-93.

201 Campos, *Historical Trauma and Refugee Reception*, 13-14.

202 Ellen Marie Lust-Okar, "Failure of collaboration: Armenian refugees in Syria", *Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 1, (1996), 58.

203 Pashayan, "Problems of the Armenians of Syria".

Catholic and Evangelic churches. Each year, they worked side by side to organize celebrations commemorating the genocide of 1915. In everyday life, Syrian Armenians used the Western Armenian dialect of the Armenian language, which differs slightly from Eastern Armenian, the official language of present-day Armenia. Armenians who lived in Syria could retain their national identity with the help of education and school system. There were nurseries and schools in which children could study religion, literature and the Armenian language. They could continue their education at Arab or private schools. National education also flourished thanks to numerous sports and cultural clubs (e.g. *Tekeyan*, *New Generation*, *the National Cultural Association*), whereas ethnic identity was cherished by families. Moreover, Armenians developed their own political institutions which could exercise influence over the Syrian state[204]. Therefore, Syrian Armenians never became assimilated and never broke the strong bonds connecting them with their country of origin.

The efficient organization of the Armenian diaspora in Syria affected the economic status of Syrian Armenians: 16% of them belonged to the group of well-off citizens of Syria, whereas about 65% belonged to the middle class. In the country ruled by the Assad family, they could count on protection. It is worth noting here that the Assad family comes from the Alawite minority. In 1970s, Alawites won the competition for power in the country and imposed an authoritarian regime[205]. The majority of Syrian Armenians whom I interviewed were not trying to hide their support for Bashar Al-Assad and criticized the results of the Arab Spring. The Syrian civil war against president Bashar Al-Assad, internecine warfare and the expansion of the Islamic State constituted a serious threat to the Armenian community. The deteriorating situation in Syria and the fear of another genocide prompted Armenians to flee the war-stricken country in great numbers in 2011.

The return of Syrian Armenians to Armenia

When the Soviet Union existed, Armenia used to be its smallest republic. The independence of Armenia, gained on September 21, 1991, cost

204 Pashayan, "Problems of the Armenians of Syria".

205 Nikolaos van Dam, *The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society Under Asad and the Ba'th Party* (London: Tauris 2011), 68-70.

Armenians a lot of pain and suffering. The war with Azerbaijan played an important role in the fight for independence. After that war, Turkey imposed a political and economic blockade on Armenia. Turkey and Armenia still have not established diplomatic relations and the border between them remains closed. There are also tensions between Armenia and Azerbaijan and the two countries are at war. The dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh – the Armenian enclave which is officially a part of Azerbaijan – is still a simmering area of conflict in the Caucasus. It is also worth remembering that shortly before Armenia gained independence, on December 7, 1988, a tragic earthquake took place in Gyumri. 25,000 people died and half a million were injured. The remembrance of this traumatic event is still alive in the collective memory of Armenians and is sometimes compared to the genocide of 1915[206]. It was in these tragic circumstances that Armenians had to build their independent state and seek new opportunities for its growth.

The issue of transition is still affecting the uneasy political and economic situation in Armenia. The idea that the country is still in the process of political transformation (changing from socialist to capitalist society) is repeated during various public debates concerning economic and social issues or internal and external policies of Armenia[207]. These problems also weigh on the quality of life and encourage Armenians to emigrate: in 1991, the population was over three and a half million, whereas now it is slightly over three million. It means that Armenian policy used to be centred mostly on the issue of emigration. The war in Syria served as an incentive to re-direct this policy and, as a result, refugees from the Middle East started to play an important role in it. In 2012, the Armenian Prime Minister Tigran Sargsyan announced that the country is ready to welcome Syrian Armenians and provide them with safe shelter. However, despite this openness, the help offered to refugees proved to be

206 Gajane Szagojan, "Pamięć o trzęsieniu ziemi w Giumri", transl. Jakub Ozimek, in *Armenia: kultura współczesna w ujęciu antropologicznym*, ed. Lewon Abrahamian and Konrad Siekierski (Warszawa: Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego and Wydawnictwo DiG; Erywań: National Academy of Sciences Republic of Armenia. Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, 2014), 121.

207 Krzysztof Fedorowicz, *Transformacja ustrojowa w Armenii w latach 1991-2016* (Poznań: Instytut Wschodni UAM Poznań, 2017).

insufficient. The state's limited financial capacity made it impossible for the Yerevan government to provide adequate care on its own.

Syrian Armenians were using various means of transport to come to Armenia. Authorities launched air transportation between Aleppo and Yerevan, Damascus and Yerevan and Beirut and Yerevan. They also established bus transportation between Aleppo and Yerevan. Some people came to the Armenian capital in their own cars. Authorities simplified the visa application procedure and Syrian Armenians who moved to Armenia could obtain a long-term residence permit and then quickly obtain Armenian citizenship. The issuing of residence permits and visas was free of charge. In their historic homeland, Syrian Armenians were treated both as repatriates and refugees wronged by the Syrian war. However, in reality, the coordinated mechanisms of "migrants flow" did not function. At present, there is a lack of various target data about refugees or they are significantly scattered: there is contradictory information on how many people came in subsequent years, how many of them were men, women and children and what challenges Syrian Armenians faced right after they moved to Armenia and later.

The majority of Syrian Armenians chose the dual citizenship option which allowed them to move freely to other countries. Between 2012 and 2014 only 7% chose the refugee status[208]. In 2016, the Diaspora Minister Hranush Hakobyan confirmed that 20,000 Syrian Armenians had moved to Armenia. Over 4,000 of those refugees have already left the country. According to unofficial data obtained during field research from representatives of non-governmental aid organizations, the number of Syrian refugees who have left Armenia could be at least twice that number. Therefore, a large group of Syrian Armenians treated Armenia as a "transit country" on their way. From refugees and repatriates they turned into emigrants and went their separate ways. The "naturalization" process of Syrian Armenians, which was supposed to culminate in the acquisition of Armenian citizenship and permanent settlement in the country, turned out to be too difficult for the refugees. Insufficient number of apartments, the lack of job opportunities, high unemployment rate, low wages and corruption among officials caused disillusionment with life in Armenia. The sense of common identity, history and ori-

208 Hakobian, *Syrian Armenians in Armenia*, 9.

gin shared by both Syrian and Caucasian Armenians failed to help them assimilate to the new reality.

Adaptation problems of Syrian Armenians

It follows from the interviews that the biggest challenge for Syrian Armenians right after they arrived in Armenia was to find jobs and housing. The majority of them settled in Yerevan. About 911 families were given temporary housing as part of state aid, about 72 families live in pensions maintained by the Armenian Catholic Church and about 24 families live in the houses of their benefactors, but the majority had to rents flats on their own. It is not without significance that housing prices in Yerevan rose significantly when Syrian Armenians arrived. The government was trying to address the pain points of refugee housing by introducing a project to build a new city called *New Aleppo*.

Buildings were planned to be located 20 kilometres from Yerevan, near Ashtarak. However, new settlers were far from enthusiastic about the project. First of all, the repatriates themselves would have to bear a significant portion of the costs. Secondly, they did not want to settle outside Yerevan (in the past, most of them had lived in big Syrian cities). Thirdly, the waiting time for new apartments was too long (the project stretched over a few years). As a result, *New Aleppo* remains just an architectural plan. Instead, various foundations and associations started building blocks of flats. However, even though apartments are offered to Syrian refugees on preferential terms, in practice their prices do not differ significantly from housing prices on the free market.

In general, about 88% of Syrian Armenians rent an apartment and only 12% decided to buy their own place. It is worth adding that housing grants obtained for example from the UN (covering the rent for the first 6 months) or *Armenian General Belevolent Union* (covering the rent of 350 families for 3 months) have run out long ago[209]. A separate issue is the settlement of Syrian Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh, which met with fierce protests from Azerbaijan. In reality, the scale of this phenomenon is small, as opposed to its strong political significance. Syrian refugees arrived in Karabakh as early as in 2012. About 50 families, which came mainly

209 Hasmik Ter-Grigoryan, *Adaptation problems of Syrian Armenians in Armenia* (Yerevan, 2013), 8.

from Latakia, settled in Southern Karabakh (Askeran, Lisogorsk, Kovsakan). Contrary to repatriates who moved to Armenia (and who prefer to live in big cities), Syrian refugees in Karabakh turned to agriculture.

Finding a job is a serious problem for Syrian Armenians. In Armenia, where unemployment rate reaches 40% (official Ministry data from 2016), work is scarce. In this field, the influence of the government was even more limited than in the case of settlement projects. Government programmes focused on attempts to activate the unemployed and on free training courses for small groups of repatriates from Syria, e.g. 60 pharmacists participated in special courses at the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 70 economists participated in training organized by the Central Bank of Armenia and about 950 refugees were employed in public and intervention works. The vast majority had to cope on their own. Those who succeeded in finding employment on the difficult Armenian job market started working in hotels, shops, bars and restaurants. Some decided to start their own businesses (e.g. car garages), others managed to open small craft businesses (e.g. shops manufacturing and selling shoes, hairdresser's salons, shoe repair shops, clothing companies). Refugees also set up a lot of small shops and bars serving traditional Syrian and Armenian cuisine.

Currently, a project helping skilled auto mechanics open their own businesses is being implemented. Land on the outskirts of Yerevan has already been bought and about a dozen car garages will be located there. Paradoxically, this idea did not come from state authorities, but from foundations helping Syrian repatriates.

Syrian Armenians who used to run their businesses in Aleppo, Damascus and Latakia wanted to do the same when they came to Yerevan. However, they had to face the harsh Armenian reality which is just as painful for native Armenians. High taxes, small market, small purchasing power of Armenian society, as well as bureaucracy and corruption among Armenian officials constituted a long list of serious impediments for entrepreneurs. In view of all that, structural integration could not run smoothly. The lack of available employment and poor economic prospects were the main reasons why a large group of Syrian Armenians left the country.

The educational system plays an important role in integrating Syrian Armenians into Armenian society. As is known, Syrian Armenians

use the Western Armenian dialect which differs from Eastern Armenian that is officially used in Armenia. Russian is also widely used across the country, but Syrian Armenians do not speak this language. Language education for Syrian Armenians, which was supposed to eliminate these problems, was introduced not only at schools and was aimed not only at children, but also at adults, who could attend special Armenian and Russian courses. However, these courses were not popular with adults nor youth. A school for Syrian children, called *Kilikia*, was opened, but it only lasted a year. After that, it was decided that the school needs to be closed and Syrian children had to attend Armenian schools. According to Syrian Armenians, education in state schools (especially in the first months after they had moved to Armenia) was problematic. It was mainly due to the differences between the Syrian and Armenian education systems. In Syria, most subjects were taught in Arabic, whereas Armenian was used during national language classes (about 4 hours a week) and religious education classes (about 2 hours a week). In Armenia, teaching the sciences, such as mathematics or biology, turned out to be the most problematic. Students had to acquire new vocabulary and terminology. Headmasters were trying to solve these problems by organizing extracurricular classes and private lessons.

When Syrian Armenians arrived in Armenia, NGOs became active and started implementing aid programmes for refugees. International projects, which focused mostly on providing basic humanitarian help to refugees, were implemented by organizations such as *Center for Coordination of Syrian-Armenians' Issues, Mission Armenia, „Help Your Brother" Charitable Foundation*, as well as *Armenian Red Cross Society* and *Armenian Caritas*. Food aid programmes were implemented by Kuwait authorities and *World Food Program*. *Mission Armenia* and the UN coordinated the reimbursement of 6 months' rent to Syrian Armenians.

Apart from international support programmes, aid programmes initiated by the international Armenian diaspora were also being implemented. These programmes, contrary to the international ones, are long-term and their aim is to help Syrian Armenians become active members of Armenian society. The Gulbenkian Foundation stands out in this field. Together with the Yerevan government, it supports Syrian students at Armenian universities (about 350 Syrian Armenians get tuition fee reimbursement). Many aid initiatives are organized by *Armenian Gen-*

eral Benevolent Union. It sponsored a few hundred scholarships for Syrian students and opened a clinic for refugees in Yerevan which employs Syrian doctors. Almost each month, it carries out medical procedures for refugees which are financed outside the state budget. *Syrian Armenian Relief Fund* is a very active NGO which mainly deals with providing financial help to Syrian Armenian families torn by the armed conflict.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that Syrian Armenians are trying to help each other and communicate their problems to Armenian society. They established their own association in Armenia (*Syrian Armenians Union*) which cooperates with numerous NGOs. The Syrian Armenian community is also active on social media. Groups such as *Junction, Support for Syrian Armenians* and *Aleppo Armenian*s were created on Facebook. Thanks to social media, Syrian Armenians participate in lively discussions about the situation in Syria, maintain relationships with those who stayed there, reflect on ways of helping them and talk about challenges which they have to face in their everyday life in Armenia.

Summary

Syrian Armenians who moved to Armenia have encountered a variety of problems. The vision of their homeland which they had cherished prior to the war in Syria was painfully confronted with reality. Coming to Armenia was their own choice, but the country turned out to be different from the homeland they had been dreaming about. When it comes to Syrian Armenians who have already left Armenia and moved on to different countries, their onward journey points to a national identity crisis.

It is worth quoting Firdas Zakarayan, the chief of staff in the Ministry of Diaspora, who said: "Of course there are people who are not content with the help they're getting, but in other places they're living in tents. How can these conditions be compared to those?", and then added: "Besides, they left their houses, their parents, their good jobs. How can they be happy here in any circumstances?"[210]. The authorities in Yerevan lifted visa fees, simplified the procedure of obtaining citizenship and organized transport to Armenia. However, some Syrian Armenians still feel that it is

210 Peter Schwartzstein, "Syrian refugees in Armenia 'stumble from one crisis to another'", accessed December 10, 2017, https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/07/syrians-displaced-armenia-origin-situation.html.

not enough. As descendants of Armenians who had survived the genocide and the death marches and then sought shelter in Syria, they expected more from their Armenian countrymen. The integration process in their historic homeland proved to be problematic for both sides.

Many Syrian Armenians believe that the war in Syria will soon be over and they will be able to go back to their homes. I interviewed some members of families from Aleppo who settled in Yerevan and they were packed and ready to go back to Syria. This sense of temporariness does not make assimilation easier.

Even though it may sound paradoxically, many Syrian Armenians have never left Syria mentally. Some of them do everything in their power to recreate their past life in great detail. Their bistros, workshops and shops in Yerevan are strikingly similar to those in Aleppo and Damascus. Restaurants serve Levantine cuisine, up till now unknown in Armenia, many shopping malls are called "Aleppo", plates saying "Syrian Armenians work here" are hung on the doors of shops, hairdresser's salons and bars. Of course, it is impossible to fail to notice and appreciate the positive impact which Syrian refugees have on Armenian social and economic life. It is this group that has contributed to the recovery of Armenian economy and entrepreneurship in recent years. The housing market, the small trade sector and the service sector were the first to experience favourable changes. Many young people enrolled at schools and universities in Yerevan, which have been dealing with a radically decreasing number of students for a long time. The depopulation trend was restrained and Armenia, which had been struggling with emigration, gained new citizens. Nevertheless, the question of what will happen to Syrian Armenians and what the future holds for them in Armenia, remains open.

5. Political Factors of Changes of the Armenian Diaspora in Modern-Day World

Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski

Introduction

In the second half of the 20th century significant changes to the image of the Armenian diaspora are observed. After the First World War it consisted of communities which were to a large extent separated, focused on internal issues, mainly of existential and cultural survival, and the necessity to adapt to new socio-economic conditions in the countries of settlement. This was an outcome of a mass exile between 1915 and 1923 which scattered across the Middle East and Europe, and the termination of connections with the centre (fatherland) as a result of the destruction of the Armenian life in Western Armenia, and the annexation of the Republic of Armenia by the Soviet Russia. Only several years later many communities suffered dramatic experiences of the Second World War. Subsequently, the division of the world into two conflicted political blocs and numerous local armed conflicts which affected the countries inhabited by numerous Armenian communities turned out to be no less acute. And yet, at the beginning of the 21st century we find the Armenian diaspo-

ra thoroughly transformed, integrated, strongly institutionalised, capable of mobilisation on a global scale, with numerous institutional, economic, and political links with once again independent homeland, involved in helping and defending her.

The aim of this article is to present political factors which had a significant impact on the process of transformations of the modern-day Armenian diaspora, which is in the period after 1945. There are five major political factors indicated as having an impact on the functioning of the Armenian diaspora in the second half of the 20th century, i.e.: 1) formation of the global bipolar order of the Cold War period, 2) the local Near Eastern armed conflicts, 3) conflicts in the territories of Armenia, 4) the dissolution of the Eastern block and together with it – the emergence of the phenomenon of the so-called Third wave of democratisation and formation of the global polycentric order, 5) creation of the independent Republic of Armenia.

Bipolar order in the Cold War period (global conflict)

The division of the world into two conflicted political blocks, which was shaped after the Second World War, had a significant influence not only on the lives of individual Armenian communities but also on the functioning of the Armenian diaspora as such. The Iron Curtain separated, just as the USSR had done previously, the Armenian communities in Eastern and Central Europe from the diaspora in other countries. Due to the nationalisation of private property, the status of the Armenian community and its living conditions in the communist countries deteriorated because a substantial part of their representatives, as entrepreneurs or noblemen, were owners of significant fortunes (e.g. in Poland, Romania, Georgia). Additionally, in accordance to the idea of homogenous societies, the communist authorities were implementing the policy of assimilation (or displacement) of foreign national groups. This contributed to the out-migration of the Armenians from these countries.

After the communist regime had been established in Romania, a lot of many well-off Armenians left the country, migrating to the United States and France. In 1946-1948 around 3,000 Armenians returned to

Armenia as part of the so-called Great Repatriation[211]. Another blow was the closing by the officials in the 1950s of the institutions of the local Armenian community. Similar situation took place in Bulgaria. During the communist period the community life disintegrated and the state's authorities repressed the Armenian social and religious organisations. The only active and registered Armenian organisation in this period was the association of the Armenian educational and cultural organisations "Yerevan"[212]. The Bulgarian Armenians were also repatriated to the Soviet Armenia as part of the Great Repatriation. In the territories of Western Ukraine, incorporated after the Second World War to the USSR (while previously belonging to the Polish state), the life of the Armenian community ceased to exist once its representatives (together with Polish population) were deported to Poland within its new borders, and once its religious institutions were closed (the Armenian churches were either destroyed or adapted to become storehouses). On the other hand, the Armenian community in Poland struggled to save the community life which had been destroyed by war and policies of the Soviet authorities. The assimilation policy of the communist authorities prevented the rebuilding of ethnical institutions also there. In the period of the Polish People's Republic there was only one Armenian church in all of Poland and no independent secular organisation was established.

In accordance with the Soviet political notion, the Armenian nation was expected to pursue their aspirations within the borders of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Therefore, its implementation influenced also the existence of the Armenian communities in other Soviet republics. The lack of protection of the minorities' rights and the policy of assimilating other national groups conducted by the national republics had an impact on reducing the participation of the Armenian communities in Georgia and Azerbaijan, while in the territories of Nakhchivan it disappeared completely[213]. The survival of the Armenian community in Ja-

211 Ambasada Republicii Armenia in Romania, "Comunitatea Armeană Din România", accessed April 5, 2018, http://www.romania.mfa.am/ro/community-overview/ (in Romanian).

212 Vahram Hovyan, "Armenian Community in Bulgaria", Noravank Foundation, November 7, 2011, accessed April 5, 2018, http://www.noravank.am/eng/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=6105.

213 Grigor Avakân, *Армения и армяне в мире*, (Erevan: Спюрк, 1993), 145; Sergey

vakheti and Nagorno-Karabakh was determined by specific conditions in these regions[214]. Simultaneously, the Soviet imperial order fostered the emigration of the Armenians from their native republic to further parts of the USSR. There were 530,000–660,000 of Armenians living in the areas of Russia at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s[215].

The division of the world into two political camps unfavourably impacted also the functioning of the Armenian diaspora in other parts of the world. Attitude towards the Soviet Armenia became the main axis for political divisions of the two major Armenian diasporic parties, i.e. the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutyun (ARF) (hostile towards the communist authorities in Armenia) and the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party (siding with them), which was resulting in the political polarisation of the Armenian society. It also affected the religious sphere and the division within the Armenian apostolic church, where the Cilician Catholicos, based in Lebanese Antelias, sided with Dashnaks and assumed a role of the opposition against the Ejmiatsin Catholicos that was dependent on the authorities of the Soviet Armenia. In some countries this conflict led to the division of the apostolic church structures into two centres[216].

Local and Intrastate Conflicts

Transformation of the Armenian diaspora in the second half of the 20th century was also significantly influenced by the local conflicts in the Mid-

Minasyan "Introduction", in *From Political Rallies to Conventions. Political and Legal Aspects of Protecting the Rights of the Armenian Ethnic Minority in Georgia as Exemplified by the Samtskhe-Javakheti Region*, ed. Hranush Kharatyan, Nina Iskandaryan and Robert Tatoyan, science editor: Alexander Iskandaryan, transl. Vitaliy Kisin, English version ed. Nina Iskandaryan (Yerevan: Samark LLC 2007), 14-16, http://c-i.am/wp-content/uploads/2007_From-rallies-to-conventions_eng.pdf.

214 Timothy K. Blauvelt and Christofer Berglund, "Armenians in the Making of Modern Georgia", in *Armenians in Post-Socialist Europe*, ed. Konrad Siekierski and Stefan Troebst (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 75.

215 Avakân, *Армения и армяне*, 52-53; A. M. Akopân and Ê. R. Grigor'ân, "Исторические штрихи пребывания армян в Российи", in *Армяне в России*, ed. Ê. R. Grigor'ân (Moskva: Институт социальных наук, 2013), 31.

216 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Armenia i diaspora ormiańska: współzależności religii i polityki", in *Implementacja zasad religijnych w sferze politycznej*, ed. Ryszard Michalak (Zielona Góra: Instytut Politologii UZ and Wydawnictwo Morpho, 2016), 56-57.

dle East where substantial Armenian communities existed. Indicated here are the 1948 Arab–Israeli War, Egyptian Revolution of 1952, internal conflict in Turkey in the 1970s, Lebanese Civil War in 1975, Iranian Revolution of 1978-79, and the Iran-Iraq War in 1980-1988. On the one hand, they posed a threat to the local Armenian communities and, on the other hand, they caused an influx of new refugees and emigrants to other centres of the diaspora.

In the 1940s the Armenian community in Palestine was estimated at 15,000 people[217]. The Arab–Israeli War of 1948 caused a devastation of the previous centres of residence, which became a reason for the Armenian emigration[218]. As a result, the number of the communities decreased by two-thirds.

The revolution of Gamal Naser in Egypt in 1952, undertaking in 1956 the politics of nationalisation of enterprises and limiting the civil rights, introducing a single-party system and fighting the opposition, turned out to be too severe for the functioning of the Armenian community in this country, estimated at around 17,000–40,000 people[219]. As a result of these transformations, the Armenians emigrated en masse from Egypt and headed to Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia, and the number of the local community decreased, which is at present estimated at 8,000 people[220].

Extermination of 1915 in Turkey was relatively the least afflicting for the Armenians in Istanbul. The community living there, and estimated at 120,000 people in the 1960s, had their own press, schools and churches[221]. The increase of internal tensions since 1968, which initiated a decade of public protests and the left-wing and right-wing terrorism, have also

217 Alex Shams, "Armenians in Palestine face uncertain future", Aljazeera, April 25, 2015, accessed April 6, 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/04/armenians-palestine-face-uncertain-future-150424114617599.html.

218 Bedross Der Matossian, "The Armenians of Palestine 1918-48", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41, no. 1 (Autumn 2011), 39-40, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1121&context=historyfacpub.

219 Ayman Zohry, "Armenians in Egypt", Tours (France), July 18-23, 2005, http://www.zohry.com/pubs/ArmeniansinEgyptIUSSP.pdf.

220 Embassy of Armenia to Egypt, "Armenians in Egypt", accessed April 7, 2018, http://egypt.mfa.am/en/community-overview-eg/.

221 Anny Bakalian, *Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction, 1993), 12.

brought about persecutions of the representatives of religious and national minorities. Deterioration of living conditions resulted in the out-migration of the Armenians from Turkey. They left for USA, Canada, Australia, France and Germany. At the beginning of the 1990s the number of the Armenian community in Istanbul was estimated at 30,000 people[222].

A threat to the Armenian community in Lebanon became particularly important for the Armenian diaspora in the wake of the civil war which began in 1975; this was due to the context of the 50th anniversary of the genocide perpetrated in Turkey in 1915 (Armenocide) as well as the perception that this community was the "heart of the diaspora"[223]. Despite a widespread reaction and help from the compatriots in the diaspora, the crisis was so acute that it became a reason for an extensive emigration of the Armenians. They headed mainly to the USA, but also to other western countries. The community that had been estimated before the conflict at 250,000–300,000 people was in the following decades decreased by around half[224].

Revolution in Iran in 1978-1979 and the change of the political system into a Muslim theocracy resulted in deterioration of the functioning conditions of religious minorities, including the Armenian one (i.e. the authorities made an effort to Islamise the Armenian schools, for example, by forbidding to run classes in the Armenian language)[225]. This became a reason for the Armenian out-migration, which escalated after the Iraq-Iran War had broken out in 1980–1988. As a result, the Armenian community estimated at around 300,000 people already in the time of the revolution, was decreased to around 150,000 in the 1990s[226]. The greater part of them emigrated to the United States.

222 Bakalian, *Armenian-Americans*, 12.

223 Der Ghoukassian, "Lebanon in my mind", 415.

224 Embassy of Armenia to Lebanon, "Armenian Community in Lebanon".

225 Eliz Sanasarian, Religious minorities in Iran (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 78-82; Eric Hooglund, "The Society and Its Environment", in *Iran: a country study. Fifth edition*, ed. Glenn E. Curtis and Eric Hooglund (Washington: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 2008), 128-9.

226 Eliz Sanasarian, "State Dominance and Communal Perseverance: The Armenian Diaspora in the Islamic Republic of Iran, 1979-1989", *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 4, no 3 (Winter 1995), 243, http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1995.0009; Vahid Rashidvash, "Iranian People: Iranian Ethnic Groups", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 3, no. 15 (August 2013), 223, http://www.ijhssnet.com/

The abovementioned Iraq-Iran War unfavourably affected also the Armenian community in Iraq. It started a long-lasting exile due to the outbreak of the so-called Gulf War of 1990–1991 and the sanctions imposed by the UN. As a result of this emigration, the Armenian community estimated at around 70,000 people decreased to less than one third of its original number[227].

Those conflicts destructively affected the Armenian communities in the Middle East, causing deterioration in their general well-being, in other words – the conditions and opportunities for the economic and cultural development. Out-migration of thousands of people, which was thus triggered, diminished the significance of the Middle Eastern communities. Simultaneously, this so-called Levant emigration, arriving for decades in the Western countries, became on the one hand a challenge for the local communities and, on the other hand – a factor in the wide-diasporic mobilisation and revitalisation[228]. The Armenians living in other countries made efforts in helping their fleeing countrymen, just as it happened in the first half of the 20th century, i.e. through their aid organisations. The American National Committee to Aid Homeless Armenians (ANCHA), established in 1947, under the leadership of George Mardikian and Suren Saroyan for providing help to thousands of the Armenian refugees after the Second World War, offered rescue also to the Armenians from Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Iraq, but also to those from Bulgaria and Romania[229]. The willingness to provide help to the compatriots in Lebanon in particular became a factor for mobilising the Armenians in exile, and consequently – a factor of their integration around nationwide ideas. It has been pointed out that the diaspora mobilised itself in order to help the countrymen to survive the crisis and save the community which lived

journals/Vol_3_No_15_August_2013/24.pdf.

227 Suha Rassam, *Christianity in Iraq: Its Origins and Development to the Present Day* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2005), 180.

228 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Migracje ludności ormiańskiej w przeszłości i współcześnie", in *Current issues of society and politics*, ed. Tatiana Tökölyová and Arkadiusz Modrzejewski (Tbilisi: Europe Our House Press, 2012), 78, https://www.academia.edu/5587084/Current_issues_of_politics_and_society._Collection_of_papers?auto=download; Ritter, Ormiańskie losy, 20.

229 Bakalian, *Armenian-Americans*, 11.

there. For instance, the AGBU received a subsidy of 500,000 USD from the USAID for this purpose[230].

The civil war in Syria which destroyed the life of the Armenian community in this country has been a challenge since 2011. The willingness to save the compatriots has mobilised the Armenian diaspora which through its institutions had undertaken aid measures. At the same time, thousands of refugees from Syria started to arrive in its centres.

Threat to the Fatherland

It has been pointed out that the reactions and mobilisation of the diaspora was to the largest extent triggered by all kinds of dangers and conflicts which affected Armenia in the second half of the 20th century. After the Second World War, the USSR appealed to the Armenian diasporic organisation to assist with rebuilding of the destroyed fatherland and to encourage the Armenians all over the world to settle down in the Soviet Armenia. Already in 1944, the AGBU delivered to Armenia medications and clothing worth 105,000 USD. The organisation assigned more than 1,000,000 dollars for the repatriation to Armenia in 1946-1949 of nearly 100,000 of Armenians from Syria, Lebanon, Bulgaria, Iran, Romania, Greece, Iraq, France, Egypt, Palestine and the USA[231]. Unfortunately, the repatriates did not find in their homeland the idyllic conditions promised by the Soviet propaganda. In 1944-1948 the AGBU allocated more than 2,000,000 dollars in general for the repatriation and support of post-war Armenia[232].

Earthquake in December 1988 in Armenia was another factor widely mobilising the Armenian diaspora. Financial and material aid was provided not only by the already existing organisations such as the AGBU, but new, private foundations such as Lincy Foundation, established by the Armenian billionaire from the USA, Kirk Kerkorian, were founded for this purpose.

Simultaneously, the diaspora became involved in helping the compatriots in Nagorno-Karabakh, fighting for being separated from Azerbaijan. As

230 Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), *Be part of history* (New York: AGBU), 29, http://online.fliphtml5.com/fqpe/lzwa/#p=1.

231 Armenian General Benevolent Union, *Be part of history*, 23.

232 The Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), "AGBU in Armenia".

a result of ethnic cleansing perpetrated there on the Armenians, the fight took on the character of a struggle for survival, in which the authorities and society of Armenia became directly involved. In this context, the internal conflict of Azerbaijan changed in general into the Armenian-Azeri conflict and in the Armenian awareness – into the continuation of the Armenian-Turkish conflict due to the political and economic support of Turkey for the Azerbaijan, and due to identifying the Azeris as the Turks of Azerbaijan. For the Armenian communities all over the world the conflict is, therefore, of an existential dimension, on the one hand as a struggle for physical survival of the Armenians on their lands, threatened by the Turks who pursue a thorough elimination of the Armenian nation (continuation of genocide); while on the other hand – as a recovery of the historical territories of Armenia which were unlawfully taken away from her.

Supporting the Armenians in the fatherland has assumed various forms, from a direct involvement of diaspora members in the fights in Nagorno-Karabakh, to a long-lasting and institutionalised help assigned to rebuild the infrastructure. The diaspora's organisations as well as many private people offered assistance to the fighting compatriots. There were two battalions of the Armenian diasporic parties, Dashnaktsutyun and Hunchakian, which participated in the fights. Their equipment came from the diaspora. Simultaneously, the Armenian communities within the diaspora were lobbying for the Armenian side, the result of which was i.e. the resolution of the US Congress in 1992 of a ban on supplying arms to Azerbaijan.

Help for countrymen from Nagorno-Karabakh started to be arranged already in 1988. As an example, the Armenian Relief Society (HOM) allocated 50,000 USD for emergency support for them[233]. After the hostilities had ended as a result of a truce from 1994, the diaspora began implementing aid programmes in Nagorno-Karabakh. For instance, the AGBU finances a project of resettling Karabakh villages, which were abandoned as a result of war in 1988-1994 (Karabakh Repopulation Project)[234]. Currently, the help is still ongoing. In order to support and develop Karabakh,

233 Armenian Relief Society (HOM), "History. New Challenges and New Horizons", accessed April 7, 2018, http://ars1910.org/history/.

234 The Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), "AGBU in Armenia"; The Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), "AGBU Biennial Report 2004–2005", 10, http://agbu.org/wp-content/files_mf/1349905262agbuaboutbiennial0405english.pdf.

there are, amongst other things, annual pan-diasporic donations organised (telethon and phoneton), which mobilise thousands of Armenians from several countries. Extensive assistance is provided to the Republic of Armenia, the economy of which was devastated, firstly, as a result of the earthquake and, secondly, as a consequence of a breakdown of the interdependence system and economic cooperation of the Soviet republics with the dissolution of the USSR, and thirdly – as a result of embargo imposed by Azerbaijan and Turkey. It has been estimated that since 1991 Armenian has received a few billion US dollars of aid from the USA diaspora only, largely as part of specific economic and cultural programmes[235]. From 1991 to 2005 the AGBU invested around 100,000,000 USD in the country[236].

At the same time, the representatives and defence of interests of Armenian and Nagorno-Karabakh in the conflict with Azerbaijan and Tukey were introduced into the programmes of the diaspora's representative institutions as a device for lobbying in the countries of residence. Officially, there are represented by, i.e. Armenian National Committees, Armenian Council of America, and Armenian Assembly of America.

The need to aid the homeland became an important factor in the diaspora's mobilisation, development of assisting institutions, and integrations of the communities around shared aims, regardless of political views or sympathies.

The Collapse of the USSR and Eastern Bloc

The dissolution of the Eastern Bloc initiated in 1989 and political transformation in Central and Eastern Europe associated with it became a new factor in transformations of the Armenian diaspora on both regional and global scale. Creating democratic models of government and open society in the countries of this area gave an opportunity to national minorities and foreign ethnic groups for cultural activities. These changes allowed, on the one hand, to rebuild the institutional and cultural life of the local Armenian communities and, on the other hand, they offered a chance to establish connections with the Armenian centres in other countries. For

235 Foreign and Commonwealth Office, "Armenia's Diaspora".

236 The Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), "AGBU Biennial Report 2004–2005", 3.

example, in 1990 in Romania, the Association of the Armenians of Romania (Uniunea Armenilor din România) resumed its activities, some of the nationalised buildings were given back to the community, and many churches were restored, while the Armenians in Romania acquired a status of a national minority, as a result of which the state finances their institutions and activities of the Church[237]. Poland is a similar example since the very first, after the Second World War, independent and secular Armenian organisation was established there in 1990 – Armenian Cultural Society in Cracow (Ormiańskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne), Armenians received a status of a national minority and the state supports the cultural activities of their organisation. Development of independent ethnical organisations could also take place in the territories of the former USSR. For example, the Association of the Armenians of Russia (Союза армян России) was established in 2000 in the Russian Federation, which within less than two decades created a network of branches in the areas of 68 territorial units of the state[238].

At the same time, political transformations in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc allowed the diaspora's institutions from outside of the post-Soviet territory to undertake the activities in new countries (Armenian centres). In 1992 in Bulgaria the activities were relaunched by the Armenian General Benevolent Union "Parekorzagan" (closed in 1948); it was there that, amongst other things, the AGBU camp for young people was created (Camp Hayler)[239]. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutyun office, under the name Russian-Armenian Community (Российско-Армянское Содружество), was created in the mid-1990s in Russia[240]. The Armenian Research Committee "Hay tad" (Комитет за арменски изследвания „ХАЙ ТАД"- България), which belonged to the network of the Armenian National Committees, was established

237 Ambasada Republicii Armenia in Romania, "Comunitatea Armeană Din România".

238 Союз армян России, "Региональные отделения Союза армян России", accessed April 10, 2018, http://sarinfo.org/regional/.

239 The Armenian General Benevolent Union 'Parekorzagan', "История", accessed February 11, 2018, http://www.agbubg.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6&Itemid=9&lang=bg.

240 A. A. Svarants, "Опыт самоорганизации армянства России на рубеже веков", in *Армения и мір*, ed. Э. Р. Григорьяна (Москва: Институт социальных наук, 2013), 105.

as an organisation in 2010 in Bulgaria[241]; the Armenian National Committee of Romania was created in 2013 and the Armenian National Committee of Poland – in 2014.

The diaspora's transformation was also influenced by the opening of border, which gave new conditions for emigration. A new wave of migration of the Armenian people from Armenia, the so-called post-Soviet emigration, started at the beginning of the 1990s[242]. Due to difficult living condition of people from the former Soviet republic, war with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, the dissolution of the USSR, and the fall of the previous economic system, there were around 1,000,000 people, that is around 1/3 of the inhabitants of Armenia, who left their country[243].

The emigrants would go mainly to Russia, Europe and North America. This emigration differs significantly from the already existing diaspora. Its members were in general the citizens of the Republic of Armenia and members of the Armenian Apostolic Church with the capital in Ejmiatsin, in Armenia; many of them remained illegally for many years and they had issues with legalising their stay; they pursued commercial and gastronomical activities in exile, and Eastern-Armenian is a language spoken within their community. In the initial period, there were problems with the integration between the new immigrants and the communities of the "old" diaspora, which referred to the newcomers as "Hayastantsi" (it literally means "from Armenia")[244].

The newly arrived significantly influenced the existing diasporas, contributing to their revitalisation, shaping identity transformations, creating new ties with the Republic of Armenia, including those with Ejmiatsin as a spiritual centre of all the Armenians, and introducing Eastern-Armenian language to the communities that had used mostly Western-Armenian.

241 Каи „ХАЙ ТАД" България, "В град София ве учреден комитет за арменски изследвания 'ХАЙ ТАД'-България", accessed February 11, 2018, http://haytadbg.blogspot.com/2010/08/blog-post_10.html.

242 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Migracje ludności ormiańskiej", 79.

243 Gevork Poghosyan, "Los i kierunki modernizacji społeczeństwa Armenii", in *Armenia i Górski Karabach w procesach transformacji społecznej i politycznej*, ed. Rafał Czachor (Wrocław: Fundacja Instytut Polsko-Rosyjski, 2014), 61.

244 Ritter, *Ormiańskie losy*, 20.

Part of the communities considerably increased their numbers, i.e. in Poland; this, however, became particularly evident in Russia which in the 21st century became a place of residence for the largest Armenian diaspora in the world (estimated at times at up to 3,000,000 people)[245]. Although, it should be noticed that migration from Armenia to other areas of the Soviet Union had taken place before its dissolution. This is how the Armenian community in Ukraine developed, currently estimated at around 100,000 people. Completely new diasporas were also created in the 1990s, for instance in the Czech Republic.

The Independent Republic of Armenia – the Recovered Centre

A factor which undoubtedly had a distinctive impact on the Armenian diaspora was the attainment of independence in 1991 by the former Armenian SSR and thus the establishment of the Second Republic of Armenia (in nomenclature used in Armenia it is the Third Republic since the Armenian SSR was considered to be the Second one). It should be noted here that from the diaspora's perspective, the notion of a fatherland goes way beyond the territories of the Soviet areas of modern-day Armenia. The vast majority of diaspora originates from the native lands which were placed outside of the areas belonging to the USSR, mainly Western Armenia currently belonging to the territories of Turkey. Another part of lands considered as historically Armenian are Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh) and Nakhchivan, situated in the territory of Azerbaijan. For the Armenian diaspora, the founding of the independent Republic of Armenia in 1991 became not only a completion, but a compliance of the longing for the liberation of Armenia, recovering one of her parts. As for her other part, Nagorno-Karabakh, the struggle was just about to commence.

However, the independent Armenian state focused on itself the efforts and attention of the diaspora, which not only committed to supporting it financially and materially, but also got involved in its social and political life. From the very beginning of the political system transformations, the diasporic parties created their structures in the territories of the Republic of Armenia: Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutyun,

245 Akopân and Grigor'ân, "Исторические штрихи", 32.

Social Democrat Hunchakyan Party and Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramgavar). In 1992, the AGBU was legally registered and opened its office in the RA[246]. Rapprochement between the Ejmiatsin and Cilician Catholics began as well. Some of the diaspora's representatives became personally involved in the political and economic life of the country, like i.e. Raffi Hovannisyan (born in 1959) from Fresno, USA, who became the first minister of foreign affairs of the independent Republic of Armenia (1991–1992), while in the presidential elections of 2013 he came second as the main candidate of the opposition.

The independent Armenian state also started to have a multidimensional influence over the diaspora's communities. It was particularly important to the authorities of Armenia to have them included in the pursuit of national (defined from the Republic of Armenia perspective) goals. In 1992, by the decree of the President of the Republic of Armenia, the Hayastan All Armenian Fund was established, the major aim of which was to unite the Armenians in Armenia and abroad in order to overcome difficulties in the country and to help with creating sustainable development in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. Together with the representatives from the highest authorities of the Republic of Armenia, its Executive Board included the Catholikoi of Ejmiatsin and Cilicia and the Armenian-Catholic Patriarch, the President of the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh and the Prime Minister of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, leaders of the main Armenian diasporic institutions, such as the AGBU, ARF Dashnaktsutyun, the Armenian Assembly of America, and other distinguished benefactors and public figures from Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh and the diaspora[247]. Thus, for the society and the elites of the Republic of Armenia, the diaspora was an important subsidiary and an economic and political support. However, the diaspora was an entity distinctively different from them and it individually defined national aims which were pursued. Together with the growing interest of the diaspora and its institutions in the internal affairs of Armenia, as well as her foreign relations, the society of the Republic of Armenia created a conviction that

246 Armenian General Benevolent Union, *Be part of history*, 33.

247 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Diaspora ormiańska w polityce Armenii", 175.

their compatriots from abroad who did not live in the country should not interfere with the national and international politics[248].

Aspirations to increase the impact on the diaspora (and its resources) by the authorities of the Republic of Armenia formed the basis for the development of instruments appropriate for doing so. It seemed fitting to create in 2008 the Ministry of Diaspora, the task of which was a comprehensive and effective elaboration, implementation and improvement of the state politics in the area of developing the Armenia-Diaspora partnership and coordinating the actions of public authorities. Simultaneously, efforts were made to create for the ministry an image of a non-party centre, a "home of each Diaspora Armenian"[249]. One of the elements of building up ties between the Armenians in the diaspora and the Republic of Armenia was a programme supporting the visits to Armenia of young people from the diaspora, as well as encouraging the settlement in Armenia.

Influencing the strongly institutionalised diaspora turned out, however, to be difficult, which was confirmed in 2009 by an attempt made by the President, Serzh Sargsyan, to change politics towards Turkey. Negatively perceived by the diaspora, it prompted the president to travel to the main centres of the diaspora in France, Lebanon, Russia and the USA, and to talk to the representatives of their most important institutions[250]. During this journey, on the October 7 in Rostov-on-Don, Serzh Sargsyan articulated the idea of cooperation between three powers, or rather three centres of the national politics within the "triumvirate of Armenia-Artsakh-Diaspora"[251].

The authorities of the RA have also taken measures aiming at increasing the influence over the diasporic communities in individual centres. These were executed by getting the Republic of Armenia diplomats involved in the diaspora's life and undertaking organisational initiatives. For ex-

248 Such a position was expressed, for example, by Dr. Stepan Grigoryan, Chairman of the Board of Analytical Centre on Globalisation and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC), at the meeting on September 19, 2016 in Yerevan.

249 Ministry of Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia, "About us", accessed October 11, 2017, http://www.mindiaspora.am/en/About_us.

250 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Diaspora ormiańska w polityce Armenii", 178.

251 The Office to the President of the Republic of Armenia, "The one-week Pan-Armenian tour of President Serzh Sargsyan was concluded on October 7, in Rostov-on-Don", 07.10.2009, accessed October 11, 2017, http://m.president.am/en/press-release/item/2009/10/07/news-748/.

ample, in 2011 in Poland, Ashot Galoyan, the ambassador of the Republic of Armenia, attempted to establish an organisation representing interests of the entire Armenian community in the country, referred to as the Congress of Armenians in Poland. The next ambassador, Edgar Ghazaryan, has been organising since 2016 the Forum of Polish Armenians, which is a nationwide congress of leaders of this community. For the purposes of the Republic of Armenia, an attempt was made to use also the potential of internationally recognised personalities from the diaspora. An example is provided by Charles Aznavour, whom Serzh Sargsyan appointed in 2009 as the ambassador of Armenia in Switzerland and a permanent representative in the UN. Generally speaking, the acquisition of influence was impeded, however, by a critical assessment of the political situation in Armenia and the government of the Republican Party of Armenia, and the President, Serzh Sargsyan, expressed by a considerable part of the Armenians in the diaspora.

Together with the development of institutional relations between the diaspora and the Republic of Armenia, strengthened through the post-Soviet emigration which was strongly interconnected by personal links with the homeland, and finally – with a regular learning and familiarising the Armenians born abroad with the country that was practically inaccessible to them for decades, the Republic of Armenia acquired a status of a national centre for the Armenians all over the world. Its important components are: 1) Ejmiatsin, the seat of the Catholicos of All Armenians as a spiritual centre of the nation; 2) Tsitsernakaberd, a memorial dedicated to the Victims of the Armenian Genocide as a central place for the most important national ceremonies; 3) the very institution of the state as the greatest guarantor of the existential survival of the nation (securing countrymen in Nagorno-Karabakh as well as saving the Armenians from Syria). Exemplification of this new reception of the Republic of Armenia (consciously integrated with Nagorno-Karabakh) can be perceived in a concern for a common fatherland ("our homeland"), expressed by Serj Tankian (born in Lebanon, but brought up in Los Angeles, one of the diaspora's personalities) in an open letter to the President Serzh Sargsyan after the latter's re-election to this office in February 2013[252].

252 Times.am, "Serj Tankian sents the second letter to Serzh Sargsyan", February 27, 2013, accessed October 14, 2017, http://www.times.am/?p=19532&l=en.

This influence of the Republic of Armenia also has unifying effects on the Armenians all over the world and this is due to the permeation of specific characteristics of the local society into the diaspora, which is the most noticeable in the dissemination of the Eastern Armenian language. The sign of this was, i.e. a change that took place in the Armenian journal writings in Poland in the 21st century which, having earlier emphasised the identification with the Western Armenian, decided to replace it with the Eastern Armenian language[253]. As an answer to this phenomenon, one notices activities undertaken by the diaspora to cultivate the Western Armenian language heritage.

Summary

Having recognised the impact of political factors on the Armenian diaspora after 1945, it is possible to formulate the following generalisations:

1. Transformations in the diaspora's image and functioning were significantly affected by the turbulent political conflicts taking place in the second half of the 20th century, both of a global dimension (the Cold War) as well as a local (regional) one. They aggravated conditions of the cultural (or even prevented it) and economic existence of the Armenian communities living in the countries of the Middle East and the Eastern Bloc, causing their mass exile or escalating their assimilation. As a result of the out-migration of thousands of people, the (i.e. political) significance of the Middle Eastern communities substantially diminished while the role of the diaspora in the West additionally increased together with the influx of emigrants to the Armenian centres most of all in the USA and France, but also Australia and Canada. The emerging existential threat to traditional centres of the diaspora, as well as to the fatherland since the late 1980s, provoked a reaction in other diasporic centres and efforts to save them and help the emigrating countrymen. Thus, conflicts contributed to an increased awareness of the need to integrate the Armenian communities in the diaspora and to develop the instruments for aid and ethnical mobilisation, but also for anti-assimilation.

2. Political transformations in the last decade of the 20th century, both at a global level (i.e. the dissolution of the USSR and Eastern Bloc,

253 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Armenian periodical press in contemporary Poland", *Our Europe. Ethnography-Ethnology-Anthropology of Culture* 6 (2017), 25-40.

and democratisation of countries in this region) as well as a regional, which was the formation of independent republics: Georgia, Azerbaijan, and most of all – Armenia, had a momentous impact on the image and functioning of the Armenian diaspora. From the diaspora's vantage point, one can consider that their most significant effect was the recovery of the centre (the Republic of Armenia together with the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh), around which its efforts and interests were focused and where the structures of their organisation were formed, which gave a new dimension to the global network of the Armenian hubs. For this centre became at the same time a hub for a multi-dimensional influence over the diaspora: political, social, cultural, religious, and educational. The post-Soviet emigration became a factor of this bilateral impact, significantly influencing transformations in the geography and demography of the centres of the diaspora.

6. Security as a Factor in Transforming the Armenian Diaspora

Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski

Introduction

The phenomenon of diasporas, emigration, diasporaization, and diasporic life is closely associated with the issues of security. After all, all kinds of threats (war, economic crisis, political repression, or natural disaster) are one of the major reasons for emigration. The lack of acceptance (or conviction on the matter) by host society, and the subsequent insufficiency of security in the emigration reality is one of the factors in transforming immigrant communities into diasporas[254]. Another factor is the belief that the original fatherland is threatened, which is an important if not a key factor in ethnic mobilization of migrants and their descendants. Another issue is a phenomenon of translocation of conflicts to the countries of settlement [255], or simply the matters of non-integration and non-assimilation

254 William Safran, "Diasporas in Modem Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return". *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1991), 83.

255 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Translokacja konfliktów – zjawisko przenoszenia konfliktów etnicznych z kraju pochodzenia do rzeczywistości diasporalnej i imigranckiej". *Wschodnioznawstwo*, no. 10 (2016), 27-39.

of minority communities, which are a challenge for the host countries and their societies.

While recognising the specificity of modern Armenian diaspora, it is also noted that the problem of security is closely associated with it, particularly the issue of existential threat, i.e. threats of basic living conditions in national dimension[256]. It is considered not only as the major factor of its emergence (as *Spyurk*[257]), but also its organisation and activity in the first decades of the 20th century as well as nowadays.

Together with development of studies on security, the number of areas of study in the perspective of security or in the security context has also been broadened. Traditional perceiving of security in the military and state-centric context has become extended to other areas of economic, environmental, and societal security[258], while the *human security* approach which – in transferring the referent object from nation states onto people – has gone beyond territorial defence, national interests, and nuclear deterrence, but has included conflict prevention and developmental matters, elimination of poverty and backwardness[259].

It is simultaneously observed that the scholarship on the issue notices the advantage of objective approach towards security in relation to diasporas, i.e. what their role is from the perspective of the security of the original homeland (as *peace-makers* and *peace brokers*, or *pace-wreckers* and *peacebreakers*)[260] or host countries. The insufficient

256 Marta Szuniewicz, *Ochrona bezpieczeństwa państwa jako przesłanka ograniczenia praw i wolności jednostki w świetle Europejskiej Konwencji Praw Człowieka*, (Warszawa : Wydawnictwo C. H. Beck, 2016), 2, 4.

257 Handbook for Armenians Abroad, RA Ministry of Diaspora, (Yerevan 2010), 6.

258 Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era,* 2nd edition, (London 1991), 13.

259 Barry Buzan, L. Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 202-205.

260 Yossi Shain, "The Role of Diasporas in Conflict Perpetuation or Resolution", *SAIS Review* 22, no. 2 (2002); Yossi Shain, Aharon Barth, "Diasporas and International Relations Theory", *International Organization* vol. 57, no. 3 (2003), 449-479; E. Østergaard-Nielsen, *Diasporas and Conflict Resolution: Part of the Problem or Part of Solution?*, March 2006, Danish Institute For International Studies, https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/16804/diaspora_conflict_resolution.pdf, 6; *Diasporas in conflict: Peace-makers or peace-wreckers?*, ed. H. Smitch & P. Stares, (Tokyo-New York- Paris: United Nations University Press, 2007); Redie Bereketeab, "The Eritrean Diaspora: Myth and Reality", in *The Role of Diasporas in Peace, Democracy and Development in the Horn*

approach to the issue from diaspora's perspective engenders research area which is worthy of exploration and implies following questions: which problems of security are important from diasporas' perspective and how do they affect them? The aim of this article is to answer these question by the example of Armenian diaspora.

Major Security Aspects from Diaspora's Perspective

Armenians are a nation which experienced threat of an existential nature a numerous times in its history. In the reality of many centuries when they did not have their own state that could have provided them security, living in exile has become a chance to survive in physical dimension. However, the condition for cultural survival occurred in institutionalisation, that is – in creating ethnic institutions in diasporic conditions. Experiences of the Armenian diaspora in Poland show that Armenians remaining outside of their institutionally organised communities lose their distinctiveness with time and they blend in with Polish (or Ukrainian) nation[261]. Or it could be said that, from the Armenian perspective, they "vanish culturally". Therefore, the institutionalization of diasporic life is an instrument for opposing the threats occurring in the conditions of the lack of national (state) institutions which warrant security. Two major areas, to which diasporic institutions try to respond are: existential (subsistence) security and cultural (identity) security. The next area important in the sphere of functioning for diasporal communities is political security. At last, the area which does not directly concern the security of the diasporal live, but is a factor in activity and mobilization of Armenian in diaspora, is the security of the fatherland.

of Africa, (Lund: Lund University & Somalia International Rehabilitation Centre, 2007), 93-94; *Makers or Brakers of Peace: The Role of Diasporas in Conflict Resolution*, (London: Democratic Progress Institute, August 2014), https://www.democraticprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Makers-or-Breakers-of-Peace-The-Role-of-Diasporas-in-Conflict-Resolution.pdf.

261 Krzysztof Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej*, (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000), 92, 95-96; Krzysztof Stopka, "Ormiańskie sacrum i profanum, czyli o fundamencie tożsamości kulturowej Ormian polskich", in *Ormianie*, ed. B. Machul-Telus, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2014), 81, 86-91.

Physical Survival (Existential Security)

Challenges of physical survival, in particular the need to take care of refugees fleeing from the areas of conflicts or saved from massacres, were repeatedly the first of which the exile communities had to react. Aid measures were usually taken up by the Armenian Church; hospital and shelters were established by the Armenian churches. However, they were frequently supported by or replaced with (particularly when there was no church) the local Armenian community[262]. Institutional help was developing especially in the periods of intensified persecution of the Armenian population and the influx of Armenian refugees to the colonies. A lot of aid institutions, i.a. orphanages, were established towards the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century in order to save those who survived persecutions and extermination of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1894–1896 (throughout the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II)[263] and 1915–1921 (genocide perpetrated during the rule of Young Turks)[264]. Another challenge was to help victim of the Second World War and then, in the second half of the 20th century, refugees from conflict-torn countries of the Middle East (i.a. Lebanon, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt).

An example of aid institution of the local (areal) dimension is the French Association Arménienne d'Aide Sociale (AAAS), which was established in 1890 in Paris, initially as Société de Bienfaisance des Arméniens de Paris, in order to help Armenian students in their education. In order to take care of elder Armenian refugees, in founded a retirement home in Adil-

262 Aid institutions in diaspora have a long lasting tradition. Such institutions were founded i.a. in the territories of Poland, and Armenian communities expressed a considerable concern for the poor, non-wealthy, or sick, and even the arriving compatriots, appointing a specific official to look after them. The problems of orphans and the poor were dealt with by the Armenian religious courts. Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, „Diaspora ormiańska i jej instytucje pomocowe", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego*, no. 74/75 (2013), 38-46.

263 The number of massacre victims is estimated at more than 200,000. It is assumed that from the large number of Armenians who left the Ottoman state, around 60,000 went to Western Europe and America. Yves Ternon, *Ormianie. Historia zapomnianego ludobójstwa*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2005), p. 60–63, 124–125.

264 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Migracje ludności ormiańskiej w przeszłości i współcześnie", in *Current issues of society and politics*, ed. Tatiana Tökölyová and Arkadiusz Modrzejewski (Tbilisi: Europe Our House Press, 2012), 76-77.

ly in 1947 and in 1953 in Montmorency. The next two were established in Saint Raphael in 1959 and in Gonesse in 1986. At present the major areas of its activity include the running of nursing homes, social assistance, and a balanced development in Armenia. The support is offered to new immigrants, families in difficult living conditions, Armenian students; nursing homes for the elderly are run[265].

Solving social and adaptation problems is one of the areas of activities of modern-day aid institutions. For instance, the Centre for Armenian Information and Advice (CAIA), was established in Great Britain in 1986 in order the social and living needs of the disadvantaged members of the Armenian community and adaptation problems of the new immigrants. The centre includes a kindergarten group, youth club, senior club, and a library[266]. The Arev Benevolent Foundation (Arev Paresiragan Hamnargutyun) was created in Cyprus is 2008, the mission of which is to bring help and support to the poor and disadvantaged Armenian families.

The 20th century brought threats on a new scale, affecting the entirety of the Armenian communities in specific countries, leaving them with no possibility to provide their members any security. To answer these challenges, some organisation have made effort to build up structures in different countries and parts of the world and in order to be able to deliver aid more effectively and involve more communities in it. Pan-diasporic dimension was acquired mainly by the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) and the Armenian Relief Society (HOM).

The AGBU was established in Cairo in 1906 as in institution financially supporting Armenian schools and orphanages. The necessity to help the victims of the Cilician massacres in 1909 meant that the organisation expanded the scope of activities and area of functioning, dispatching help to residents of cities and villages affected by disasters, and founding new branches, i.e. in Lebanon (1910). After the First World War, the AGBU became reformed and new branches were created in the region of the Middle East, Greece, France, and the USA, offering help to countrymen fleeing from the areas of the Ottoman Empire. In 1921 the organisation headquarter was moved from Cairo to Paris, and during the Second World War to New York. At present the AGBU is the largest institution in the diaspora,

265 Association Arménienne d'Aide Sociale, acessed August 6, 2018, www.aaas.fr.

266 *About Us*, Centre for Armenian Information and Advice, accessed September 21, 2018, https://caia.org.uk/.

which runs aid activities on a global scale, providing humanitarian help to Armenian communities around the world. Since 2013, as part of the Humanitarian Emergency Relief, the AGBU has been coming to the aid which offered food, shelter, and medical help to around 3,000 Armenian families[267]. The amount of this help exceeded 4,500,000 USD in the period of five years[268]. At present, the AGBU runs over 69 regional and national branches, 47 centres and offices, and also 18 daily and Saturday schools in several countries of the world[269].

Armenian Relief Society (Hay Oknutyan Miutyun, HOM), established in 1910 in New York, is sometimes referred to as an Armenian Red Cross due to its activity[270]. Its thirty three branches were registered in the United States and Canada at the first convention which took place in Boston (Massachusetts) in 1915. Efforts were made to address problems such as financial aid for the Armenians suffering around the world; collection of clothing for the Armenian refugees in the Caucasus; training of nurses who were to be sent to the front to take care of the wounded; courses in Armenian language for the members; founding of the Armenian schools as part of the branches of organization. The Armenian Red Cross of Syria was established in Aleppo in 1918, and the first branch in France in 1919. In 1921, HOM took part in the 10th Convention of the International Red Cross in Geneva, and it was joining in the subsequent conventions as 'Armenian Relief Corps' until 1946. In 1926, HOM started a search for the Armenian orphans, following the motto: "One orphan, one gold piece"[271]. At present, HOM as an independent philanthropic organization conducting humanitarian and cultural missions for the Armenian pop-

267 HELP SYRIA NOW, Support the AGBU Humanitarian Emergency Relief Fund for Syrian Armenians, AGBU, accessed August 30, 2013, http://www.agbu.org/syriarelief/Syria_Relief.pdf.

268 AGBU HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY RELIEF PROJECTS FOR SYRIAN ARMENIANS ARE UNDERWAY, April 11, 2017, AGBU, accessed September 21, 2018 https://www.agbu.am/en/archive/2017-01-24-07-56-58/news-17-eng/3034-agbu-humanitarian-emergency-relief-projects-for-syrian-armenians-are-underway.

269 *Our History*, AGBU, accessed September 21, 2018, https://agbu.org/about/our-history/.

270 *Historical Highlights Of The Armenian Relief Society*, Armenian Relief Society of Western USA, accessed September 22, 2018, https://www.arswestusa.org/about-us/history/.

271 *History*, Armenian Relief Society, accessed September 22, 2018, https://ars1910.org/history/.

ulation functions in 27 countries all over the world and brings together approximately 15,000 members[272].

Cultural Survival

From the diaspora's perspective, the second issue of priority is a cultural security, understood as the ability to preserve and cultivate qualities deciding about cultural identity[273].

Already in the 19th century the Armenian philanthropists supported education of the young countrymen, establishing dormitories and schools for them and financing studies. Annihilation of the centres of the Armenian life in Western Armenia and death of many representatives of intelligentsia in the period of genocide, and then the collapse of independent Republic of Armenia (hereinafter: the RA), made one realise that the duty of preservation and development of the Armenian culture rested on the shoulders of diasporians. They have undertaken to create numerous cultural and educational institutions in the diaspora, i.e. community centres, schools and kindergartens, music and theatre bands, dancing and choir groups, museum, and libraries. To a great extent of a local and state nature. An example of a private initiative is the House for Armenian Students in Paris founded in 1927 by an Armenian diplomat and philanthropist Boghos Nubara (1851–1930) with the intention of recreating the Armenian intellectual elites after the genocide of 1915[274].

Armenians pay particular attention to studying their native language, perceiving it as a key factor in maintaining the national identity: "There is no Armenian culture without the Armenian language"[275]. Therefore, there are many initiatives in the diaspora of an educational nature and they relate to establishing regular ethnic schools and schools teaching Arme-

272 *History*, Armenian Relief Society, accessed August 11, 2013, http://ars1910.org/?page_id=3.

273 Jan Czaja, *Kulturowy wymiar bezpieczeństwa. Aspekty teoretyczne i praktyczne*, (Kraków : Krakowska Akademia im. Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego, 2013), 77-83.

274 The house was opened on December 16, 1930. La Maison des Étudiants Arméniens, accessed March 18, 2014, http://www.ciup.fr/maison-des-etudiants-armeniens/histoire-de-la-maison/.

275 Cf. Tatevik Arakelyan, "The Role of Armenian Language in the Preservation of Armenian Identity", *Scripta Neophilologica Posnaniensia*, 15 (2015), 7-12, DOI 10.7169/snp.2015.15.01.

nian language and culture (on Saturdays, Sundays, and in the evenings), curricula, textbooks, or at least language courses. A large number concerns publishing activity, supporting the studies in language and promotion of culture.

The scale of challenges in the 20th century (i.a. mass numbers of orphans and emigration) showed the need to go beyond local and systemic measures in a broader dimension, and they contributed to creating educational networks and undertaking cultural and educational activities outside of the national level. Thus, this activity has become a factor in the internationalisation, and even globalisation, of some of the diasporic organisations.

One of the organisations which committed to the organisation of educating the Armenian youth was the AGBU that founded schools and supported local educational initiatives in Cyprus, Lebanon, Greece, France, and other countries. This direction was continued in the second half of the 20th century. The following cultural foundations were established as part of the AGBU: Alex and Marie Manoogian Cultural Fund in 1954 and Alex Manoogian Cultural Fund in 1968, owing to which Armenian schools were created in different part of the world (i.a. in Southfield, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Tehran)[276]. At present, the AGBU runs 20 schools which are attended by 6,600 students, and it also supports financially other similar institutions. Additionally, it runs two libraries in Paris and New York[277].

By the decision of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation "Dashnaktsutyun" (hereinafter: the Dashnaktsutyun), the Hamazkayin Armenian Educational and Cultural Association (hereinafter: the Hamazkayin) was established in Cairo in 1928[278]. The organisation committed to educating the Armenian youth on every level, as well as to educational and cultural activity (i.a. in publishing and theatre). A considerable part of its activity was concentrated on the Middle Eastern countries, but the organisation did found branches also in the areas of Europe, both Americas, and Australia. The Hamazkayin started schools in Bei-

276 *History Of The Armenian General Benevolent Union*, AGBU, accessed September 22, 2018, https://www.agbu. am/en/about-2/agbu-history-1.

277 Ibidem.

278 *Armenian Diaspora Yearbook. 2015*, (Yerevan: Ministry of Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia, 2015), 395.

rut (1930), Marseilles (1980), Sydney (1986), and Issy-les-Moulineaux (2015), which provided education for around 1,400 students in total[279]. The Hamazkayin Higher Institute for Armenian Studies, which educated i.a. the future teachers of the Armenian language and culture, has functioned since 1970s and it ceased its activity in 2005.

On the Hynchakian's initiative, the Nor Serount Cultural Association was established in Lebanon in 1955 for the purpose of preservation and strengthening the Armenian culture, and passing it to the young generations. Its branches were established in 12 countries in the Middle East, both Americas, and Australia[280].

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian) was founded in Lisbon in 1956. The Foundation runs cultural institutions, i.e. museum, library, art centre, orchestra, choir, and it organises various projects and programmes promoting Portuguese culture as well as those supporting the Armenian diaspora around the world for the purpose of maintaining the national culture and languages. The Foundation has its agencies in Great Britain and France.

On the initiative of the Armenian Democratic-Liberal Party (Ramgavar), the Tekeyan Cultural Association was established in Beirut in 1974, for the purpose of preserving the Armenian culture, development of education, and support for students[281]. Its branches were also created in Syria, Jordan, Australia, the UK, and both Americas.

Apart from the educational and cultural institutions, there were also institutions dedicated in the diaspora to young people, sports and scouting, with an aim – alongside of integrating the young Armenians – of promoting the Armenianness and forming patriotic behaviours. In addition to these kinds of local and national initiatives, those pan-diasporic and founded along the Dashnaktsutyun and Hnchakyan parties are the ones standing out the most.

The largest Armenian sports and scouting organisation, viz. Homenetmen (The Armenian General Union for Physical Education and Scouts), was established in 1918, and has been functioning along the Dashanktsutyun. There were 46 of its branches created until the 1930s, mainly in Lebanon,

279 Hamazkayin Armenian Educational & Cultural Society, accessed October 17, 2018, https://www.hamazkayin. com.

280 *Armenian Diaspora Yearbook. 2015...*, 403.

281 Ibidem, 395.

Syria, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Western Europe, and the USA. At present, Homenetmen has 108 chapters and across all continents. The aim of the organisation is to shape the patriotic youth who will take care of national culture and work for the benefit of Armenian nation. This purpose is implemented through scouting, sports education, as well as contests, clubs and sports centres, lectures and public events. The Homenetmen is the member of the World Organization of the Scout Movement[282].

A similar organisation, the Homenmen (Armenian Athletic Association), was established along the Hynchakian in Aleppo in 1921. It created six branches in Syria and Lebanon in the 1920s. At present, it has its agencies also in Israel, Cyprus, France, Uruguay, Canada, the USA, and Australia[283].

In 1933, an organisation gathering the youth was established along the Dashnaktsutyun in Boston, Armenian Youth Federation (AYF). The purpose of founding the organisation was to shape the patriotic Armenian youth involved in activities for the benefit of national interests. It has branches in 17 countries, in both Americas, but also in Australia, Europe, and Lebanon[284].

Political Security

The third problem which emerges in the context of the functioning of the Armenian communities in exile is political security, understood here as the ability to create sovereign ethnic institutions acting freely in the public sphere. Political security, usually examined in relation to a state as well as to international systems and sub-systems, is also being referred to social groups and organisations functioning within a country. The fundamental protected qualities of political security are as follows:

282 Homenetmen, accessed October 16, 2018, https://www.homenetmen.org/.

283 Armenian Athletic Association, accessed October 17, 2018, http://homenmen.org/.

284 Its structure is strongly decentralised. In France is operates as F.R.A. Nor Seround. AYF-YOARF Eastern Region USA, accessed October 17, 2018, https://ayf.org/; Armenian Youth Federation Western Unites States, accessed October 17, 2018, https://ayfwest.org; AYF Australia, accessed October 17, 2018, http://ayfaustralia.org/; FRA Nor Seround, accessed October 17, 2018, http://norseround.com..

sovereignty, ideology, on the basis of which political entities function, as well as their organisational stability[285].

It is obvious that the functioning of diasporas is tremendously influenced by the political system of the host country. It can allow to freely create non-political ethnic institutions, limit or strictly supervise their activities, as well as prohibit them. The regime can allow participation in the political system of the minority parties of ethnic groups or appointment of representatives of the ethnic or religious groups to legislative and executive authorities, but also to their advisory bodies. These factors have an effect not only on the number of the Armenian institutions which are established, but also on their type and quality.

A large variety and number of the Armenian ethnic institutions, as well as the variety of activities undertaken by them, is emphatic in the open societies. They usually list the functioning of formal associations, foundations and federations of organisations of cultural, aiding, educational, sports, industrial, young people, and representative profile[286]. France is an example where the number of the established Armenian institutions is estimated at around 300[287]. The vast majority of them was founded in the 1970s and 1980s[288]. Towards the end of the 1980s in the USA, the statistical data registered around 90 Armenian institutions[289].

The variety of the Armenian institutions is smaller in closed societies, and the possibility of their functioning in the public sphere is limited. This phenomenon was observed in the communist countries in the 20th century where institutional life of minorities was under a strict control or was even subjected to state regulation. Communist Bulgaria (1944-1990)

285 Lech Chojnowski, „Polityczny sektor bezpieczeństwa". *Zeszyty Naukowe WSOWL*, no. 3 (165) (2012), 116

286 Cf. Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Wektory polityki diaspory ormiańskiej w Unii Europejskiej" in *Szkice europejskie. Unia Europejska wobec wyzwań współczesności*, ed. B. Gaziński, (Olsztyn: Instytut Nauk Politycznych UW-M w Olsztynie, 2015), 57-72.

287 Cf. Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, „Ormiańskie instytucje we Francji w zarysie", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego*, no 76/77 (2014), 37-48.

288 Diaspora en France - Les Associations, Association Culturelle Arménienne de Marne-la-Vallée (France), accessed October 3, 2018, www.acam-france.org/contacts/diaspora-france/les-assos. html.

289 Cumulative List of Organizations described in Section 170 (c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, Department of the Treasury - Internal Revenue Service, Publication 78, Revised to October 21, 1988.

was an example where all the previously existing Armenian organisations (i.a. the AGBU, HOM, Hamazkayin, and Homenetmen) were closed, creating in their place one, the Yerevan Cultural Association[290].

It should be noted that also in the democratic countries the policies towards national minorities and immigrants can be assimilatory in nature. I.e. the institution of a representative of the Armenian minority by the government of the Republic of Poland, operating in Poland since 2005, is controlled by the state's official factors which de facto decide about filling the post by people representing a part of the Armenian community that is deeply assimilated (and – as has been the case up until now – did not speak the Armenian language) into the Polish culture.

Therefore, an issue emerges of the representation (and defence) of interests of the Armenian communities in the host countries. These are implemented by ethnic organisations that differ depending on their level, that is: 1) on local level – associations of frequently cultural nature, 2) on national level – federations of organisations or national offices (i.e. of political parties), 3) on international level – pan-diasporic organisations.

It should be noted that the problem of legal and political conditions for the functioning of the Armenian communities in diaspora is not sufficiently recognised. It is believed here that the outlined issue of political security in relation to institutionalisation of Armenian life in exile is worthy of separate and meticulous research.

Diaspora as a Factor in Homeland Security

What draws one's attention to the functioning of the Armenian diaspora is its vivid interest in the fatherland, perceived in a wider sense as the entirety of historical lands of Armenia including both the present Republic of Armenian, as well as the areas of Western Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh), Nakhchivan and others, where the ongoing Armenian settlement had existed[291]. The earlier, modern interest in rebuilding the independent

290 Hratch Tchilingirian, "The Forgotten Diaspora: Bulgarian-Armenians after the end of Communism", *Armenian International Magazine*, 12, issue 3 (April 2001), 30-36.

291 Cf. Susan Pettie, Longing and belonging: issues of homeland in the Armenian diaspora, WPTC-99-11, University College London, http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/pattie.pdf, 5-6.

country was, together with the experiences in the 20th century, somehow complemented with concern about the survival of the Armenian nation in that part of the world and about the preservation of the Armenian civilizational heritage. Armenian diaspora became to perceive themselves as a factor in Armenia's security, disclosing varied, individual, and institutional activity in order to counteract and eliminate the threats affecting the fatherland, which can be divided into two areas: 1) internal threats (mainly humanitarian and concerning living conditions), 2) external threats (from neighbouring countries).

Regarding the former area, one can primarily indicate reaction of the Armenians in the diaspora to the earthquake of 1988, the so-called *Spitaki yerkrasharj*, which devastated a significant part of the Armenian SSR, as well as economic and infrastructural help to the revived Republic of Armenia in order to assuage the results of the economic crisis triggered by the military conflict with Azerbaijan and the fall of the Soviet economic system. Different help (medical, financial, and of personnel) was also offered by the already existing diasporic institutions (churches, the AGBU, HOM, etc.), as well as those established specifically for this reason (i.a. Armenia Fund, Lincy Foundation, Aznavour pour l'Armenie Foundation, Cafesjian Family Foundation). There also emerged pan-Armenian initiatives such as spectacular donation campaigns like the American Telethon and pan-European Phoneathon. In 2018 they collected more than 11,100 ,000 of USD[292] and more than 1,200,000 of EUR respectively[293].

In the second area one can indicate the mobilisation of the Armenian communities around the world in the face of danger to Armenia (such as the Armenian states, viz. the RA and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, hereinafter: the NKR) from Azerbaijan and Turkey in relation to the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, but also in connection with their policies of remembrance, which removed the proofs of Armenianness and of negating the genocide by Turkey. In the countries of residence, the diaspora committed to lobbying for the interests of Armenia, organisation of protests, informing campaigns. Throughout the fights over Nagorno-Karabakh

292 *Armenia Fund's Telethon 2018 a Resounding Success*, ArmeniaFund, accessed November 25, 2018, https://www.armeniafund.org/2018/11/30/armenia-funds-telethon-2018-a-resounding-success/.

293 *Phonethon 2018 Europe, Hayastan All-Armenian Fund*, accessed November 25, 2018, https://www.himnadram.org/en/phonethon-2018.

in 1991-1994, the diaspora representatives were taking part in them and Armenian organisations provided supplies. For the purpose of implementing political goals, the Dashnaktsutyun appointed the international network of organisations operating under the following names: Hay Dat and Armenian National Committees (ANC). To represent the Armenian interest in the European Union, the European Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy (EAFJD) was established in Brussels in 2000. One could also notice numerous initiatives creating organisations representing Armenian communities on a state and regional level, such as i.e. the Union of Armenian Associations in Sweden (Armeniska Riksförbundet i Sverige; ARS) and the Central Council of Armenians in Germany (Der Zentralrat der Armenier in Deutschland; ZAD) in 1993, and Coordinative Committee of Armenians in France (Conseil de Coordination des Organisations Arméniennes de France; CCAF) in 1994, and the Forum of Armenian Associations of Europe (FAAE) in Geneva in 1998[294].

It is noticed that the threats affecting Armenian towards the end of the 20th century were on the one hand motivating the Armenians in exile to a greater activity, cooperation, and integrations in order to help their fatherland, and on the other hand, they created new relations between the Diaspora and Armenia, which had been weakened in the Soviet period. As an example of cooperation undertaken by both parties, one can indicate the Hayastan All-Armenian Fund appointed in 1992, the members of the Governing Council of which included the President of the RA, catholicoi of Ejmiatsin and of Cilicia, and the Armenian-Catholic Patriarch, the President of the NKR and the Prime Minister of the NKR, the head of the RA Constitutional Court and Central Bank, the head of the RA National Assembly, leaders of the three main Armenian political parties and major aid institutions such as the AGBU, Dashnaktsutyun, Armenian Congress of America, and other distinguished benefactors and public figures from Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and diaspora[295].

294 Cf. Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Wektory polityki diaspory ormiańskiej w Unii Europejskiej"

295 *About Us*, Hayastan All Armenian Fund, accessed November 10, 2015, http://www.himnadram.org/index. php?id=2.

Summary

In the general summary it is possible to state that while identifying the modern Armenian diaspora, four areas of security can be outlined, which play an important role in its functioning and have an impact on its transformation are as follows:

1) existential (subsistence) security, viz. the guarantee of physical survival of Armenians in exile, both in individual dimension (not only staying alive, but also meeting the basic social needs), as well as entire communities;

2) cultural (identity) security, viz. the opposition to assimilation processes and the guarantee to maintaining identity by the Armenians in exile;

3) political security, viz. the guarantee to a free establishment and development of independent ethnic institutions and public activities;

4) security of original homeland, viz. the counteraction and attenuation of the results of natural dangers and those stemming from political factors, which affect Armenia.

Simultaneously, the attention is drawn to the fact that the challenges being shaped in these areas are generally answered by founding adequate ethnic institutions (aid, educational, cultural, etc.), and then raising their activities beyond the local and state level, to the level which can be defined as pan-diasporic. Thus, the matters of security should be regarded as a significant factor in the transformation of the Armenian diaspora.

PART II

The Case of Armenian Community in Poland

7. Integration through Personal Names: The Experience of Armenian Diaspora in Poland

Nikol Margaryan

Every action of integration in foreign environment is a multi-layered process which includes physical, juridical, political, economic, religious, communicative and symbolic adaptations. Appropriation of personal names and naming formulae accepted in the new ethnic environment is one of variants of symbolic and communicative adaptation, which is relatively independent from other aspects of adjustment and possibly is one of mainstream conditions on the way to adaptation. Appropriation of a foreign personal name and naming formulae gives to any name bearer a chance to be considered as their own man, which facilitates other aspects of adjustment and integration.

It can be said that among all diaspora communities of Armenians the diaspora of Poland (including the western part of modern Ukraine) stands out by appropriation of foreign symbols on the anthroponymic level. Historical sources on the Armenian communities in Poland testify that unlike any other Armenian diaspora, the majority of immigrant Polish Armenians bear personal names and name formulae accepted among the native population. The mentioned process is especially discernable

in the course of the 14th-17th centuries, when the largest flows of Armenian immigrants appeared in Poland[296]. It is important to note that large numbers of the mentioned immigrants were merchants and artisans, whose greatest interest was to integrate quickly into the local political and economic elites and citizenry. Moreover, several communities of Armenian diaspora in Poland mainly consisted of richest merchants.

While describing the Armenian community in Lviv, a contemporary Armenian historian of the 17th century, Simeon Lehatsi, reports that: "Among them (Armenians) there are no craftsmen, all of them are large and eminent merchants, have vekils in Istanbul, Ankuriya, Spahane, Moscow, Gdańsk, Portugal and other places.

There are hodjas among them who have 50, 60, 80, 100 thousand kurush and more. They have mulks[297], gardens, melons, fruit trees, parks, hills, flower gardens, rosaries, as well as high palaces, chambers and abundant springs and large and wide ponds abounding with fish"[298].

It is worth to note that the Armenian communities were founded mainly in the south-western outskirts of Poland, along the main trade routes that connected the cities of the Crimea, Moldova, Wallachia and thus participated in the commodity exchange between the East and the West[299].

Other historical sources of the same time argue that most of the Armenian communities in Poland had their own wide autonomy and economic privileges, with the help of which they were able to concentrate in their hands the bulk of trade. For example, out of 60 trade outlets in Lviv, 44 were owned by Armenians, what has provoked the discontent of the Polish

296 Ջ. Գալստեան, "Հայկական գաղթավայրերի առաջացումը Ուկրաինայում եւ Լեհաստանում", in *Էջեր Հայ գաղթավայրերի պատմության*, [Խմբագիրներ Վ. Բարխուդարյան և Ջ. Եկավեան] (Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Գիտություն, 1996), 89; Վ. Միքայելյան, "Հայկական արտագաղթերը (6-19-րդ դդ)", in *Էջեր Հայ գաղթավայրերի պատմության*, [Խմբագիրներ՝ Վ. Բարխուդարյան և Ջ. Եկավեան] (Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Գիտություն, 1996), 35; *Արևելյան Եվրոպայի հայ համայնքների խնդիրները*. (Հեղինակային կազմի ղեկավար՝ Աննա Ժամակոչյան), (Երևան, Նորավանք գիտակրթական հիմնադրամ, 2011), 71-76.

297 Kind of right of property comes from Arabian Land Rights and is widespreed in the countries of the Middle East and Transcaucasia. It may includes lands, water sources, production capacities and even whole vilages, which were inherited.

298 Симеон Лехаци, Путевие заметки, accessed November 30, 2018, http://www.armenianhouse.org/lekhatsi/chronicle-ru/notes/contents.html.

299 Ջ. Գալստեան, "Հայկական գաղթավայրերի առաջացումը Ուկրաինայում եւ Լեհաստանում", 89.

traders who complained in royal court about the Armenian threat of total control of the whole local market[300]. In some cities: in Lviv, in Kamieniec Podolski, etc., Armenians even had their own local governing bodies and their mayors (*voites*)[301].

Polish authorities encouraged the appearance of Armenian merchants in the territories of their kingdom. In the charter of King Jan III Sobieski, dated to October 29, 1680, which concerns the expansion of the authorizations of Armenian judges, we read: "The affairs of the visitors of this nation (i.e., Armenians –N.M.), analyzed in time, falling on every fair, must be under the authority of the same nation's mayors (voites). At the same time, the purpose of the granted privilege is explained: "This is in order to better encourage merchants and local fairs, and also that visiting merchants are not subjected to any injustice from any judge and therefore did not avoid local fairs"[302].

Y. Dachkevitch considered about 70 eminent Armenian families that had their own seals[303]. Some of these seals can also be seen on the tombstones in Lviv and in Kamieniec Podolski[304].

Many Armenians actively participated in political and military life of the country and had close relations with Polish political and military rulers. As part of the Polish militia there was a separate Armenian regiment, which in 1683 participated in the battle against the Turks at Vienna, where Jan Sobieski defeated the enemy troops[305]. About 5,000 Armenians fought in the Polish army, led by such well-known military

300 Վ. Բարխուդարյան, "Հայկական գաղթավայրերը (առաջացումը, նշանակությունը)", in *Էջեր Հայ գաղթավայրերի պատմության*, [Խմբագիրներ՝ Վ. Բարխուդարյան և Զ. Եկավեան] (Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Գիտություն, 1996), 10.

301 Kind of oficials of urban authority in Poland and in West Ukraina in The Middle Ages.
В. Григорян. *История Армянских колоний Украины и Польши* (Армяне в Подолии), (Ереван, Издательство АН Арм. ССР, 1980), 186 -202.

302 Łucja Charewiczowa, *Dzieje miasta Złoczowa* (Złoczów: Wydawnictwo Pow. Towarzystwa Tur. Krajoznawczego, 1929), 181.

303 Я.Р. Дашкевич, "Армянские частные печати на Украине (XIV_XVIII в.в.)", *Բանբեր Մատենադարանի* 13 (Երևան, Մատենադարան, 1980), 139-191.

304 "Դիվան հայ վիմագրության, պրակ 7, Ուկրաինա-Մոլդովա", կազմող՝ Գ.Մ. Գրիգորյան (Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Գիտություն, 1996), 166-213, 239-251.

305 Վ. Բարխուդարյան, Հայկական գաղթավայրերը (առաջացումը, նշանակությունը) .14-15.

leaders as Kostandin de Siri Zgorsky, Sefer Muratovich, and Bogdan Gurdi[306]. These respectable citizens had such close relations with Jan Sobieski that they could persuade him to render military assistance to the Armenians to create an Armenian independent state and start negotiations with the great Shah of Iran and with the Armenian Catholicos Hakob Juhayetsi. The person dispatched as an ambassador, the personal secretary of Jan Sobieski, was an Armenian – Shimon Bedrosovich[307]. The Polish authorities at the time also had great respect for other Armenians who played an important role especially in Poland's foreign affairs in the east: for example, Kasper Shinansky, Shimon Petrovich-Romaskevich and others[308]. There are also mentioned various high-ranking Armenian women who are famous for their activities not only in the Armenian community; for example: Marianna Amirovicheva, Sariga Antonevich, Lucia Bogdanovichova, Rosalia Bogdanovichova, Baronchev de Roshko, Marianna Bogosovna, Anastasia, Magdalena Donavakovich, Rosalia Negrushovna and others[309]. Most of these high-ranking Armenians bore personal names and naming formulae accepted in Polish political and economic elites[310]. However, if one observes closer these names, "Armenian traces" may be found easily. This is one of the features of the anthroponymic integration of Armenians in Poland.

What is this peculiarity and what are the main tendencies traced in the integration at this anthroponymic level among Polish Armenians?

306 Ibidem.

307 Ibidem.

308 Ibidem.

309 Sadok Barącz, *Żywoty sławnych Ormian w Polsce* (Lwów: Drukarnia Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich, 1856), 9-10, 16, 84, 85, 98-9, 130, 179-180, 239.

310 It is noteworthy that among the craftsmen and representatives of the lower social groups there are more frequent traditional variants of personal names, such as Karapet, Sefer, Nuridzhan, Trdat, Avedik, Sarkis, etc. But also among the merchants and representatives of high ranks, the traditional variants of names are coordinated either by a transfered variant or variant with names alike in meaning to original name. For example, Khachko-Christopher /the basic meaning of both is "cross", Zadik ("Easter" in Armenian) - Zachariasz.

Table 3. **Armenian names replaced by local /Polish/ derivatives (these are essentially names of Christian origin):**

Armenian derivative	**Polish derivative**
Hovhannes	Jan
Gaspar	Kasper
Gabriel	Gabriel
Hovsep	Józef
Ghukas	Łukasz
Kristapor	Krzysztof
Simon	Shimon
Soghomon	Salomon
Hakob	Yakub
Grigor	Grzegorz
Gevorg	Georgia
Petros	Piotr
Poghos	Paweł
Markos	Marcin
Matevos, Matos	Mateusz, Maciej
Tadevos, Tados	Tadeusz
Tovma, Tovmas, Tumas	Tomasz
Nikoghayos, Nikol	Mikołaj
Miqael	Michał, Miłosz /?/
Baghdasar	Baltazar
Bardughimeos	Bartlomiej
Daniel	Daniel
Stepan, Stepanos, Panos	Stefan
Zaqar	Zachariasz
Anania	Ananiasz
Eghiazar	Lazar
Kyuregh	Kiril
Hovakim	Joachim
Barsegh	Bazyli
Baghdasar	Baltazar, Balcer
Mariam	Maria

Armenian derivative	Polish derivative
Anna	Anna

Table 4. **The suffix of the Armenian surnames** *yan* **or** *yanc* **replaced by** *owicz*, *ewicz* **or** *ski*:

Surnames ended with the Armenian suffix yan	Surnames ended with the suffix owicz	Surnames ended with the suffix ewicz	Surnames ended with the suffix ski
Arakelyan	Arakelowicz		
Torosyan	Torosowicz		
Poghosyan	Bogosowicz		
Minasyan	Minasowicz	Minasewicz	
Zaqaryan		Zakharewicz	
Tovmasyan			Tomazhinski
Pirumyan	Pirumowicz		
Abgaryan	Abgarowicz		
Muradyan	Muradowicz		
Marukhyan	Marukhowicz		
Manukyan		Manukewicz	
Parsamyan	Balsamowicz		
Sahakyan	Isakowicz		
Stepanyan	Stefanowicz		
Hakobyan	Akopowicz, Yakubowicz		
Simonyan	Shimonowicz		
Nersisyan	Nersisovicz		
Petrosyan	Piotrovicz		
Amiryan	Amirowicz		
Avagyan	Avagowicz		
Gasparyan	Gasparowicz		
Gevorgyan	Kevorovicz		
Bernetsyan	Bernatowicz		
Vardanyan	Vardanovicz		

Surnames ended with the Armenian suffix yan	**Surnames ended with the suffix owicz**	**Surnames ended with the suffix ewicz**	**Surnames ended with the suffix ski**
Varderesyan	Varderesovicz		
Khodja	Khojikevicz		
Haji	Khajievicz		

It is noticeable that most Armenian surnames that do not have derivatives in Polish are almost not subjected to a meaningful translation, for example Arakelyan, Pirumyan, Muradyan, Marukhyan, Manukyan, Vardanyan, Vardereyan, Avagyan become Arakelovich, Pirumovich, Muradovich, Marukhovich, Manukevich, Vardanovich, Avagovich, Vardaresovich. There are also surnames that have no analogues in Armenian, for example, Stetskevich, Odrovich, Dashkevich, Kokhnovich, Slonevski, etc. The latter are the previous Vardaresovichs who, after the appeal to the gentry, replaced their surname and family emblem and began to be named by a new surname[311]. There are also second names without suffixes, which are usually not typical for Armenians, but nevertheless they are often found among the Poles. For example: Gourdie, de Siri, Baroncz, Shimonidi, Bkacz, Truntskili, etc.

- The meaning of a personal name is translated: Astvastatur /God's gift in Armenian/ - Bogdan /in Polish/ or Deodat /in Latin/, Khachko / the diminutive form of the Armenian name Khachik, which means a small cross/ - Christopher /"cross" in Greek/, Aghunikyan /dove + suffix **yan** in Armenian/- Golubowicz /dove + suffix **owicz** in Polish/. In some cases, there were local names of substitutes that have duplicate letters: Zadik /in Armenian/ - Zachariasz /in Polish/, Melqon / in Armenian/ - Milkon.
- New local names appeared among Polish Armenians, which have no common ancestry with Armenian names: Wacław, Mieszko, Kazimierz, Wlodzimierz, Boleslaw, Tobiasz, Dominik, Benedykt, Rozalia, Franciszka, Wanda, Teresa,[312] etc. But they are met very rarely.

311 The same was happened with the other high-ranking families, see: Я.Р. Дашкевич, "Армянские частные печати на Украине (XIV-XVIII в.в.)", 168.

312 Such names are especially common among female names, and probably because the Bible and holy books do not offer many female names as in the case of male names. On the other hand, women's names are more susceptible to fashion trends.

- There are no special suffixes for children in Armenian and for this purpose we use escort words like 'vordi' /son/, 'dustr' /daughter/, and in the case of a wife or husband: the word 'koghakits' /spouse/. However, in Polish they are formed with the help of particles of **-owicz** and **-owiczowa**. For example, Katarzyna Pirumoviczowa Nikorowicz, Rosalie Aksentowiczowa Krishtovicz, Teresa Baroczowa Truntskilini. The particle -owicz was first used to mark paternity, which later turned into a particle of the surname.[313]
- Certain names are remembered in the diminutive and endearment forms that were widely used in the Polish environment and have the suffix –ek: Józek, Krzysiek, etc.

It is known that the second name as a family name came in to Poland in the 15th century from Western Europe and was first established among the feudal nobility, then among the bourgeoisie, later among the common townspeople (17th century), and only the 18th and 19th century included the peasants[314]. The presence of family names of most of Armenians who lived at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries in Poland once again proves their high status in the society and state.

It should be noted that the process of appropriation of Polish anthroponymic norms by Armenian immigrants greatly facilitated the circumstance that both peoples /Poles and Armenians/ were Christians and their main anthroponymic reserve was based on Biblical and on saints' names. These names were of Greek, Jewish, Latin and Assyrian origin, and due to their invariants they were recognizable in many cases to all Christians. For the intensive appropriation and further entrenchment of the Polish anthroponymic norms, another important circumstance contributed significantly: the adoption of Catholicism by the Armenian immigrants (in 17th century)[315]. As it is known, naming was mainly a monopoly of the Christian church in the Middle Ages, and newborns were given their names during baptism. They were usually called by the name of one of Christian saints or given one of the names of the biblical charac-

313 В. А. Никонов, "Поляки", in *Системы личных имен у народов мира*, (Москва „Наука", 1989), 256-257.

314 Ibidem.

315 В. Григорян, *История Армянских колоний Украины и Польши (Армяне в Подолии)*, (Ереван, Издательство АН Арм. ССР,1980), 84-87.

ter. It should be noted that among Polish Armenians one may rarely meet native Polish names, such as female names: Jagoda, Kinga, Kalina, male names: Wojciech, Stanisław, Miłosz, Przemysław, Radosław, and many complex names containing the suffix "slav". This is due to the historical fact that in mid-16th century (1545-1563) the Council of Trent banned pagan names, after which most of the ancient Slavic names disappeared or became a rarity[316]. Some of them reappeared in the Polish environment only in the second half of the 19th century. At the level of personal names, religious consecration by the Catholic Church for Armenians was less decisive, hence in the majority of cases, as already mentioned above, they replaced one Christian name with another derivative: for example, name Hovsep (Armenian) to Józef (Polish), or Hakop /Armenian/ to Yakub /Polish/. In many cases, these changes were used by the court during the granting of citizenship. In one document that concerns the replacement of the Armenian colony in Kamieniec with new Armenians: in 1575, a court appeared „some respectable hodja Yakub from Marzvan", who wants to accept Polish citizenship and become a citizen of Kamieniec. The Armenian magistrate accepted new citizens only on the orders of the city elder; therefore, only after receiving the corresponding order, the headman Yakub is taken to the church where he takes the traditional oath of the citizens accepting the citizenship[317]. I.e., the above mentioned Hakob in the Polish official writing received the local derivative name Yakub[318].

Summarizing what has been said, we can once again notice: that the acquisition by Polish Armenians of personal names and the naming forms

316 Mikołaj Gliński, "A Foreigner's Guide to Polish Names", accessed November 12, 2018, https://culture.pl/en/article/a-foreigners-guide-to-polish-names.

317 Григорян, *История Армянских колоний Украины и Польши (Армяне в Подолии)*, 198.

318 In case the name did not have a local derivative, it was written as it was made. In the same document, one can read: "On February 5 of the same year, to approve the economic transaction, the court refers to the Sultan from Tokhat, now a stone-man. Apparently from Tokhat in Kamieniec this man was enticed by trading business. On that day he entered into a trade agreement with the nobleman, Pan Stanislaw Srochinsky, who borrowed 100 talers, and pledged to repay the debt with fabrics that he was supposed to bring from Moscow, Grigoryan". At the same time, it should be noted that those Armenians who did not have a high economic status and did not have an intensive participation in economic and political relations were given traditional armenian names.

widespread in Polish environment was not a direct result of religious or ethnic persecution directed against Armenians, as was the case in other foreign environments (for example, in Turkey), where the Armenians often adopted Turkish or Muslim names to hide their origins[319]. This was not the case in Poland, especially in the observed pre-modern age. On the contrary, in many cases, the Polish Armenians have stressed their ethnicity in other legal ways and have secured a range of privileges for themselves. Armenians, like the Poles, used the same Christian names, only pronunciation and writing were different. Polish Armenians did not intend to hide their ethnic descent. They adequately demonstrated this fact, at the economic and political level: preserving their autonomy and legal independence. Their identity was also demonstrated at the cultural level. Forgetting the Armenian spoken language, they continued to write and publish in Armenian. In many parts of Polish state Armenians lived in communities and kept close communal ties. However, they did not live in seclusion. They also intensively communicated with other citizens of non-Armenian origin. This required special communication language and special communication symbols, among which their personal names were of high importance.

319 See, for example Ռ, Մելքոնյան, *Իսլամացված հայերի խնդիրների շուրջ. Թուրքիայի իսլամացված հայության խնդրի ուսումնասիրություն* (Երևան, 2009); see also: Karen Khanlaryan, "The Armenian ethnoreligious elements in the Western Armenia", accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.noravank.am/eng/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=3724.

8. Armenians in Zamość in the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries and Their Influence on Past and the Present of the City

Marek Lichota

Introduction

Armenians originated from one of the oldest regions dating back to antiquity – Armenia, which is considered a cradle of human culture alongside civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt[320]. Armenians are a nation excellent in craftsmanship and commerce, sociable as well as hospitable. They distinguish themselves through thrift and loyalty. A difficult past (of constant wars against the Persians, Arabs and Turks) made this nation – already conquered by its enemies – "acquire characteristics for astuteness and diplomacy"[321] in order to survive. Townspeople with such qualities fitted into the newly built city of Chancellor Jan Zamoyski which in the expectations of its founder was supposed to be ideal. The earlier settlement of Armenians on the Polish territories had proven their useful-

320 David Marshall Lang, *Armenia kolebką cywilizacji*, transl. Tadeusz Szafar (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1975), 13.

321 Ibidem, 33.

ness in craftsmanship and trade, particularly the far eastern one, which had contributed the most to the development of the 16th century city. The development and significance of the city could be ensured by entrepreneurial, talented and industrious townspeople, such as Armenians.

Armenians' connections with the territories of the Kingdom of Poland were established already in the 14th century. This topic was a subject of numerous historians' studies, particularly towards the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. These works were predominantly concerned with Lviv and other provinces of the Eastern Borderlands such as i.e. Kamieniec. A comprehensive monograph on the Armenian community in Zamość was published in 1965 and so far it has been the only such work[322]. In other previously published works, the Armenians living in Zamość were only mentioned or discussed in the aspect of economic activity, Armenian art or architecture[323]. This topic was also undertaken in numerous academic publications[324]. Recalling Armenians' connections with Zamość is worthy of attention for the Armenian community in Zamość stood out due to its qualities and conditions which no other city of the former Poland had. This community stood out from other Armenian communities just as much as it was distinguished in its own time by its founder and protector, Grand Chancellor Jan Zamoyski.

Conditions for the Settlement of Townsmen in a Newly Built City

The city of Zamość was founded in 1580 by a prominent statesman, scholar and great patron of art and culture, Grand Crown Chancellor

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

323 Economic activity of Armenians is discussed in the work by Aleksander Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana w. kor. (1572-1605) = L'activité économique de Jean Zamoyski, chancelier et hetman de la couronne* (Lwów, Warszawa: skł. gł. Kasa im. Rektora J. Mianowskiego: Instytut Popierania Polskiej Twórczości Naukowej, 1935).

324 The most extensive article discussing the Armenian municipality from its structural perspective is the article by Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, "Organizacja Gminy Ormiańskiej w Zamościu w XVI-XVIII wieku", *Rocznik Lubelski* 3 (1960), 63-82.

and Grand Crown Hetman – Jan Zamoyski[325]. The city was designed to be a work of art which was also expected to be safe, functional and beautiful[326]. By founding the city Zamoyski brought the public interest to the forefront – thus, the city was to become a massive fortress, strengthening the defence system of the state. At the same time, the fortress would provide security to him (the palace – headquarter of the family) and his subjects (the city and townspeople living in it). The city was supposed to play an important economic role; craftsmanship and trade – as the major occupation for the townspeople – were to develop there[327]. Zamoyski did not allow the future settlers to do farming because this work was not available for townspeople; townspeople were expected to do non-agricultural jobs[328]. This was not obvious in the times when Zamość was created since with around 1,650 towns in the Polish territories at the end of the 16th century their occupational structure was hardly different from that of the countryside[329].

The idea of building an ideal city was implemented with a great vigour and dedication. The city was being built in accordance with the project of a renowned architect, Barnardo Morando, and it was modelled on Italian cities. The effects of work were quickly noticed and Zamość stood out from other cities from the very beginning. This was confirmed by Vanozzi, the emissary of Cardinal Gaetano, who stayed in Zamość in 1596 and who stated in his diary that "the city is beautiful, decorative and in Italian style" [330]. Zamoyski was taking care of the aesthetic appearance of the city, houses were to be built in accordance with a specific pattern and they were not to be sordid. Even before the foundation charter of the city, Zamoyski wrote in a letter to Topornicki: "I must have a few houses built there so

325 Ryszard Szczygieł, *Przywilej lokacyjny Zamościa z 1580 roku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1980), 1-12.

326 Jerzy Kowalczyk, "Jan Zamoyski w kulturze polskiej", in *Czterysta lat Zamościa: materiały sesji naukowej*, ed. Jan Kowalczyk (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983), 25.

327 Ryszard Szczygieł, "Zamość w czasach staropolskich", in *Czterysta lat Zamościa: materiały sesji naukowej*, ed. Jan Kowalczyk (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983), 99.

328 Ibidem, 100.

329 Stanisław Herbst, *Miasta i mieszczaństwo Renesansu polskiego* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1954), 6-7.

330 Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego*, 326.

that others who have a wish to settle there will build in the same manner" [331]. The settlers who had received land for the building of houses had to build them as soon as possible (up to two years). The failure to comply with this requirement could have resulted in the loss of the land parcel[332]. All the above made Zamość develop quickly and, consequently, a beautiful and populous city was built, which captivated people in the country and abroad[333]. The fame of the new city and its incentives (privileges for the settlers) spread throughout Europe but also in the East to the Muslim states. Soon the influx of settlers of various nationalities began to flow to the newly built city even from the most distant places[334].

Privileges and Incentives for New Settlers

Zamość received the location privilege based on the Magdeburg Law (similarly to the Crown's Lviv) where the first *wójt* (*zasadźca* – mayor of the municipality) held his magistracy for life while his successors were to be elected. However, Zamość was also a private and therefore the personal attitude towards the owner of the city was based also on the feudal law, which was manifested by swearing an oath of loyalty by the newly elected city authorities and guilds to their master "as was fit for good vassals"[335]. Exemption of the new settlers from "all the works and servile duties of providing horses and other burdens" was an incentive for those settling in the city.

Additionally, Zamoyski exempted the newly settled townspeople from rents, fees, revenues and taxes for the period of 25 years. After this period they were required to pay on the day of Saint Martin the annual rent of 20 groats for every ½ of fief and 6 groats for the benefits of church, while for the ¼ of fief – the half of these sums. Rent for every house in the city was 6 groats for the owner of the city and 2 groats for the church. In the outskirts the rent was 2 groats lower while for the church it was 2 groats.

331 Letter to Topornicki (Zamoyski's plenipotentiary during the construction of the city, see *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego. Vol. 1, 1553-1579*, ed. Wacław Sobieski (Warszawa: Druk Piotra Laskauera i S-ki, 1904), 349.

332 Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego*, 326.

333 Ibidem, 327.

334 Ibidem, 322.

335 Ibidem, 319.

Furthermore, the Chancellor promised to obtain from the king an exemption from the royal and state taxes, as well as a perpetual exemption from customs duty inside the country and, to a certain amount and for some time, from definitive and border duties. In addition, he promised to make efforts towards obtaining the staple right and privileges for salt storage[336].

The city charter and privileges of Chancellor Zamoyski were thoroughly approved by King Stefan Batory. Moreover, he additionally granted privileges which fell solely within the jurisdiction of a monarch, the right to three annual fairs:

- on the sixth Sunday after Easter;
- on the day of Saint Mark, the Pope (October 7);
- on the day of the conversion of Saint Paul (January 25).

Zamość was granted also the storage right for the goods brought from Bełż Voivodeship, Volhynia and Chełm Land to the Crown, such as i.e. suet, wax, hemp, flax, wool, hop, saltpetre and fish, as well as all the goods brought to the abovementioned places from Gdańsk and the Crown. On this basis, merchants were obliged to present their goods in Zamość for three days. Merchants' failure to comply with this duty was liable to penalty of losing the goods. The townspeople also received the exemption from bridge toll and dike customs across the entire country. They were only obliged to pay for the main (grand) customs and border duty. However, they received the right to a refund of 300 złoty for the border duty for 10 years as well as the exemption from taxes for the period of 15 years. Through these privileges Zamość became equated with the most prominent cities of Poland[337]. The offer to settle in Zamość was available exclusively for Catholic population[338]. This also considered only the non-agricultural population[339]. It would have been difficult to take also the nobility into account as their resentment, or even hostility, towards the cities was widespread, as well as due to the nobility's socio-legal status

336 Ibidem, 320.

337 Ibidem, 322.

338 Szczygieł, *Przywilej lokacyjny Zamościa z 1580 roku*, 2-10.

339 Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego*, 410.

in the Kingdom of Poland[340]. Requirements set by Zamoyski for the future inhabitants of the city resulted in the circle of settlers who were people predominantly resettled from other cities.

However, the situation of Polish cities in the 16th century was unfavourable; cities went through a crisis, townspeople were pushed to margins of political and economic life by the dominating nobility, smaller cities were losing their position and their development was impeded[341]. In this situation the influx of people from other cities could not be so large as to populate a city which, in its expectations, was to have around 3,000 inhabitants, which in the conditions of that time was a city of a considerable size[342]. The requirement of Catholicism was considerably narrowing down the circle of settlers, particularly merchants from Far East who could develop commerce on a large scale but whose faith was different. All of the above resulted in the city not being able to develop with vigour and to flourish on a scale which had been assumed by the Chancellor and which had been planned by Bernardo Morando.

Early Settlement of Armenians in Zamość

Zamoyski quickly understood that religious restrictions included in the city privilege in 1580 would impede the development of the city. As a well-educated and sophisticated man of Europe, he was well aware of the realities of the world at that time. He understood that the conditions he had initially set up would hamper the development of the city. International trade would have been an opportunity for the development of the city. The townspeople of Polish origin could basically provide only the development of a national commerce[343]. Therefore, he abolished ethnic and religious restrictions for the settlers in his city[344].

340 The noblemen could not be involved in commerce for they could lose their ennoblement; they also did not pay taxes (revenues for the city).

341 Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1986), 322-8.

342 Herbst, *Miasta i mieszczaństwo Renesansu polskiego*, 20.

343 This resulted from a ban on Polish merchants due to which they were not allowed to be involved in foreign trade (legal restrictions).

344 Szczygieł, "Zamość w czasach staropolskich", 105.

The founder's attention was drawn to the Armenian nation as it distinguished itself by its special talents in crafts and trade. He issued a document for this purpose on April 30, 1585 which authorised Armenians to settle in Zamość[345]. At that time they had already been living in the territories of the Kingdom of Poland, in Kamieniec, Lviv and a few smaller centres mainly of the Easter Borderlands. Zamoyski was interested in settlers who were able to manage the land plots granted to them in accordance with the city plan, i.e. to build tenement-houses quickly and in a proper style, worthy of an ideal city[346]. Their main activity was supposed to be trading and crafts, and they were to contribute to the development and flourishing of the city[347]. Hence, he was not keen on random settlers who were searching for any occupation and shelter, or fugitives from other cities. Zamoyski did not want such "uncouth" settlers in his ideal city[348]. Therefore, the Armenians of Zamość originated mainly from their native territories[349]. Additionally, their descent can be indicated by the language they spoke[350].

Armenians were not only the first nationally foreign group in the city but they enjoyed the greatest respect of the Chancellor from the very beginning. They were also granted the best and the most representative location – starting at the Great Market Square, from the Town Hall towards the east. By granting land plots in this kind of location in his own city – the greatest work of his life – Zamoyski must have trusted the Armenians that they would build their tenement-houses as magnificent and decorated. The magnate's hopes came to fruition as their land plots had been built up with beautiful tenement-houses where the Italian style of the Renaissance building form splendidly harmonised with extraordinarily oriental ornamentations. Furthermore, the Armenians were from the very beginning set apart by Zamoyski from other nationalities living

345 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, 141.

346 Szczygieł, "Zamość w czasach staropolskich",103-4.

347 Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego*, 323.

348 Zamoyski did not want poor settlers in the city and two years later when he brought wealthy Portuguese Jews to Zamość he stated: "but [the Chancellor] wants that the Frankish Jews settle thither, but the uncouth ones he does not want" – fragment from a letter to Mosze Kohen, Szczygieł, "Zamość w czasach staropolskich", 105.

349 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, 112.

350 Ibidem, 22.

in the city and the privileges granted to them were repeatedly exceeding even those of Polish people. They received all the rights and freedoms which were enjoyed by the previous inhabitants of the city. They were the first religious group in the city other than Catholics who received freedom of religious beliefs. They not only received a permission to build their own church but the first parish priest, Krzysztof Kałast, was also granted a salary of 60 złoty per annum by Zamoyski[351]. The Chancellor took care also of the income of the Armenian Church and granted a field, garden and meadow for the purpose of its emolument[352]. Armenians were granted the right to establish their own municipality, organization of which was modelled on the municipality of Kamieniec. Simultaneously, not only the right but also the mores of Kamieniec were enforced[353]. At the head of the municipality stood a mayor (*wójt*) who was elected every year. The selected and sworn mayor, together with the judges, formed the Armenian public office and court, which kept joint registers for the public office and court. The scope of judicial power was defined by the privilege from 1589. By virtue of this privilege, the Armenian court had an equal place with the mayor courts and Ruthenian city courts. Appeal against the judgement of this court could be made in the Tribunal of Zamość, established by Jan Zamoyski on the basis of the privilege of 1604 in which Article 17 included the regulation on the appeal of Armenian legal cases [354]. All the civil and criminal cases were under the jurisdiction of the court of mayor and lay assessors. This court was privileged even in relation to Polish courts because in the case of disputes between Poles and Armenians – the Armenian courts were pertinent[355]. Apart from judicial power, the Armenian mayor held many other important offices, of which the most significant was a supervision of fiscal affairs. His duties included watching over tax collection by executives. Together with the judges he watched over church funds. Every year the mayor gave an account to the commoners on income and expenses.

Other Armenian offices:

351 Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego*, 325.

352 Ibidem, 390.

353 Kazimierz Roman Sochaniewicz, "Najdawniejsza organizacja samorządu w Zamościu". *Kronika Powiatu Zamojskiego* 20 (1918), 2-3; 23-24 (1918), 41-43.

354 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, 208.

355 Ibidem, 187.

- bailiff – tax collection;
- steward – taking care of church funds;
- scribe – keeping the records of Armenian office.

The role of the scribe was very important and it required the knowledge in legal provisions because he not only kept records but he also wrote pleadings which were lodged with the mayor's office and he took part in court sessions[356].

Privileges in the areas of trade and crafts created extremely favourable conditions for economic growth and enrichment of the Armenians. Zamoyski was not content with merely constituting and obtaining from the king these privileges, which exceeded his competence, but he provided their actual implementation. Respecting privileges was a serious problem at that time particularly in the Crown's cities such as Lviv and Kamieniec. These issues seemed to be unknown in Zamość. The Chancellor provided the Armenians not only with privileges which were actually respected but he also felt responsible for the inhabitants of his city who, through their far eastern expeditions, often run the risk of being in various dangers. Cases of his intervention in their defence are known as he managed to use his strong social status and extensive influence. In 1598 he took up the defence of two Armenian merchants from Zamość who were detained in Moscow by local merchants. He made efforts to have them released and for this purpose used his family connections[357].

Zamoyski not only valued trade but also appreciated the development of industry. He understood the need for supporting the domestic industrial production. He rose high above the level of the nobility's views in this regard and, although as the Great Chancellor of the Crown he did not leave his mark in this area on a nationwide scale, he gave expression to it in his own city of Zamość[358]. Through implementing his concept of the development of the domestic industrial production, the Armenians were particularly singled out by him. Consequently, he took a particular care of craftsmen of this nationality. At the very beginning of the Armenian settlement in Zamość he obtained from king Stefan Batory in 1585

356 Ibidem, 167.

357 Ibidem, 384.

358 Roman Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu* (Poznań: Towarzystwo Miłośników miasta Poznania, 1928), 3.

a privilege for a weaver of Armenian origin, Murat Jakubowicz, to produce *more turcico* carpets[359]. In the same way the abovementioned craftsman was also granted a privilege for an exclusive production of Marocco leather-ware and for embossing of *corii*[360]. The Armenians of Zamość also practised the production of ornaments made of precious metals (gold and silver) in which the design was based on oriental elements[361]. Representatives of the Armenian craftsmen, along with merchants, were also a part of the urban patriciate[362].

The Armenians of Zamość contributed not only to the economic growth of the city but their input into the development of culture and education, the activity which surpassed not only local but also international boundaries, was also very significant. The name of Symeon Lehaci, known as "a man of Zamość", born in Zamość in 1584, is well-known in circles of the orientalists of international scope. His writings on long journeys are considered by Armenian historians as the most valuable sources of this kind. Due to his work it is possible to learn about the location of Armenian population in other countries[363]. Another well-known Armenian chronicler was Zachariasz Arakiełowicz who was writing a chronicle from 1689 and 1725[364]. Jakub Arakiełowicz, a professor and two-time Dean of the Academy of Zamość, also came from his family. Another professor of the Academy of Zamość, Auksenty Owaniszewicz, was a lecturer in orthography. Another Armenian scholar was a Doctor of Philosophy in law, a teacher in eastern languages (Turkish) of Chancellor Tomasz Zamoyski's son – Jan Iwaszkowicz[365].

Representatives of the Armenians of Zamość were also known in the area of diplomacy. Mikołaj Chadziejowicz achieved special merits in his service to the Crown by inducing the Tatar khan to withdraw his

359 Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (Wrocław; Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich 1959), 106.

360 Mańkowski, *Orient*, 219.

361 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, 130.

362 Ibidem, 250.

363 Ibidem, 220.

364 Ibidem, 224.

365 Stanisław Żurkowski, *Żywot Tomasza Zamoyskiego Kanclerza W. Kor.* (Lwów: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1860), 161.

forces against Khmelnytsky. Kacper Synanowicz Szymański, being fluent in Turkish language, was sent with important diplomatic missions[366].

The Armenians of Zamość were also active in the areas of culture and art[367]. Armenian material culture became the attraction of the city. The most visible results of their art were presented in the central part of the city, at the Great Market Square, where the magnificent tenement-houses were decorated with wonderfully rich ornamentation, in which skilfully composed geometric, floral and animal forms were present[368].

Armenians of Zamość in Comparison to Armenians from other Cities of the Kingdom of Poland

The Armenians of Zamość differed from the Armenians living in Lviv and Kamieniec. These differences stemmed from the place of their origin and time when they arrived at Polish territories, social situation, as well as conditions for economic activity and development. The Armenians of Zamość settled at Polish territories relatively late for it was only at the end of the 16th century. The first influx of Armenian settlers started to arrive at the territories of Poland already in the 14th century and their most numerous groupings with their own municipalities were established in the royal cities: in Kamieniec and in the second largest city of Lviv[369]. They arrived not from the indigenous Armenian areas but as people uprooted mainly from Caffa in Crimaea where they had settled at the time when the Armenian state had still existed[370]. Therefore, they were a national group which did not have direct links with Armenia. It is not surprising then that in this situation the famous chronicler, Symeon, stated in his diary from the first half of the 17th century that: "the Armenians of Lviv

366 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, 228-229.

367 Piotr Kondraciuk, "Sztuka ormiańska w Zamościu", in *Ars armeniaca: sztuka ormiańska ze zbiorów polskich i ukraińskich*, ed. Waldemar Deluga (Zamość: Muzeum Zamojskie ; Kielce: ARW Fine Grain, 2010), 11-15.

368 Kondraciuk, "Sztuka ormiańska w Zamościu", 15-19.

369 Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1982), 28.

370 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce,* 13.

cannot speak Armenian but they can speak Polish and Kipchak, which is a Tatar language"[371].

The situation in Zamość was different since the Armenians who went there arrived mostly from their indigenous lands with which they kept in touch[372]. References to the Armenian language can be found everywhere in the records of the Armenian municipality: on translations from Armenian language, on signatures in Armenian language, on documents written in "Armenian letter". Moreover, the Armenians of Zamość referred to their language as Armenian while Armenians of Lviv referred to their language as Tatar[373].

The ideal image of a city in accordance with the concept of G. Vasari, P. Cataneo and B. Armarati is a city in which all the human needs are met: economic, defensive, social, and aesthetic[374]. Zamość seemed to be the city which performed all these functions. While creating his notion of an ideal city, Zamoyski perhaps drew on these concepts and even extended them as Zamość also became a significant academic centre with its own University-Academy of Zamość, a printing house and a library. No other city in which the organised Armenian communities lived performed such versatile functions as Zamość. Even the royal Lviv, considered in the 16th century as one of the biggest Polish cities, did not have university at that time. In this situation the Armenians of Zamość had ideal conditions and it is not surprising that they felt good and developed there while all their needs, which the ideal city could satisfy, were met.

However, the Armenian community did not have similar conditions for living in each of the Polish cities. The Armenians distinguished themselves in Zamość due to the favourable social conditions, because they had their own municipality, a guaranteed freedom of religious beliefs and an opportunity for taking part also in the social life of the entire city: as aldermen, members of the Tribunal of Zamość (Court of Appeal) or even by holding the office of a provost.

371 Edward Tryjarski, "O ogólnej sytuacji językowej w gminach Ormian polskich", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 23 (1960), 9.

372 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, 112.

373 Ibidem, 22.

374 Bogucka and Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast*, 11.

The Armenians lost their municipality in Lviv in 1469. The Armenian community living there was very conflicted with the Polish community; riots and unrest often took place there. This kind of situation never happened in Zamość, except some minor misunderstandings. The municipality in Kamieniec functioned well but, similarly to Lviv, social conflicts were frequent. In both of these cities the Armenians had a much worse social situation. The Armenians of Zamość had very favourable economic conditions. In conditions of a good atmosphere and the lack of conflicts in the city they could develop their business activities (trade and craftsmanship) and multiply their wealth.

Fortunes of some of the Armenians of Zamość outweighed considerably the wealth of the richest inhabitants of Lviv[375]. Amongst the Armenians of Zamość particularly wealthy were the merchants, amongst whom Abraham Kirkorowicz's affluence stood out, with his fortune estimated at 900,000 złoty[376]. Along with the merchants, the Armenian patriciate included the representatives of crafts even though their fortunes did not equal those of the merchants[377].

Against the background of the royal cities such as Kamieniec and Lviv, the absence of conflicts in the urban community of Zamość could have been an indication of a smaller financial stratification of the townspeople, particularly since there are no references on that matter. The situation was completely different in the first two cities, socially diverse to a large degree, where the poorest strata of the society functioned next to the very rich patricians. In such diverse communities conflicts were easily triggered and they were often of a nationalistic background. Envy of Polish merchants towards the Armenians occurred in Lviv due to the fact that out of 38 wealthy shops in the city, 22 of them belonged to Armenians, while out of 24 stalls, 19 belonged to the Armenian merchants[378]. Similar situation was also in Kamieniec where a constant struggle was taking place between the Armenians and Jews[379]. A myriad of nationalities living

375 Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycjat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie w XVI i XVII wieku* (Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1890), 169-170.

376 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, 235.

377 Ibidem, 250.

378 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce*, 28.

379 Renata Król-Mazur, *Miasto trzech nacji. Studia z dziejów Kamieńca Podolskiego w XVIII wieku* (Kraków: Avalon, 2008), 291.

in Zamość was considerably more diverse because the Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Scots and Englishmen settled in the city alongside the Poles; in spite of this, there are no references to ethnically-motivated conflicts in the city. Harmony of their co-existence was most assuredly influenced by the fact that Zamoyski did not bring the "uncouth" settlers, i.e. people who could not afford to build on the land plots granted to them the tenement-houses worthy of an ideal city; therefore, stratification of town community did not occur to such an extent that it would cause the outbursts of dissatisfaction like it had in other cities. Amongst many nationalities living in the city, the Armenians set themselves apart not only from foreign nations but even from the Poles. Despite this, they did not arouse such envy here as in other cities. This situation was a result not only of the Chancellor's and his successors' activities but also of the conditions provided for every person, allowing them all to live and prosper.

The Decline and Disappearance of the Armenian Community in Zamość

The number of Armenians decreased in the city in the 18th century. This led to the closing of the Armenian municipality in 1738[380]. Thereby, the Armenian court also ceased to exist and its competences were transferred to the city council, but the Armenians kept their right to run for offices in this magistracy and the fact of holding these offices is confirmed. The Armenians continued to keep a high social position in the city and they kept the leading places amongst the patricians of Zamość. Some men of this rank acquired an ennoblement, stepping into the nobility. Cases of joining Polish families through marriage were also frequent; in this way they were granted offices and distinctions. All of the above resulted in a gradual assimilation of the Armenian community with the Poles. Its connections with the fatherland were also disappearing and, as a consequence, the difference between the Armenians and Polish people was also vanishing. Additional factor which accelerated the process of the Armenian assimilation was the introduction of Catholic rites in the Armenian Church in Zamość in 1665[381]. Previously the Armenian Church played not only

380 Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie zamojscy*, 258.

381 Ibidem, 34.

religious roles but it was also the mainstay of the Armenian culture and language. The example of Zamość shows that the decline of a community (i.e. Armenian) can follow through a gradual integration and assimilation with the local people, and the more favourable conditions this community had for living and prospering, the faster the process was taking place.

Influence of Armenian Heritage on the Contemporary Life of the City

Material heritage is a wonderful, permanent – and unparalleled anywhere else in Poland – footprint of the Armenian stay in Zamość in the previous centuries. The most noticeable are the tenement houses still in existence these days, particularly those situated in the Great Market Square the Renaissance body of which, combined with exceptionally oriental facades, is considered the world class monument triggering tourists' admiration. Original fragments of the interiors and furnishings of these tenement-houses have been preserved to this day. A large number of documents on the basis of which it is possible to reconstruct the history of the Armenians in Zamość has also survived. All the monuments are solicitously preserved and the most representative tenement-houses at the Great Market Square are the seat of the District Museum which actively propagates knowledge on the stay and culture of the Armenians who used to live in Zamość.

Activity associated with the history of the Armenians in Zamość is not limited only to taking care of the monuments; exhibitions and academic panels dedicated to the Armenians, meeting and visits of the Armenian state dignitaries, people of science and culture as well as entrepreneurs are also organised. In 2010 an academic conference and exhibition on the Armenian culture in Poland was organised in Zamość. The place of the proceedings seemed to be particularly well-chosen because of the historical and peaceful co-existence, and the dialog between the Armenian and Polish cultures in Zamość in the previous centuries. The honorary patronage of the Ambassador of Armenia in Poland, Ashot Galoyan, and the President of Zamość, Marcin Zamoyski – the descendant of the authenticator of the privilege of 1585 which allowed the Armenians to settle in Zamość – has a unique, symbolic dimension. This conference and exhibition – of an international scope and gathering a group

of scholars and representatives of culture – allowed to recall the Armenian diaspora and its contribution to the culture of Poland, and it also entered the global tendency to begin a dialogue between cultures and to draw them nearer[382]. Cultural initiatives create an atmosphere for cultivating Armenian traditions in Zamość and for undertaking attempts for the Polish-Armenian co-operation on a local dimension. Consistent with this favourable atmosphere are visits of state dignitaries of the Republic of Armenia. On June 26, 2013 the city welcomed the President of the Republic of Armenia, Serzh Sargsyan. The President held a meeting with the representatives of the Armenian diaspora in Poland and visited the Armenian tenement-houses at the Great Market Square[383]. On May 10, 2016 a meeting on economic co-operation took place between the Union of Business Executives of Zamość with the representatives of the local authorities and entrepreneurs from Armenia, in which the Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia in Poland, Edgar Ghazaryan, participated. A proposal for co-operation was put forward at this meeting by the presidents of two Armenian cities: Dilijan and Vayk[384]. Armenian traditions are also resorted to by the local entrepreneurs and local museum, which are interested in mutual contacts and cultivation of the tradition of oriental atmosphere in the city. In accordance with the notion of the Orient going back for good to Zamość, the District Museum in Zamość (Muzeum Zamojskie w Zamościu) organised a permanent exhibition in the preserved Armenian chamber, with original decorative elements and furnishing, which presents an apartment of an Armenian patrician of Zamość at the beginning of the 17th century[385]. The opening of this permanent exhibition

382 Bogdan Czajkowski, Roman Czmełyk and Andrzej Urbański, ”Współpraca w kontekście dialogu, rozwoju i zbliżenia kultur”, in *Ars armeniaca: sztuka ormiańska ze zbiorów polskich i ukraińskich*, ed. Waldemar Deluga (Zamość: Muzeum Zamojskie ; Kielce: ARW Fine Grain, 2010), 5.

383 The visit of the President of Armenia in Zamość was recorded by the local media/newspapers: Anna Rudy, “Prezydent Armenii w Zamościu”, *Tygodnik Zamojski*, 2013-06-27 and Małgorzata Szlachetka, “Prezydent Armenii z wizytą w Lublinie”, *Kurier Lubelski*, 2013-06-27.

384 The meeting was broadcasted by the web portal: naszemiasto.pl, accessed May 22, 2017, http://zamosc.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/prezydent-armenii-odwiedzil-zamosc-zdjecia,1911985,artgal,t,id,tm.html.

385 Bogdan Czajkowski, Roman Czmełyk and Andrzej Urbański, „Współpraca w kontekście dialogu, rozwoju i zbliżenia kultur”, in *Ars armeniaca: sztuka ormiańska ze*

was celebrated with the presence of the Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia in Poland, Edgar Ghazaryan. Participants of the ceremony could also taste the Armenian cuisine in the atmosphere of oriental design in the cellars of the Armenian tenement-houses in which a restaurant, "Muzealna-Ormiańskie Piwnice", is situated. All these initiatives and activities result in the fact that it is possible to admire in the city not only the Armenian monuments, wonderful and unique in their scale for Poland, but also to feel the atmosphere and scent of the Orient. These current Polish-Armenian contacts refer to the times when the Armenians lived in the multicultural "hetman's gord" and to the traces they had left behind in the city.

Summary

Armenians found favourable conditions for settling in the newly built private city, founded by the Great Chancellor, Jan Zamoyski. The city provided security – for it was one of the most powerful fortresses of the then Poland – and favourable conditions for conducting craftsmanship and commerce, for which they received numerous privileges from the king and the founder of the city. The realisstic possibilities for the implementations of the granted privileges monitored by Zamoyski – as well as the lack of conflicts with the Polish merchants and the patronage of the city owner – provided the most favourable conditions for living, activity and development in Poland at that time. This resulted in the enrichment of the Armenian townspeople, the building of marvellous houses and, as a consequence, the flourishing of the city. Affluence, numerous ennoblements and assimilation of the Armenian townspeople with the Polish society contributed to the decline of the Armenian municipality in the city. The Armenians became citizens of the Kingdom of Poland. There are beautiful monumental tenement-houses left behind by the Armenians which nowadays trigger admiration amongst tourists. They are also a part of the civic building complex registered with the UNESCO World Heritage List. At the beginning of the 21st century the contacts of the city with the representatives of the Armenian nation began to revive in the form of academic conferences and exhibitions organised in the city, initiatives

zbiorów polskich i ukraińskich, ed. Waldemar Deluga (Zamość: Muzeum Zamojskie; Kielce: ARW Fine Grain, 2010), passim.

of the local entrepreneurs and authorities. The visits of state dignitaries of Armenia to the city are consistent with these events. Good atmosphere of the local contacts and the Polish-Armenian co-operation pertains to a piece of the Orient preserved in the Armenian tenement-houses, which adorn the Great Market Square and recall the Armenians living in Zamość in the past.

9. Changes in the Armenian-Catholic Rite in Poland in the 20th Century

Grzegorz Pełczyński

The Times of Archbishop Teodorowicz (1901-1938)

In the 19th century Polish Armenians, settled in Eastern Galicia and Bukovina which belonged to Austria at the time, differed from their ancestors who used to live on the territory of Poland. They were no longer exotic merchants trading with the countries of the East. Some of them became members of the nobility in the previous century, others were more lucky under the Austrian rule. As they owned land they became landed gentry. The majority of them became members of the intelligentsia. In the 19th century the process of Polonization among them intensified. Although they identified themselves with the Polish nation still deliberately remained separate to some extent. The Armenian-Catholic Rite played a vital role in it.

In 1901 Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz was in charge of the Armenian Rite Archdiocese of Lviv, he was named the Prince of Church and was also an outstanding Polish politician[386]. For nearly 40 years he

386 Stanisław Gawlik, *Życie i działalność ks. abpa Józefa T. Teodorowicza* (Kraków, Warszawa: Michalineum 1988); Renata Król-Mazur, *Działalność polityczna arcybiskupa Józefa Teofila Teodorowicza w latach 1888-1923* (Kraków: Ormiańskie Towarzystwo

was a leader of the Armenian community living on the Polish territory. The Archdiocese he administered was the oldest and most esteemed institution of the Polish Armenians. Teodorowicz resided in Lviv, where was its center, next to a beautiful cathedral of the 14th century.

The archdiocese consisted of three decanates including only nine parishes. The Lviv decanate owned parishes in Lviv and Brzeżany. To the Stanisławów decanate belonged parishes in Stanisławów, Tyśmienica and Łysiec. The Kuteń decanate included parishes in Kuty, Horodenka, Śniatyń, and also in Bukovina was a parish in Chernovitsy and the chaplain's church in Suczawa which were separated from the Lviv Archdiocese after WWI when Bukovina was incorporated into Romania, but the bonds between Armenians from Galicia and Bukovina were not broken. The members of those parishes also lived in the surrounding area, often in their own landed estates, as well as outside Galicia and Bukovina[387]. In Lviv the Armenian Benedictines owned a monastery.

The number of followers of the Armenian Rite Archdiocese of Lviv varied from 5 to 10 thousands, which constituted the smallest archdiocese on the Polish territory[388]. When Archbishop Teodorowicz ran the archdiocese the tradition of using only the Armenian Rite ceased to be the rule. Not all of church followers did have both parents of the Armenian Rite and consequently used it themselves receiving Armenian sacraments from the early childhood. There was an increasing number of people receiving Latin or even Greek-Catholic sacraments as a result of family contacts with the followers of those Churches. The process of rite assimilation was rather complex and not necessarily recorded in Armenian parish registers. However, when one of the marriage candidates was a follower of the Armenian Rite they had to decide on the choice of liturgy for their wedding ceremony. They both could use one or two separate wedding rites. When they shared the same ritual then their children often received

Kulturalne, 2013).

387 Zdzisław Obertyński, *Historia kościoła ormiańskiego w Polsce* (Warszawa: Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian przy Oddziale Warszawskim Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego, 1990), 58-61.

388 Czesław Lechicki, *Kościół ormiański w Polsce (zarys historyczny)* (Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Syna, 1928), 153; Józef Krętosz, "Organizacja parafialna Archidiecezji Lwowskiej Obrządku Łacińskiego a sieć parafii greckokatolickich i ormiańskich działających w obrębie jej terytorium (w XIX wieku do 1918)", *Studia Lubaczoviensia* 2, 1984, 29-30.

the same sacraments like their parent of the same sex. But even if they were officially the followers of the Latin Church they were still connected with the Armenian Church.

In the 19th century the number of priests of the Lviv Archdiocese varied from above ten to more than twenty likewise when Archbishop Teodorowicz had administered it. Priest – candidates studied together with the Latin Church students at Jan Kazimierz University Theological Department in Lviv or the Armenian Collegium in Rome. In the 1930s Grzegorz Petrowicz, Kazimierz Romaszkan and Kazimierz Roszko also studied there. Occasionally the Latin or immigrant priests joined the Armenian clergy, the example are Paweł Kirmizjan and Sergiusz Eguljan[389]. Sometimes Armenians joined the Latin Church. Contacts with the Mekhitarist Monastery, the only male congregation of the Armenian-Catholic Rite, with its monastery in Vienna which was located nearby, were also important.

Almost every one of the priests of the Armenian Rite Archdiocese held a post and a title connected with it. It took comparatively less time to obtain them due to a small number of followers and they functioned only symbolically. Therefore, many Armenian priests who were not burdened with too many duties took up activities pro publico bono. Archbishop Teodorowicz became a politician.

The Armenian Rite Archdiocese of Lviv helped to preserve the Armenian liturgy and other Armenian traditions on the area of Eastern Małopolska [Lesser Poland region] and Bukovina. Among them were famous indulgencies to honor St. Anthony, taking place in Kuty, a very traditional village where Polish Armenians from all parishes gathered[390]. However gradual Latinization of the Rite was still observed. In Armenian churches the Masses were continually performed in Old Armenian (grabar) hard to understand for church followers, however many elements of the Mass derived from the Latin Rite. Considerably Polonized Armenians started to resemble Poles in the matter of the religious rite.

389 Tadeusz Zaleski, *Słownik biograficzny duchownych ormiańskich w Polsce* (Kraków: Ormiańskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne, 2001).

390 Zbigniew Kościów, *Wiadomość o Ormianach kuckich* (Warszawa, 1989); Grzegorz Pełczyński, "Kabzanie w Kutach i gdzie indziej", *Literatura Ludowa* 40, no. 6 (1996), 27-8.

Józef Torosiewicz Office for Science (Zakład Naukowy imienia Józefa Torosiewicza) in Lviv was the most popular Polish Armenians' culture center connected with church structures. It was a dormitory for boys of the Armenian-Catholic Rite who learned or studied in Lviv. It was founded in 1865 by Józef Torosiewicz, doctor of medicine and a well-known filantropist who dedicated all his fortune to support it. Students had to pay rent to stay there but poorer students could obtain a bursary. After WWI due to the loss of a financial support it could have been closed but a lot of people from various communities helped to save the dormitory.

There usually resided thirty or forty boys from different Armenian parishes who made friends in the dormitory and maintained friendly relations long after they had left it. It significantly contributed to the integration of the Armenian community. The dormitory was located nearby the Cathedral and regular contacts with Armenian priests helped to keep strong ties with the Armenian Church.

A similar dormatory named Archbishop Isakowicz Armenian-Catholic Dormatory was founded by Kajetan Kasprowicz in Chernovitsy at the end of the 19th century. The surname Isakowicz was added to its name after his death. Unlike the Torosiewicz Dormitory, boys of all Catholic Rites could reside there.

The Abrahamowicz foundation in Lviv founded there by a well-known politician Dawid Abrahamowicz for boys of pauperized landowners of the Latin and Armenian Rites served as a pedagogical institution. Due to WWI and October Revolution many similar places were spread over the Eastern Borderlands.

The oldest Armenian pedagogical institution was Szkoła Powszechna i Gimnazjum we Lwowie [Primary School and Junior High School in Lviv] conducted by the Armenian Benedictines. It was the oldest female school in Lviv supposedly established in the 18th century. The Benedictines did not teach there as it would be against the rules. Most pupils came from Polish families so the school was not Armenian like the Office of Science, the educational program was the same like in Polish schools but sometimes girls went to the Mass to the Armenian Cathedral located nearby and were also visited by the Archbishop.

An important institution was „Mons Pius" Public Facility Pawn at the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv which served as a bank established at

the end of the 18th century, a small financial facility which survived the after-war crisis only due to the support of metropolitan curia[391].

In 1927 in Lviv the Polish Armenians began to issue a periodical „Posłaniec św. Grzegorza" [Saint Gregory's Messenger]. The Armenian patron's name in the title indicated its Armenian provenance although the periodical was issued only in Polish which was already spoken by the Polish Armenians. Priest Dionizy Kajetanowicz and Stanisław Donigiewicz were the editors. Since 1935 was issued a mainly theological periodical „Gregoriana", edited by priest Adam Bogdanowicz.

The periodical appeared as a result of the activity of the Armenian community which helped to make contacts among those who wanted to preserve the Armenian traditions in Poland. They realized that the old church structures were not sufficient to enable this. Also new problems were to be solved. At the end of the 1920s the Armenians' discussions led to the idea of establishing an association to unite the dispersed Polish Armenians. It was finally founded in 1930 in Lviv as Archidiecezjalny Związek Ormian (AZO) [The Archdiocesean Armenians' Association (AZO)], its name was not accidental and indicated tight bonds of its members with the Armenian Rite Archdiocese of Lviv. Jan Antoniewicz was chosen president with priests Dionizy Kajetanowicz and Henryk Mikuli as vice-presidents. In the mid-thirties AZO had c.a. 500 members including the Armenians who recently came from Armenia or Russia and felt connected to it, otherwise they might have founded another association. Saint Gregory's Messenger was its official media outlet.

Bale Ormiańskie [Armenian Dance Balls] were the most spectacular events organized by the association taking place in the rooms of lwowskie Kasyno Literacko-Artystyczne [Lviv Literary-Artistic Casino] organized by Komisja Zabawowa [the Entertainment Committee].

Despite the entertaining activity the Armenian organization was also involved in a cultural activity, Saint Gregory's Messenger Editorial Committee, and Komisja Literacko-Naukowa i Artystyczna [the Literary-Scientific and Artistic Committee] were in charge of it. In addition to editing their members organized readings about Armenian issues performed by outstanding experts, and concerts by Armenian artists, which mostly

391 Bohdan Janusz, *'Mons Pius' Ormian lwowskich* (Lwów: Towarzystwo Miłośników Przeszłości Lwowa, 1928); Bogdan Krzysztofowicz, "'Mons Pius' Ormian lwowskich", *Gregoriana* 2 (1936), 67-69.

took place in the Lviv Literary-Artistic Casino. The Armenian activists broadcast radio programs about Armenians in 1931 and 1932. In 1932 they organized Wystawa Zabytków Ormiańskich in Lviv [the Exhibition of Armenian Antiquities] which presented numerous exhibits showing the Armenians' grand past on the Polish territory.

The period of WWII (1939-1945)

The death of Archbishop Teodorowicz on December 4, 1938 marked the end of a certain epoque in history of the Armenians on the Polish territory. The Pope had not managed to elect the successor of the late archbishop before the WWII broke out. Priest Dionizy Kajetanowicz administered the Lviv Archdiocese during the war.

The German army invaded the territory of Małopolska Wschodnia [Eastern Lesser Poland region] on September 1939, but due to Ribbentrop-Mołotow Pact yielded it to the Soviet Union. Under the Soviet occupation the activity of the Armenian institutions and organizations was difficult if not impossible. In 1940 the Archdiocese lost two priests: Adama Bogdanowicz was arrested and presumably died a martyr's death, Bogdan Agopsowicz was shot trying to get to Romania[392].

The German troops again invaded Galicja Wschodnia [Eastern Galicia] on June 1941. During the German occupation Armenians encountered further problems. Even if they quite often married non-Armenians they still preserved many Armenian features of appearance in which they might sometimes resemble Jewish people. German soldiers and collaborating with them Ukrainians bullied Armenians thinking they were Jews. Therefore Armenians kept documents to prove they were Aryans. But there are known the cases of Jews being rescued by Armenian priests who supported them with Armenian birth certificates.

The Germans set up collaboration troops which consisted of soldiers of different nationalities. There were also Armenian troops which fought along with them led by general Drastamat Kanajan, they were joined by the Armenian patriots dreaming of liberating their homeland from the Soviet yoke.

392 Zaleski, *Słownik biograficzny*, 37-8.

After the successive occupation of Lviv by The Red Army on July 1944, priests Romaszkan and Kajetanowicz were accused of collaboration with Hitlerites and sent to labour camps. The accusation was false considering the situation during the war at the Southern-Eastern Borderlands which was complicated and unstable.

The Ukrainian thread was present in the Armenians' memories about the past. The Ukrainian Uprising Army exterminating the Polish people did not save Armenians as well. A terrible genocide in Kuty on April 21, 1944 is still remembered. Several dozen or even more than a hundred Armenians were killed there. Some of them survived after hiding in the Armenian church.

The Years of Disperse (1945-1979)

Following WWII the territories settled for centuries by the Polish Armenians were incorporated into The Soviet Union. Armenians likewise most of the Polish people who left their houses and moved westward to Poland, which had newly established borders, to become citizens of Polska Rzeczypospolita Ludowa (PRL) [Polish People's Republic (PRL)]. They settled first of all on the so called Recovered Territory, mainly in Upper and Lower Silesia. Many of them settled in Krakow [Cracow], Warszawa [Warsaw] Trójmiasto [Tricity] and other towns. Some of them tried to reach the places where their relatives or friends used to live before the war. But they failed to set up firm agglomerations and spread over the whole country. Not only members of the same parishes but also the closest relatives did separate from each other.

Like before the war affiliation to the Armenians was still connected with the Armenian-Catholic Rite which was gradually becoming only formal. On the territory of the Soviet Ukraine the Armenian and Greek-Catholic Rites were eliminated[393]. The administrator of the Lviv Archdiocese priest Dionizy Kajetanowicz died in exile in Abieź at the Polar Circle in 1954. For some period of time Samuel Manugiewicz, parish priest of Kuck parish was involved in religious conspiracy but died in 1956. All Armenian churches were deprived of sacred features, the beautiful Lviv Cathedral was transformed into a warehouse, a church in Stanisławów

393 Jurij Smirnow, *Katedra ormiańska we Lwowie. Dzieje Archidiecezji Ormiańskiej Lwowskiej* (Lwów, Przemyśl: San Set, 2002), 221.

altered into the Museum of History of Religion and Atheism[394]. Only some of the Poles were repressed as most of them emigrated to Poland where church authorities involved in more serious problems of the difficult after-war period did not care enough to satisfy the needs of the followers of the Armenian Rite.

In the 1940s were established two centers for the Armenian Rite followers. In Cracow it took place in a small St. Idzi Church owned by the Dominican Friars where priest Franciszek Jakubowicz from Bukovina worked, he died in 1951. His successor was priest Franciszek Jakubowicz but since 1961 due to his illness he could only conduct the Masses in his room, with permission from archbishop Karol Wojtyła. After his death in 1972 the Armenian liturgy was occasionally performed in St. Idzi Church by priests coming from Gliwice.

Following the war the St. Trinity Church in Gliwice was used by the Armenians where the Masses were conducted by priest Kazimierz Roszko until 1964. He then emigrated to Italy, the USA, Canada and Israel and started to use the Greek-Catholic Rite. From 1969 to 1973 the church in Gliwice was conducted by priest Kazimierz Romaszkan who survived labor camps. After his death his duties were taken by priest Krzysztof Staniecki of the Latin and Greek Rites. He conducted the Holy Masses in St. Trinity Church for the Armenians and the Greek-Catholics (the Ukrainians) until 1985[395].

The third center for the followers of the Armenian-Catholic Rite appeared at the end of the 1950s at the initiative of Kazimierz Filipiak former priest of the parish in Stanisławów. For many years he was moving from one place to another to finally settle in 1958 in a ruined St. Peter and Paul Church in Gdańsk which he was then re-building until the mid-1970s. Only one of its chapels was granted to the Armenians and only for the Latin Rite which was predominantly used in Poland. In the church

394 Jacek Chrząszczewski, "Dzieje parafii i kościoła ormiańskiego p.w. Niepokalanego poczęcia Najświętszej Panny w Stanisławowie (obecnie Iwano-Frankiwsk, Ukraina)", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 7 (1996), 19.

395 Bożena Kubit, *Ormianie w Gliwicach: czerwiec-październik 2001. Katalog wystawy* (Gliwice: Muzeum, 2001), 6-7; Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2011), 275.

was founded the Sanctuary of God's Gracious Mother whose painted portrait was brought by priest Filipiak from Stanisławów[396].

The monastery and school of the Armenian Benedictines were one of the most important institutions of the archdiocese. In 1946 they moved to Poland and spent 10 years in Lubin before they finally settled in Wołów in Lower Silesia. Not all of them did have the Armenian genealogy. After some time there were no Armenians among them and they started to officially use the Latin Rite in 1961[397].

Neither families nor church institutions could keep the Armenian traditions in Poland like before the war. In the interwar period endogamy was more and more seldom kept and during the post-war decades one ceased to care about it. In families where only father, mother or one of the grandparents were Armenians the Armenian tradition was not fully kept.

However some of them could not accept the diminishing of the Armenian community and wanted to revive it. They were relatives, close acquaintances of priests of the Armenian Rite or former activists of the Archiodesean Armenian Association like, for example, Stanisław Donigiewicz, and very few immigrants from Armenia or Russia still having strong bonds with their countries of origin[398]. All of them might have been the initiators of the revival of the Armenian community if they had not been dispersed across PRL and deprived of democratic freedom by the communist rule in Poland.

396 Maciej Żakiewicz, "Ks. prałat Kazimierz Filipiak –strażnik Matki Boskiej Łaskawej w Gdańsku", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 36/37 (2004), 5-17; Arek Staniszewski, "Odbudowa kościoła św. Piotra i Pawła jako sanktuarium Matki Boskiej Łaskawej w Gdańsku (w latach 1945-1995)", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 36/37 (2004), 18-23; Cezary Annusewicz, "Odbudowa kościoła pw. Św. Apostołów Piotra i Pawła jako sanktuarium Matki Bożej Łaskawej w Gdańsku (w latach 1996-2003)", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 36/37 (2004), 24-6; Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 277-8.

397 Henryka Augustynowicz-Ciecierska and Paweł Szczaniecki, "Kronika Benedyktynek Ormiańskich", *Nasza Przeszłość* 62 (1984), 148-9.

398 Janusz Kamocki and Aleksandra Tyszkowa, "Stanisław Donigiewicz", *Lud* 66 (1982), 429-430.

The Rebirth of the Community (1980-1989)

For over thirty years the Armenians were gradually less visible among the Poles, yet at the beginning of the 1980s the community revived. It was estimated at 15,000 at the time which seems to be overestimated[399]. The number of the Armenians included Polish Armenians and their offspring mostly from mixed marriages and families of pre and post-war immigrants. Among them were those who managed to initiate their ethnic revival. In 1980 was established the Armenian Culture Circle, the first post-war organization.

In the 1980s the Armenian Rite also revived. At the beginning of the decade the only priest of the Armenian Rite Kazimierz Filipiak attempted to find his successor and found two young priests of the Armenian origin who were to go to the Papal Armenian Collegium in Rome to learn the Armenian liturgy. However, priest Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski was not granted a passport due to his oppositional activity, therefore only priest Józef Kowalczyk could go there.

In 1985 priest Kowalczyk started to administer St. Trinity Church in Gliwice. After he learnt the Armenian liturgy in Rome and Lebanon he started to offer it in Gliwice and Cracow. This aroused consternation among church followers of the old generation, the Armenian liturgy of Lviv Archdiocese which priest Filipiak used to practice was considerably Latinized. Priest Kowalczyk offered the Eastern Liturgy deprived of Latin features[400].

On September 1989 priest Kowalczyk organized the coronation of a painting of Matka Boska Łysiecka [Łysiecka God's Mother] which was kept in Gliwice. Among guests who celebrated it was Hovhannes Bedros XVIII Kasparian a patriarch of the Armenians-Catholics who came from Beirut, and many other Armenian hierarchs, also Józef Glemp the Primate who came along with other Polish bishops, and primarily

399 Grzegorz Pełczyński, *Ormianie polscy w XX wieku. Problem odrębności etnicznej* (Warszawa: Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian przy Oddziale Warszawskim Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego, 1997), 92.

400 Dorota Ziętek, *Tożsamość i religia. Ormianie w krakowskiej i lwowskiej diasporze* (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS, 2008), 180-8.

numerous Armenians from the whole Poland. They could see how many of them remained and how important their heritage was[401].

In the late 1980s Armenia suffered an earthquake and Nagorno-Karabakh War which led to emigration of thousands of its citizens. Poland famous for its achievements in fighting communism attracted refugees from Armenia and the Armenians from other parts of the declining Soviet Union[402]. The Armenians who had settled in Poland or the Poles of the Armenian origin supported the newly arrived immigrants.

Closer to the contemporary times

The revival of the Armenian community in the 1980s contributed to its development in the Third Republic of Poland which revived after the collapse of communism. In a new Polish community the Armenians became visible as the national minority with their own organizations, institutions, who contributed to Poland. Outside Poland they began to be perceived as part of the Armenian diaspora[403].

The Armenian Culture Society residing in Cracow was their main organization. In Gliwice was established Archbishop J. Teodorowicz Association of Armenians in Poland. The name Teodorowicz which the association used proved he was still well remembered and respected. The association attempted to re-release a pre-war periodical Saint Gregory Illuminator's Messenger, which was an interesting initiative.

During the time the Armenian-Catholic ritual was at trouble. The death of priest Filipiak in 1922 marked the end of its pre-war traditions as he was the last active priest of the Armenian Rite Archdiocese in Lviv. In Rome still lived priest Grzegorz Petrowicz connected with the Papal Armenian Collegium, the author of a three-volume masterpiece *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia* but his connections with Armenians were very loose.

401 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 275.

402 A Brochure KZKO about the Situation of Armenians in the Last Decade of the UCCR: Anahid Ter-Minasjan and L. Grigorian, *Ormianie w ZSRR: 1979-1989*, transl. Jerzy Szokalski and Leon Ter-Oganjan (Warszawa: Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian, 1990).

403 Two monographic issues in the USA of the Armenian magazines about the Polish Armenians indicate that: *Ararat* (1990), no. 124; *Agbu* (1998), no. 2.

After priest Filipiak's death the legal status of the Armenian-Catholic Rite was regularized, the Primate Józef Glemp as an ordinary bishop of the Rite founded the Saint Trinity Parish of The Armenian-Catholic Rite in Gliwice in 1992. As a personal parish it involved all the followers of this Rite living in the whole Poland. Priest Kowalczyk became its parish priest, while priest Cezary Annusewicz was in charge of the church followers from the northern Poland.

Still in 1990 priest Kowalczyk started to visit Lviv to conduct the Masses at the Armenian Cathedral's yard for only a small group of the Armenians-Catholics who lived there. When it was possible to regain sacral buildings grabbed by the Soviet authorities, the Armenians from Armenia or other parts of the Soviet Union who were not Catholics but members of the Armenian Apostolic Church, or those in favor of it, who settled there after the war, initiated attempts to recover the Cathedral. The authorities already granted them the historic temple and after a long-lasting redecoration the Masses have been regularly conducted there since 2002[404]. The Bulletin of the Armenian Cultural Society presents information about the life of the community.

Despite many initiatives and passions priest Kowalczyk ceased to be respected by most of his parish's church followers due to his short temper. After the incident taking place in Gdańsk on September 8, 1999 he was excluded from the Armenian community. On that day priest Kowalczyk along with a group of men attacked priest Annusiewicz in St. Peter and Paul Church. They wanted to take the painting of God's Gracious Mother, her sanctuary was established there by priest Filipiak[405]. The incident was widely publicized by the mass media to the shame of the Armenian community.

After all the incidents the organizational structures of the Rite were not firm. Later priest Isakowicz-Zaleski engaged himself in ministrations for the Armenians. In the 1980s he could not leave for Rome so became involved in charity as president of Brother Albert Foundation in Radwanowice. Recently he has most been known as the author of a book titled *Księża wobec bezpieki* [Priests and Security Force] revealing the compli-

404 Ірина Гаюк, *Вірменська церква в Україні*, (Логос Львів 2002), 117-124; Smirnow, *Katedra ormiańska we Lwowie*, 230-6; Ziętek, *Tożsamość i religia*, 301-42.

405 Teresa Wasilewska, "List", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 18 (1999), 20-22.

cated fortunes of priesthood during the PRL period. Archbishop Kazimierz Nycz became metropolitan of the Armenian Rite. At the end of 2009 he decided to establish three territorial parishes: the northern one with the seat in Gdańsk administered by priest prelate Cezary Annusewicz, the central one with the seat in Warsaw conducted by priest Artur Awdalian, and the southern one with the seat in Gliwice administered by priest Isakowicz-Zaleski[406].

In 2001 the Polish Armenians together with the whole Armenian diaspora celebrated 1,700 Anniversary of the Adoption of Christianity in Armenia taking place in Poland. Numerous church celebrations were held and the majority of the Polish society could learn about Armenia as the oldest Christian country. On June 25 was planned a visit by Pope John Paul the Second in Lviv. A week before the visit the Pope expressed his wish to visit not only The Latin and Greek-Catholic but also Armenian Cathedrals, therefore the redecoration of the Cathedral which had already been performed was brought on. The Pope was said to have been in favor of the Armenians as his school friend in Wadowice was Armenian Antoni Bohdanowicz who later became president of the Armenian Culture Circle in Gdańsk. While in Lviv the Pope said prayers together with the Armenian community in their Cathedral. A visit of Neres Bedros IX patriarch of the Armenian-Catholic Church in Ukraine at the turn of October and November was also a big event[407]. The dignified visitor together with priest Isakowicz-Zalewski visited Lviv and other places connected with the Polish Armenians[408]. Earlier in June the leader of the Armenian-Catholic Church graced 1,700 Anniversary of the Adoption of Christianity in Armenia, conducting liturgy of his Rite in several Polish cities. This great anniversary must have activated the Armenians settled in Poland, both those living there for centuries and the newly im-

406 Art. „Historyczna reforma struktur Kościoła ormiańskokatolickiego w Polsce", *Awedis* 2010, no 2, s. 1,6.

407 Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski, "Wizyta patriarchy ormiańskokatolickiego Nersesa Bedrosa XIX we Lwowie i na Ukrainie", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 28/29 (2002), 10-13.

408 Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski, "Wizyta patriarchy ormiańskokatolickiego Nersesa Bedrosa XIX w Polsce", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 28/29 (2002), 4-9.

migrated ones. Joining the anniversary celebrations they proved to belong to the diaspora.

10. Institutionalization of Armenian Life in Modern Poland

Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski

Introduction

Beginnings of the functioning of the Armenian institutions in Poland are associated with taking the power by the Polish King Casimir III the Great (1333–1370) over Principality of Galicia–Volhynia (Ruś Halicko-Włodzimierska) in 1349–1366, who granted to the Armenians living in the local towns the right to preserve their rites and laws (1367). Due to the favours of Polish monarchs, but also some of the magnates who were owners of private towns, Armenians developed numerous institutions – secular, religious, municipal, economic and offering aid. In many towns of the south-eastern part of Poland they appointed their own municipal self-governments. They also had guilds different from the Catholic ones; they established banks offering mortgage just like the Catholic ones (the so-called mount of piety) and even formed the so-called brave-men fraternities, which were paramilitary structures of a defensive nature[409]. Being the capital of the Armenian Archbishopric and having a jurisdiction over the Armenian congregation in the territories of the Polish state (as well

409 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 170.

as Moldova), Lviv became a religious centre for the Armenian community. In the second half of the 18th century there were 22 Armenian churches operating in the areas of the Archdiocese of Lviv[410]. An important event in the life of the community was to form in the 17th century a union between the Armenian Church in Poland and the Catholic Church, while preserving a separate religious rite and organisational structures, which deepened integrational and assimilation processes of the Armenians with the Polish society.

Together with the Partitions of Poland and the fall of the Polish state (1772–1795) the Armenian local authorities were liquidated. However, the structures of the Armenian-Catholic archbishopric in Lviv survived, becoming the main institution upholding the religious and ethnic autonomy. In the second half of the 19th century the Armenians in Galicia (under Austrian annexation) undertook the forming of new institutions of secular, educational and tutelary-didactical nature. In 1865, Józef Torosiewicz (1785–1869), a doctor and philanthropist, founded a dormitory for the poor Armenian youth in Lviv. In was later transformed into the Józef Torosiewicz Academic Centre. In 1897, in Chernovitsy, Father Kajetan Kasprowicz (1854–1909) built a Dormitory of Archbishop Isaac Isakowicz. The Association of the Lviv University Colleges (Zrzeszenie Akademików Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego) of the Armenian Rite was established in 1900 and terminated its activity around 1914[411].

Revival of the Polish state in 1918, within which Galicia together with the main centres of the Polish Armenians was situated, created new conditions for the functioning of this community's institutions. The Archdiocese of Lviv remained the major Armenian institution, having three deaneries which consisted of nine parishes. In Lviv a mount of piety, "Mons Pius" located by the Armenian Cathedral, was active, a school was run by the Armenian Benedictine Sisters, two Armenian libraries and the Archdiocesan Library of the Armenian Chapter were operating. In 1921, a group of scholars of Armenian background established the Armenian-Polish

410 Witold Kołbuk, *Kościoły wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku: struktury administracyjne* (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1998), 71, 72, 345.

411 Howsep Nalbandian, "Związek Ormian w Polsce – rys historyczny", *Posłaniec Św. Grzegorza Oświeciciela* 10/125 (4.04.1999), 5-6; Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 101-3.

Association in Lviv, but its activity declined after a few years[412]. In 1929, the Archdiocesan Association of Armenians in Poland was created in Lviv (ratified in 1930), which aimed at the unification of Armenians scattered throughout the country (its affiliations were to be established in Warsaw, Gdańsk, Poznań, Katowice and Cracow). Jan Antoniewicz became its president. In the mid-1930s the Association had 500 members[413]. The first periodical of the Polish Armenians, "Saint Gregory's Messenger" ("Posłaniec Świętego Grzegorza") was issued from 1927[414]. A bimonthly scientific journal, "Gregoriana", the organ of the Armenian Archdiocese of Lviv, was published from 1935 to 1938. The Abrahamowicz Foundation, established by David and Antonina Abrahamowicz, was established in 1930 in Lviv, and it aimed at creating an educational centre for the impoverished Armenian youth. The Armenian Committee founded after the First World War in Warsaw by the Armenians who had settled in Poland rather recently should also be mentioned. They supported the Armenian centre in Paris and sympathised with the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF Dashnaktsutyun). The Committee maintained relations with the Armenian-Polish Association in Lviv[415].

Successful development of the institutional life of the Armenian community in Poland was interrupted by the Second World War. After the USSR attack on Poland on September 17, 1939, the territory of Eastern Galicia was occupied by the Red Army and annexed by the Soviet state. Germans occupied it after their attack on USSR in June 1941. The area was once again under the control of the Red Army only in the first half of 1944. Throughout this period the Armenian community, similarly to Polish people, suffered persecutions from the Soviet and German aggressors as well as from the Ukrainian nationalistic organisations[416].

412 Nalbandian, "Związek Ormian w Polsce", 6.

413 Grzegorz Pełczyński, "Instytucje i organizacje ormiańskie w czasach Arcybiskupa Teodorowicza", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 12/13 (1998), 53.

414 Its co-founder and chief editor was Fr. Dionizy Kajetanowicz. The magazine was published between 1927 and 1934 as a monthly with 1,000 copies, and between 1938 and 1939, but as a quarterly.

415 Andrzej A. Zięba, "Komitet Ormiański w międzywojennej Warszawie", in *Ormiańska Warszawa*, ed. Krzysztof Stopka, Andrzej A. Zięba, Armen Artwich and Monika Agopsowicz (Warszawa: Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich, 2012), 151.

416 On April 21, 1944 in Kuty, the most numerous concentration of the Armenian community in the Second Polish Republic, the Ukrainian nationalists carried out a pogrom

The Soviet authorities closed the Cathedral, liquidated the Archdiocese, the "Mons Pius" bank, archives and the Archdiocesan library. Activities of parishes and charitable foundations were terminated. Between 1944 and 1947 the majority of the Polish Armenians was together with Polish people deported from the areas occupied by the USSR and transported to Poland within its new borders, creating the so-called "second wave" of emigration in contrast to the "first wave" of Armenian emigration to Poland in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period[417]. Thus, the previous institutional life of the community ceased to exist[418].

From the perspective of the institutional life of the Armenian community, its functioning in Poland after the Second World War can be divided into two periods: 1) rebuilding the destroyed community life and creating organisational foundations under circumstances which were unfavourable for national and ethnic minorities in the Polish People's Republic (1945-1989), 2) founding numerous and new ethnic institutions, diverse in form, activities and scope under democratic conditions of the Third Republic of Poland (since 1990).

Transformations in the Armenian institutional life in modern-day Poland have not been so far a subject of a separate study, although Armenian institutions have become, within some areas and in some approaches, an object of scholars' interest. From a general as well as more

of Polish and Armenian people. In 1945, the NKVD made arrests of the Armenian priests (accusing them of cooperation with Germans). A few of them were exiled to Siberia, i.e. Dionizy Kajetanowicz (1878–1954), a founder of the "Saint Gregory's Messenger", who died in the Komi Republic. Wojciech Migocki, "Owidiusz nie zapomni", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 4 (1995), 22-29; Krzysztof Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000), 147; Krzysztof Jankowski, "Społeczność Ormian kuckich w XVII-XX wieku", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 40/41 (2005), 35-7; Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski, *Przemilczane ludobójstwo na Kresach* (Kraków: Małe Wydawnictwo, 2008).

417 Tomasz Marciniak, "Trzecia fala, trzeci aspekt. Nowa zaradność ormiańskiej imigracji w Polsce", *Przegląd Polonijny* 25, no. 3 (89), (1998), 127-136; Józef Kowalczyk, "Ormianie nad Kłodnicą", *Rocznik Muzeum w Gliwicach* 15, no. 2, (2000), 910.

418 It should be emphasised here that during the German occupation the Armenian Committee in Warsaw, associated with the National Armenian Committee in Berlin, was active. Generally, members of the Warsaw committee were Armenian emigrants, a large number of whom were holders of non-Polish passports (Andrzej A. Zięba, "Komitet Ormiański w Warszawie podczas okupacji niemieckiej", in *Ormiańska Warszawa*, ed. Krzysztof Stopka, Andrzej A. Zięba, Armen Artwich and Monika Agopsowicz (Warszawa: Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich, 2012), 158-9).

detailed perspective, they have attracted attention primarily as an element of the revival of the community life throughout the period of PRL[419]. Transformations in the institutional life of the second period, due to its dynamics, the emerging new factors of changes, and simultaneously the difficulties of the research, have been conducted very broadly or fragmentarily, and on the margins of other studies, particularly those concerning the specificity of the Armenian life in Poland as an entity or as individual circles[420].

419 Mateusz Radosław Gizowski. *Ormianie na Wybrzeżu Gdańskim* (Warszawa: Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian, 1994); Andrzej Chodubski, "Ormianie w Gdańsku", in *Meandry cywilizacyjne, kwestie narodowościowe i polonijne*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 1996), 71-80; Andrzej Chodubski, "Społeczność ormiańska na Wybrzeżu Gdańskim", in *Tożsamość kulturowa. Szkice o mniejszościach narodowych na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski, Andrzej Krzysztof Waśkiewicz (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuki, 2001), 46-55; Andrzej Chodubski, "O rodowodzie i działalności Mariana Abgarowicza (1904–1987)-pierwszego przewodniczącego gdańskiego Koła Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian", in *Tożsamość kulturowa. Szkice o mniejszościach narodowych na Pomorzu Gdańskim, seria druga*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski, Andrzej Krzysztof Waśkiewicz (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuki, 2002), 63-79; Pełczyński, *Ormianie polscy w XX wieku*; Grzegorz Pełczyński, "Armenians in Poland in the period of communism and in the 'Third Polish Republic'", *Our Europe. Ethnography-Ethnology-Anthropology of Culture* 1 (2012), 45–54; Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej*; Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*.

420 Tomasz Marciniak, "Ormianie w Polsce na tle innych typów i modeli społeczności rozproszonych", in *Wędrowcy i migranci. Pomiędzy marginalizacją a integracją*, ed. Ewa Nowicka-Rusek and Barbara Cieślińska (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS, 2005), 250-261; Paulina Krześniak, "Ormianie warszawscy. Próba określenia ich miejsca w społeczności stolicy" (2006), 1-16. www.centrum-armenia.umk.pl, pdf; Ziętek, *Tożsamość i religia*; Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Ormianie w Elblągu", in *Tożsamość kulturowa. Szkice o mniejszościach narodowych na Pomorzu Gdańskim, seria ósma*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski, Andrzej Krzysztof Waśkiewicz (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuki, 2008), 47-61; Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Ormiańscy imigranci na Wybrzeżu Gdańskim", in *Spis podróżny: Polscy Ormianie, Ormianie w Polsce: konferencja*, ed. Monika Maciejewska and Longin Graczyk (Bydgoszcz: Fundacja Ari Ari, 2010), 25-33; Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*; Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Ormianie w Gdyni", *Zeszyty Gdyńskie. Tożsamość kulturowo-cywilizacyjna Gdyni* 10 (2015), 265-285; Łukasz Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością? Imigranci z Armenii w Polsce* (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 2008); Łukasz Łotocki, "The Post-Soviet Armenian Immigration to Poland", in *Armenians in Post-Socialist Europe*, ed. Konrad Siekierski and Stefan Troebst (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 143-157; Pełczyński, "Armenians in Poland", 45–54; Grzegorz Pełczyński, "Ormianie. Instytucje i organizacje ormiańskie w PRL i Trzeciej Rzeczypospolitej", in *Stowarzyszenia mniejszości narodowych, etnicznych i postulowanych w Polsce po II wojnie światowej*, ed.

It is being noted that even the general picture of the Armenian institutions operating in Poland has so far been incomplete. For example, the handbook of the Commission on National and Ethnic Minorities of the Parliament of the Republic of Poland (Komisja Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych Sejmu RP; later as: KMNiE) from 2003 provided information only on the functioning of Armenian organisations founded by Polish people of Armenian descent, the so-called old emigration (and their association in the form of the Federation of Armenian Organisations), and completely overlooked the existence of immigrant organisations[421]. The analysis of the Ministry of the Interior and Administration (Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji; later as: MSWiA) from 2009 on the Armenian community in Poland recorded the existence of only 6 independent Armenian institutions, including three of immigrant nature, a statement which nevertheless did not interfere with making comments that "there is a lack of active associations founded by the newcomers" and that "The new immigration still cannot generate institutions which would articulate and represent its needs"[422]. Researchers studying the modern-day Armenian community encountered difficulties with the very definition of the Armenian organisations functioning in Poland[423]. And, for example, Maciej Ząbek doesn't indicate the existence of any immigrant organizations in Poland in 1990–2007[424]. The difficul-

Stefan Dudra and Bernadetta Nitschke (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy „NOMOS", 2013), 163-170; Dorota Skotarczak, "Czasopisma ormiańskie w Polsce", *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze* 57, no 3 (219), (2014), 526–535; Renata Król-Mazur, "Czasopismo 'Awedis' i jego rola w zbliżeniu różnych środowisk ormiańskich w Polsce", in *Media mniejszości: mniejszości w mediach*, ed. Małgorzata Adamik-Szysiak and Ewa Godlewska (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2014), 71-88.

421 *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne w Polsce: informator 2003*, ed. Lech M. Nijakowski and Sławomir Łodziński (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2003), 27.

422 Wydział Analiz Migracyjnych, Departament Polityki Migracyjnej. Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, *Społeczność ormiańska w Polsce. Polityka migracyjna Armenii*, Warszawa, sierpień 2009, 137, https://emn.gov.pl/ftp/esm/ARMENIA_Raport-_wersja_dla_dyrekcji2__4_.pdf.

423 Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością*, 90-8; Łotocki, "The Post-Soviet Armenian Immigration to Poland", 153-4; Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 245-64; Pełczyński, "Armenians in Poland"; Pełczyński, "Ormianie. Instytucje i organizacje ormiańskie w PRL i Trzeciej Rzeczypospolitej".

424 Maciej Ząbek, "Ormianie w Polsce. Nowa diaspora w latach 1990-2007", in *Dylematy kaukaskie. Problemy narodowościowe i migracyjne*, ed. Maciej Ząbek

ty was faced even by the Armenian circles since the scope of activities of some of the Armenian institutions, in particular those of immigrant nature, was irregular and limited. Thus, two handbooks on the activities of the Armenian circles in 2005 and 2006 included, respectively, only 3 and 5 independent Armenian organisations[425]. Therefore, it appeared necessary to gather at least elementary information on their numbers, time of their foundation and organisational form, without which any further studies on the specificity, activities and transformation of the Armenian institutions in modern-day Poland cannot be thorough.

Rebuilding Institutional Life after the Second World War

Scattered Community (1945–1979)

The Armenian community in the post-war Poland was scattered all over the country. Its larger groups were formed in Bielsko-Biała, Gdańsk, Cracow, Lublin, Łódź, Warsaw, Zielona Góra and Silesia, inter alia, in Gliwice and Wrocław. There were no existing Armenian institutions, no Armenian churches, and no religious or secular oragnizations within Poland's new borders. After the death of Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz in 1938, his successor was not selected and the Armenian community no longer had an archbishop who, as their actual leader, would safeguard their integration and rebuilding of institutional structures. From the Second World War onwards, the custody of the faithful of the Eastern Church, bereft of an ordinary of their own religious rite, belonged to the Latin bishops.

In the first years after the war Polish Armenians, having arrived to unknown and frequently ruined areas, had to focus most often on providing safe living conditions for themselves and their families. Polish Armenians living in larger groups frequently tried to maintain community bonds within family relations. A huge integration role was played throughout

(Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 343-362.

425 *Ormianie w Polsce: działalność środowisk ormiańskich w 2005 roku*, ed. Monika Agopsowicz (Warszawa: Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian przy Polskim Towarzystwie Ludoznawczym, 2006), http://www.dziedzictwo.ormianie.pl/images/stories/Sprawozdanie_2005.pdf; *Ormianie w Polsce. Działalność środowisk ormiańskich w 2006 roku*, ed. Monika Agopsowicz and Marta Axentowicz-Bohosiewicz (Warszawa: Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian przy Polskim Towarzystwie Ludoznawczym, 2007), http://dziedzictwo.ormianie.pl/images/stories/Sprawozdanie_2006.pdf.

this period by the Armenian-Catholic clergymen, who not only attempted to keep under their pastoral protection the faithful of their own Church, but in some cases made efforts to rebuild institutional structures. It should be noted that the nation-wide integration and reconstruction of the ethnic Armenian institutions were thwarted, on the one hand, by difficult financial and living condition in the country destroyed by war, and, on the other hand, by hostility of the communist authorities towards both religious institutions and non-Polish ethnic groups, as well as Polish communities from the Eastern Borderlands. The activity of the Armenian-Catholic clergymen in three cities, Gliwice, Cracow and Gdańsk, had a particular significance in the life of the Armenian community in the post-war Poland.

In July 1945 a group of Polish Armenians deported from Stanisławów Voivodeship arrived in Gliwice, in Silesia. The Armenian-Catholic priest, Kazimierz Michał Roszko (1916–1987), born in Lviv, a pre-war vicar in Stanisławów and provost in Horodenka, took a pastoral care of them. Owing to his contribution, the authorities of Gliwice assigned to the community in August 1945 the Holy Trinity Church where the first mass in the Armenian Rite took place on October 14, 1945[426]. It is generally accepted that it was also the very first mass of this kind in the entire post-war Poland. In 1950, Father Roszko brought to this church from Łysiec, near Stanisławów, the painting of Mother of God, which had been particularly worshipped before the war by the Armenian community of Pokucie. To this day, the Holy Trinity Church is the only Armenian (not only Armenian-Catholic) church in Poland. The activity of Father Roszko went beyond Silesia. He was a tutor of the Armenian language at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow and an author of numerous Armenian academic publications. In 1964, threatened with repressions from the communist authorities, he left Poland[427].

In 1966, pastoral care of the Armenian community in Gliwice was taken over by the Armenian-Catholic priest, Fr. Kazimierz Romaszkan (1909–1973), a pre-war cathedral vicar in Lviv and then a notary of the curia and honorary canon[428]. After the death of Fr. Romaszkan,

426 Kowalczyk, "Ormianie nad Kłodnicą", 911-3.

427 Zaleski, *Słownik biograficzny duchownych ormiańskich w Polsce*, 92-3.

428 He was born in Tyszowce, near Horodenka, in Armenian family. He obtained Holy Orders in the Armenian Pontifical Collegium. He was deported by the Soviet authorities to Siberia, from where he returned in 1956. Before acceding the Armenian-Catholic par-

the new priest of the Armenian parish in Gliwice was a Catholic and bi-ritual priest, Krzysztof Staniecki (1934–2003), from Horodenka in Galicia, with the Armenian community of which he maintained close relations. In 1977 he became a rector of the Holy Trinity Church. After 1985, he left the parish in Gliwice and celebrated Greek-Catholic liturgy.

Cracow was the second centre where the religious life of the Armenian community in Poland started to be shaped. From 1946, religious care over the Armenians living there was taken up by Fr. Franciszek Jakubowicz (1907–1972), a previous cathedral vicar in Lviv, notary of the archbishopric curia and then of the episcopal court. He celebrated mass in the Armenian Rite in the Church of Saint Giles. However, his activity was limited from 1961 onwards due to his health problems. Care for the Armenian community in Cracow was taken up by the parish priests from Gliwice, who were also taking care of a large Armenian community in Wrocław. The activities of Fr. Jakubowicz and priests from Gliwice had a major integrating impact on the Armenian community in Cracow, even though its effects were revealed only in later decades.

The third city where the organisation of the religious life of the Armenian Catholics was undertaken was Gdańsk. Father Kazimierz Filipiak (1910–1992) of a Polish-Armenian family background, a former vicar in the Armenian Archdiocese in Lviv and then in the Sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Graces in Stanisławów, arrived in Gdańsk in 1958. He brought with him a particularly precious painting for the Polish Armenians of the Mother of God, which he had taken while leaving the city in 1946 with a group of the faithful. Fr. Filipiak contributed to the reconstruction of the Church of Saint Peter and Paul, the formation of its parish as well as a Marian shrine, of which he was a custodian. He was a rector of this church and he took up a pastoral care of the Armenians. His activity greatly contributed to the integration of the communities of the Polish Armenians in Gdańsk and the Gdańsk coast.

It is worth indicating that the Armenian community in Poland expressed aspirations to regulate a status of their rite and to appoint a Polish nation-wide church council, but their plans were not carried through[429].

ish in Gliwice he had worked in the Warsaw Archdiocese, then he had been an administrator in the Wrocław Archdiocese.

429 Armen Artwich, "Kościół ormiański we współczesnej Warszawie", in *Ormiańska Warszawa*, ed. Krzysztof Stopka, Andrzej A. Zięba, Armen Artwich and Monika Agopso-

They did not meet the favour of the hierarchs of the Catholic Church in Poland.

Owing to the efforts of individual Armenian-Catholic priests, aiming at safeguarding a continuous pastoral care of the Armenian communities, the Armenian-Catholic Church Rite in Poland has been saved. Thus, the continuity of the functioning of the Armenians' religious institutions in Poland was preserved, or perhaps it would be more appropriate to say – was created. Their integrating effect was to bear fruit in the later period and contribute to the forming of ethnic institution of a secular nature.

Aspirations to create organisational structures, i.e. an Armenian section operating within the Polish–Soviet Friendship Society or as a separate association, were revealed amongst the Armenian circles in Warsaw and Cracow in the 1960s. Throughout this period meetings of an informal group of friends of Armenia and people of Armenian background were taking place, organised by Leon Ter-Oganian (1910–2002) on the premises of the Polish-Icelandic Friendship Society[430]. However, these aspirations have not been successfully achieved for two decades. For it should be explained that in the first three post-war decades there were unfavourable conditions in Poland for the development of a social life of non-Polish national and ethnic groups. The communist regime pursued the implementation of a mono-ethnic state notion, deciding that the national minorities remaining in Poland should be subjected to the process of assimilation[431]. Although national politics was not homogenous throughout this entire time and there were periods of its mitigation, the Polish Armenians could not rely on favours from the official commu-

wicz (Warszawa: Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich, 2012), 164.

430 There still exist correspondence and notes from the meetings in 1964-1967 of the representatives of the Armenian community (written by Stanisław Donigiewicz, Leon Ter-Oganian, Janusz Roszko, Grzegorz Axentowicz, Marek Axentowicz) concerning the idea and efforts of establishing organisational structures which would gather Armenians living in Poland. They are available in the Armenian Digital Library of the Fundacja Armenian Foundation: *Początki działalności KZKO*, Cyfrowa Biblioteka Ormiańska, Fundacja Armenian Foundation, accessed December 20, 2017, http://fundacjaormianska.pl/biblioteka/files/original/ 85f9aff5d64eba9d8a9f2f5050fe7e65.pdf.

431 Sławomir Łodziński, "Polityka wobec mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w Polsce w latach 1945-2008", in *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne w Polsce po II wojnie światowej: wybrane elementy polityki państwa*, ed. Stefan Dudra and Bernadetta Nitschke (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy „NOMOS", 2010), 17-22.

nist factors, even if they did not incite the ideologically dictated hostility. For they represented the community originating from the Eastern Borderlands, lost to the "brotherly USSR", strongly linked to the oppressed Church, and to a large extent belonging to a class-hostile gentry, while their numerous representatives were associated with the pre-war national structures or were involved in the non-left-wing independence activities during the war.

"Ormiańskie Przedwiośnie"[432] – institutionalisation in 1980–1989

The atmosphere for the activities of the national and ethnic minorities improved in the late 1970s. In 1977, the Polish People's Republic ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which safeguarded rights to freedom of association. In practice, however, the communist authorities were still in control of the minorities' activities so that they would not go beyond the cultural and educational form[433]. It is necessary to emphasise that together with the imposition of martial law on December 13, 1981, the activities of all associations were banned. Since 1983 this ban has been gradually obliterated[434].

Beginning of the 1980s was also a period of the implementation of organisational efforts of the Polish Armenians' communities. A very significant role was played by the leaders of individual Armenian circles who animated new institutional structures. On March 24, 1980, the **Armenian Culture Interest Circle** (**Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian**; later as: KZKO) was founded, operating within the Cracow Branch of the Polish Ethnographic Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze; later as: PTL). Michał Bohosiewicz from Gliwice became its president. In November 1980, KZKO organised the first in the post-war

432 "An Armenian Early Springtime". The word "przedwiośnie" has a special meaning in Polish. It specifies a time when spring has not started yet, but the signs of it are already visible. It is also a word established in Polish literature.

433 Łodziński, "Polityka wobec mniejszości narodowych", 20.

434 Grzegorz Janusz, "Prawo do stowarzyszania się mniejszości narodowych", in *Stowarzyszenia mniejszości narodowych, etnicznych i postulowanych w Polsce po II wojnie światowej*, ed. Stefan Dudra and Bernadetta Nitschke (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy „NOMOS", 2013), 15.

Poland convention of the Polish Armenians, combined with an academic session, which was participated by around 200 people[435]. This had a prominent integrating meaning and the Interest Circle became an inspiration and a signpost for other Armenian circles.

Between 1980 and 1981[436], the Armenian Culture Interest Circle was established in the PTL Branch in Warsaw. Its organiser and custodian was the leader of the Armenian community in Warsaw, Leon Ter-Oganian. Jerzy Romaszkan was its first president. Leon Ter-Oganian was also an editor of a series of essays on Armenia and Armenians, published by KZKO in Warsaw. They were published between 1983 and 1998 in a form of brochures and overall there were 29 issues. They were of an educational and popularising nature. Their authors were scholars and specialists working on research concerning broadly understood Armenian themes.

The Armenian Culture Interest Circle within the Gdańsk Branch of PTL was founded on December 15, 1983 at the initiative of Marian Abgarowicz (1908–1987) and its first chairman. One of the initiators and founders of KZKO in the Gdańsk Branch of PTL was Fr. Kazimierz Filipiak, who was involved in the integration activities of the Armenian community on the coast of Gdańsk[437].

The KZKOs played a significant role in the integration of the local circles and the entire community of the Polish Armenians. They propagated knowledge on culture and history of Armenians in Poland, undertook publishing activity, organised background meetings, academic lectures. It should be noted, however, that they were still not independent ethnic organisations, they had no legal personality and they were formally a part of the Polish Ethnographic Society, which was a scientific society involved in documenting, developing and popularising knowledge on

435 Pełczyński, "Ormianie. Instytucje i organizacje ormiańskie w PRL i Trzeciej Rzeczypospolitej", 166.

436 It was founded in December 1980 and the first people interested in it joined n February 8, 1981. However, the process of its formation formally ended only on March 25, 1984 at the meeting of the members of the Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw (Armen Artwich, "Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian w Warszawie", in *Ormiańska Warszawa*, ed. Krzysztof Stopka, Andrzej A. Zięba, Armen Artwich and Monika Agopsowicz (Warszawa: Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich, 2012), 168-9.

437 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 255, 278.

history and contemporary cultures of the world, developing anthropological interests amongst its members, but also supporting the development of ethnological studies and popularising anthropological knowledge in the society.

The Interest Circles were not limited in their activity only to the circles of the Polish Armenians and the Poles who were interested in the Armenians culture, but they attempted to go beyond the country's borders, undertaking the first contacts with the fatherland of ancestors as well as the Armenian diaspora centres all over the world. I.e. Leon Ter-Oganian maintained correspondence with Armenians living in the USSR (Armenia and Ukraine), the United States, Vatican, and Lebanon. The group from Gdańsk made an attempt to establish wider relations with Armenia through the Philatelic Interest Circle of Yerevan[438]. Circles in Cracow, Warsaw and Gdańsk also expressed interest in current events in Armenia and the Armenians centres in other countries. Amongst other things, upon the news of destructions caused by the earthquake in Armenia in 1988, a fundraising was organised - of money, medications, food and clothes which were then transported to the disaster-stricken regions.

Important transformations are also noticed in the life of the Armenian Church in the 1980s. In 1985, Cardinal Primate Józef Glemp appointed Fr. Kazimierz Filipiak from Gdańsk with a title of a Vicar General of the faithful and priests of the Armenian Rite in Poland. His pastoral activity included also the Armenian community in Warsaw.

One of the doyens of the Armenian community in Cracow, Andrzej Bohosiewicz, described the situation of the Armenian-Catholic faithful in the 1970s and 1980s as such:

> "After the death of Fr. K. Romaszkan in 1973, the centre of the Armenian tradition was moved to Gdańsk, where in the Church of Saint Peter and Paul [...] a sacred painting of Our Lady of Grace was placed [...]. For many years Fr. K. Filipiak was the only Priest of the Armenians in Poland, he maintained contacts with many Armenian families throughout Poland until the end of his life.

438 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 303.

> The situation improved when the Parish of the Holy Trinity in Gliwice was once again taken over by a priest prepared for the service in the Armenian-Catholic Rite, Father Józef Kowalczyk."[439]

In 1985, the rectory of the Armenian parish in Gliwice was taken up by Fr. Józef Kowalczyk (born in 1951), who came from a Polish-Armenian family of Roman-Catholics. After graduating from the Armenian Pontifical Collegium in Rome in 1983, he served in the Armenian-Catholic parishes in the Middle East.

The activity of Fr. Kowalczyk left a distinct mark on the life of the communities of the Polish Armenians. He introduced the Armenian Eastern Liturgy he had met in Rome and Lebanon, and which had been completely unfamiliar to the representatives of the Polish Armenians. For many of those brought up in Poland in the Latinised Liturgy of the Archdiocese of Lviv (to which Fr. Filipiak remained faithful), it was a great shock[440]. Fr. Kowalczyk also undertook an action to integrate the Armenian community in Poland and to increase the significance of the centre in Gliwice. Preparations for a ceremonious coronation of the painting of Mother of God of Łysiec (the church was, amongst other things, renovated and some new elements of its interior were made) began in 1986. Coronation ceremonies took place between August 28 and September 2, 1989; they were an important event for the entire Armenian community in Poland. Catholicos-Patriarch of all the Armenian Catholics, Hovhannes Bedros XVIII Kasparian of Beirut, took part in these ceremonies. They were also attended by Primate Józef Glemp and other Polish bishops. The activity of Fr. Kowalczyk contributed to a transfer of the ownership of the building of the Holy Trinity Church, together with the adjoining parcel of land, to the Armenian Rector on September 15, 1989[441].

439 Andrzej Bohosiewicz, "Powojenna historia Ormian Polskich", *Horyzonty Krakowskie* 9/10 (1998-1999), accessed November 11, 2018, http://www.bohosiewicz.pl/art.php?art=Powojenna.html.

440 Pełczyński, "Ormianie. Instytucje i organizacje ormiańskie w PRL i Trzeciej Rzeczypospolitej", 166.

441 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 275-6.

Renaissance of the Armenian Institutional Life in the Third Polish Republic

Factors transforming institutional life

Together with political changes in Poland initiated in 1989 by the Round Table discussions (February–April) and contract elections (June), a new period for minority groups began. In order to create a lawful possibility for the functioning of legal social organisations independent from the state, the "Law on Associations" was passed already in 1989 and was, for example, allowing foreigners living in Poland to freely associate[442]. It gave freedom to the representatives of minority groups and legal immigrants to organise their own activities. The second acceptable form of the organisation was a foundation, the establishment of which was possible due to the legislation from 1984 but changed in 1991[443]. Later on the constitution of the Republic of Poland from 1997 guaranteed to "the Polish citizens who belonged to national and ethnic minorities freedom to preserve and develop their own language, protection of customs and traditions, and development of their own culture"[444], as well as to the national and ethnic minorities "the right to establish their own educational and cultural institutions, and institutions intended to protect religious identity and to participate in the settlement of matters concerning their cultural identity"[445].

442 Law on Associations: *Dziennik Ustaw* (later as: Dz.U.) 1989, nr 20, poz. 104, art. 4. "Art. 3. 1. The right to creating associations is granted to Polish citizens who have a full legal capacity and are not deprived of public rights". "Art. 4. 1. Foreigners having residence in the territory of the Polish People's Republic can join associations in accordance with regulations applicable to Polish citizens. Art. 4.2. Foreigners not having residence in the territory of the Polish People's Republic are allowed to join associations, the statutes of which provide for such possibility".

443 "Art. 2. 1. Foundations can be established by natural person regardless of his/her nationality and place of residence, or legal entities based in Poland or abroad. Art. 2.2. The foundation's seat should be situated in the territories of the Republic of Poland". Law of April 6, 1984 on foundations: Dz.U. 1984, nr 21, poz. 97 with the changes introduced later: Dz.U. 1991 nr 19 poz. 82.

444 *The Constitution of the Republic of Poland from April 2, 1997* (Dz.U. 1997 nr 78 poz. 483, art. 35, point 1).

445 Dz.U. 1997 nr 78 poz. 483, art. 35, point 2.

Adoption of Law on the national and ethnic minorities and on regional language from January 6, 2005 was an important event for the Armenian community living in Poland. For the first time in the history of Poland, Armenians became recognised as a minority group and, at the same time, were provided with special privileges conducing the protection of their cultural identity[446]. It also appointed an institution of a permanent representative of the Armenian minority in the newly established Joint Commission of the Government and National and Ethnic Minorities for the Prime Minister (Komisja Wspólna Rządu i Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych przy Prezesie Rady Ministrów)[447]. It has become an important body representing the entirety of the Armenian community before the Polish authorities. Its representative is appointed by the Prime Minister after having consulted the Armenian groups. So far this office has been held only by the representatives of the old emigration. The first representative was Maciej Bohosiewicz, from October 1, 2005 to 2009. In 2009 the function was taken up by Father Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski, while from 2014 it belonged to Edward Mier-Jędrzejowicz.

The situation of the Armenian community in Poland was influenced also by new external conditions, most of all by the collapse of the USSR, formation of an independent Armenia and her conflict with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. As a result of these circumstances, there was an influx in the 1990s of the Armenian immigrants entering Poland, whose numbers were estimated even at around one hundred thousand, the so-called "third wave"[448]. In this period the number of the Armenian community in Poland, constituting mainly the so-called old emigration (descendants of the "second wave"), was estimated by the scholars of minorities and official factors at 8–15 thousand[449]. Difficulties associated with the precise estimation of the new Armenian immigration had a few reasons; first of all, a long-term stay of a significant group of immigrants without legalising it and then, the imperfections of research tools for studying the immigrant

446 Law of January 6, 2005 on the national and ethnic minorities and regional language (Dz.U. 2005, nr 17, poz. 141, art. 18).

447 Dz.U. 2005, nr 17, poz. 141, art. 23.

448 Marciniak, "Trzecia fala, trzeci aspekt", 127-136.

449 Henryk Chałupczak and Tomasz Browarek, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce: 1918-1995* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2000), 229; *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne w Polsce: informator 2003*, 26.

communities[450]. It should be added that from the beginning of the 21st century, a substantial number of immigrants moved to other countries or returned to Armenia.

At present, the size of the Armenian community in Poland is estimated at 30-40 thousand people[451]. In recognising its institutionalisation, the attention is drawn to the internal diversity of the so-called old emigration and new emigration[452].

The **old emigration** (the so-called Polish Armenians) is referred to the descendants of the Armenian newcomers who arrived in Poland before the Second World War, or to a large extent, still in the times of the First Polish Republic. Representatives of this community have undergone a profound assimilation in the reality of the Polish Eastern Borderlands. Their descendants are distinguished by: 1) identification with the Polish nation (perceiving Poland as an ideological fatherland) with a simultaneous cultivation of the memory of the Armenian background, 2) Poland as country of citizenship, 3) communicating only in Polish language (Armenian is known only by a very small number of people), 4) belonging to the Catholic Church of the Armenian-Catholic or Roman-Catholic Rite, 5) a high position in the professional life stratification, 6) Polish or Polish-sounding surnames, which originated mainly from the names of their Armenian ancestors (i.e. Abgarowicz, Bohosiewicz, Kirkorowicz, Mysyrowicz), 7) cultivating the memory of the Polish Eastern Borderlands as a lost private fatherland, with a simultaneous attitude towards Armenia as a mythical homeland. In the 1990s the ethnologist Grzegorz Pełczyński conducting research on the ethnic status of the Polish Armenians' communities considered it as a *sub-ethnos* (subetnos) of the Polish nation[453].

New emigration refers to the immigrants who have been arriving from Armenia and other countries of the former USSR (the so-called third wave) since the 1990s. They are distinguished by: 1) a non-Polish but, first of all, an Armenian citizenship; or not only the Polish citizen-

450 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 227-33.

451 Ibidem, 233.

452 The use of the term "emigration" referring to the definition of the specificity of the Armenian community in Poland reflects the perspective applicable to its representatives who oftentimes defined themselves in this way.

453 Pełczyński, *Ormianie polscy w XX wieku*, 156-61.

ship but, what should be noted here and what turned out to be the case in the last decade, the obtainment of a Polish citizenship as second to an Armenian citizenship, 2) communicating in the Armenian language within their own community, 3) maintaining strong links both with Armenia, as an abandoned, private and ideological fatherland, as well as with Armenian diaspora in other countries, 4) common declaration of belonging to the Armenian Apostolic Church with its capital in Ejmiatsin, 5) taking up commercial or service (gastronomic) activities. The new immigrants have settled in numerous towns all over the country[454].

Differences between these groups became reflected in their organisational activity as well as in relations between them in the existing and developing institutional structures. One should add that these groups are not idyllically homogenous and their representatives reveal various degrees of identification with Armenianism (as with the old emigration) or with Poland (as with the new emigration), but also different attitudes towards the latter community, ranging from openness to isolation. Grzegorz Pełczyński indicates the existence of a kind of an intermediate group, in other words - a community created by the Armenians (and their descendants) who arrived in Poland during the period of the interwar or the Polish People's Republic[455]. This group is not numerous, but its representatives played an important role in the maintenance of relations with Armenianism amongst the old emigration, almost paving the way for the new generation, and sometimes even getting involved in the activities integrating communities. In accordance with the accepted terminology, they can be defined as a **middle emigration**.

Development of Secular Institutions

Political changes have become an engine for transformations in the institutional life of the Armenians in Poland. Already in 1990

454 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 228, 271, 308. In 2008, their representatives lived in 64, out of 68, surveyed cities. The largest groups were created in the areas of the Katowice Conurbation (Silesia and Dąbrowa Basin), in Warsaw, Cracow, Łódź, Tricity, Wrocław (Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 233).

455 Grzegorz Pełczyński, "Ormiańska mniejszość narodowa w Polsce", in *Spis podróżny: Polscy Ormianie, Ormianie w Polsce: konferencja*, ed. Monika Maciejewska and Longin Graczyk (Bydgoszcz: Fundacja Ari Ari, 2010), 16.

the first independent Armenian association was created, **The Armenian Cultural Society** (**Ormiańskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne**; later as: OTK). It was founded by the members of the Cracow's KZKO, wishing to expand their activity as part of an independent organisation. The next organisation was **Fr. Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz Association of Armenians in Poland** (**Związek Ormian w Polsce im. Ks. Arcybiskupa Józefa Teodorowicza**; later as: ZOwP im. JT), founded in 1995 in Gliwice. The association, established by the community gathered around the Holy Trinity Church, was to become a continuation of the pre-war Archdiocesan Association of Armenians in Poland.

Both organisations were created by the representatives of the old emigration. They were of an inclusive and nation-wide nature, in other words, they gathered the representatives of this community from different parts of Poland, but also accepted all the people interested in the culture and history of Armenians and Armenia, and the number of their members went over 100[456]. The organisations undertook an activity popularising the Armenian culture and restoring the memory of the Armenians' history in Poland and additionally had an important integrating function through organising meetings, lectures, conventions, and religious ceremonies. Both groups also undertook a publishing activity; OTK started to publish the quarterly "Bulletin" („Biuletyn") in 1993, while in Gliwice in 1994 "The Messenger of Saint George the Illuminator" („Posłaniec Św. Grzegorza Oświeciciela") was issued; the latter was initially published as an Official Body of the Pastoral Care of the Armenian-Catholic Church in Poland and after the establishment of ZOwP im. JT, as ZOwP's body; however, it was published only until 1999.

In the first decade of the socio-political changes in Poland, the Armenian Culture Interest Circles continued their activities in Poland, in Cracow, Warsaw and Gdańsk. Their aim was to develop interest in the past and culture of the Armenians as well as the integration of the Armenian circles, even though in Cracow these functions had been practically taken over by OTK.

In the 1990s, the Armenian circles made an effort to consolidate the community dispersed throughout the entire country. OTK in Cracow

456 In 2008 there were 115 members in OTK (while in 2007 there were 6 people in the Interest Circle in Cracow), whereas ZOwP im. JK had 130 members (Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 248, 257).

became a recurring organiser of a nation-wide meetings. They took place in 1991, 1992, 1994 and 1998. In 1999 the Armenian circles' representatives from different parts of the country attempted to establish Federation of Armenian Organisations in Poland as a representation of the whole community, but this proposal was not successfully continued. Generally speaking, these efforts influenced the integration of the Polish Armenians' communities, promotion of knowledge about the origins and cultural heritage, redefinition of their identity through people who had Armenian ancestors, public articulation of the Armenian background, which in the times of the Polish People's Republic had been concealed and limited to a private sphere.

The Armenian immigrants (the new emigration) arriving in Poland in the 1990s generally stayed outside of the sphere of activity of the old emigration, to a large extent not even having knowledge of the latter's existence[457]. Only a few of them joined the organisations of the Polish Armenians but, by and large, they did not participate in any activities within the organisations' scope. In the 1990s, the living standards and legalisation of their stay was the greatest challenge for the immigrants as a significant number of them had experienced various problems regarding these matters and remained in the territories of Poland illegally (if not for the whole time then at least during a certain period)[458]. However, from the middle of the decade various organisational initiatives of the representatives of the new emigration are revealed. **The Association of New Armenian Communities in Poland** (**Stowarzyszenie Nowych Wspólnot Ormiańskich w Polsce**; later as: SNWOwP) was founded in Warsaw in 1997, while **HAYASTAN Association of Armenians in Poland** (**Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce HAYASTAN; later as: SOwP Hayastan**) in 1999[459]. **"Ararat" Association of Armenians in Poland, Based in Katowice** (**Związek**

457 Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością,* 210-1.

458 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 228-31.

459 Wydział Spraw Obywatelskich. Urząd m.st. Warszawa, Stowarzyszenia rejestrowe [Ewidencja stowarzyszeń rejestrowych], accessed November 22, 2018, https://bip.warszawa.pl/Menu_podmiotowe/biura_urzedu/AO/Wydzialy/AO_I/default.html. Their activity requires further research since they are currently not listed in the National Court Register (Krajowy Rejestr Sądowy; later as: KRS) , nor is their activity recorded as it was probably terminated in a relatively short time after their establishment (Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością*, 95).

Ormian w Polsce „Ararat" z siedzibą w Katowicach; later as ZOwP Ararat) was established in 1998, while a year later – **Association of Armenians in Poland, Based in Elbląg** (**Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce z siedzibą w Elblągu; later as: SOwP w Elblągu**), organisations included on the list of the National Court Registry (Krajowy Rejestr Sądowy). The shared characteristic of the new emigration's organisations, both of those abovementioned as well as those founded later, was their relatively high exclusivity and location, in other words - they gathered primarily or exclusively (just as i.e. SOwP in Elbląg) the immigrants from one living area (mainly cities) and were focused on meeting the needs (mainly adaptive) of the representatives of their own group. Their founders as well as the authorities' representatives were, frequently together with the Poles, the immigrants. The number of members of these organisations barely exceeded 15 people who were necessary for the registration of an association[460]. In the case of the so-called regular association, a simplified form with no legal personality but only accounted for, the number of founders was set at a minimum of three people.

This type of immigration associations included also the **Armenian-Polish Association "Ani"** (**Stowarzyszenie Ormiańsko-Polskie „Ani"**; later as: SO-P Ani) founded in 2006, **Association of Armenians in Silesia** (**Stowarzyszenia Ormian na Śląsku**) founded in 2007, **Association of Armenians in Poland** (**Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce"**; later as: SOwP w Łodzi) founded in 2008 in Łódź, **Armenian-Polish Social Committee** (**Ormiańsko-Polski Komitet Społeczny**) founded in 2012, **Kielce Association of Armenians in Poland** (**Kieleckie Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce**) from 2013, but also unregistered: **Association of Armenians in Lublin** (**Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Lublinie**, 2014, and **LEHAHAYER Union of Armenians in Poland** (**Związek Ormian w Polsce – LEHAHAYER) from 2017**. Amongst the organisations, the **Association of the Armenian Youth** (**Stowarzyszenie Młodzieży Ormiańskiej**) stands out; it was founded in Warsaw in 2005 at the Polish nation-wide meeting of students and high school pupils in order to integrate young Ar-

460 I.e. there were 19 members of SOwP in Elbląg in 2007 (Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 243), the Kielce Association of Armenians in Poland had 20 members in 2017 (data provided by the president of KSOwP, Varuzhan Chobanyan, from the 19th of February 2018).

menian immigrants scattered around Poland. The Association's activity ceased, however, in 2007 and only in 2011 efforts were made to reactivate it. One should also take into consideration two other associations. **Pharos Association of Armenians in Poland** (**Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce Pharos**) which was founded by the Poles, but its vice-president was a representative of the immigrants, Khachik Hakobyan[461]. In the Warsaw record of associations, there also appears **Poland-Armenia Association** (**Stowarzyszenie Polska-Armenia**), the representative of which is Witold Jedliński[462]. Unfortunately, there is no other information regarding its organisational specificity so there is no certainty that it gathers representatives of the Armenian community.

Armenian National Committee of Poland (**Komitet Narodowy Ormiański Polski – Haj Tad**, later as: ANC Poland) founded in Warsaw in 2014, was of a slightly different nature. It was appointed by the European Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy (EAFJD) and its constitutive meeting was attended by the president of EAFJD, Kaspar Karampetian. ANC Polska is part of the network of the Armenian National Committees established in the diaspora by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutyun in order to represent Armenian interests defined by this party. Representatives of the new emigration were included as members of ANC Polska. Ara Sayegh, an Armenian from Aleppo currently living in Wrocław is the chairman.

Some groups of the new emigration got involved in organising Armenian language weekend schools for the youngest representatives of their communities. They operated in Warsaw in 1995, in Elbląg in 2000–2001, in Łódź in 2008, in Gdańsk from 2011. Some of the associations conducted cultural activities by organising Armenian Days, exhibitions, shows, concerts, celebrations of national holidays. However, it should be noted that it was all characterised by a high irregularity. Activities of some of the organisations ceased completely (i.e. SNWOwP, SOwP Hayastan, ZOwP Ararat).

461 KRS: 0000096632, accessed November 21, 2018, http://www.krs-online.com.pl/stowarzyszenie-ormian-w-polsce-pharos-krs-91959.html.

462 Wydział Spraw Obywatelskich. Urząd m.st. Warszawa. Ewidencja stowarzyszeń zwykłych, accessed November 22, 2018, https://bip.warszawa.pl/Menu_podmiotowe/biura_urzedu/AO/Wydzialy/AO_I/default.html.

Foundations established by the representatives of the Armenian community became a new type of institution. In 2004, the following foundation were established in Cracow: the **"Ararat" Foundation for Integration of Armenia with the European Union** (**Fundacja Integracji Armenii z Unią Europejską „Ararat"**) and **"Ararat" Foundation** (**Fundacja „Ararat"**), while in 2007 – **Polish-Armenian Foundation** (**Fundacja Polsko-Ormiańska**, later as: FP-O). Their authorities consisted of Armenians – immigrants and Poles. It should be mentioned that in 2009 the meeting of the founders of the "Ararat" Foundation for Integration of Armenia with the European Union adopted a resolution on its liquidation[463]. Of a slightly different nature was the **"Musa-Ler" Foundation Centre for the Armenian Culture** (**Fundacja Centrum Kultury Ormiańskiej „Musa-Ler"**; later as: FCKO "Musa-Ler") established in 2007, the basis of which was a "Musa-Ler" band of musicians from Armenia[464].

In the middle of the first decade of the 21st century the groups of the old emigration also committed to establishing foundations. In 2006, the **Foundation of Culture and Heritage of Polish Armenians** (**Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich**; later as: FDiKOP) was created, which is currently one of the most active Armenian institutions in Poland. Its founder was the Ordinary of the faithful of the Armenian Rite in Poland, Primate of Poland, Cardinal Józef Glemp. The Foundation was established in order to protect the cultural goods and memorabilia of the Polish Armenians. It collected around 2000 artefacts (like prints, manuscripts, paintings)[465]. In 2007, the circles gathered around KZKO in Warsaw appointed a new, independent organisational form, the **Armenian Foundation KZKO** (**Fundację Ormiańską KZKO**; later as: FO KZKO). Amongst other things, the Foundation set up support for saving the Armenian memorial sites in present-day Ukraine. It also launched a digital library and prompted various projects supporting the immigrants. In 2012 in Warsaw, people associated with this foundation established **"The Armenian Foundation"** (**Fun-**

463 KRS: 0000202896, accessed November 21, 2018, http://www.krs-online.com.pl/fundacja-integracji-armenii-z-unia-krs-193819.html.

464 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 239, 290.

465 Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich, "O Fundacji", accessed November 21, 2018, http://dziedzictwo.ormianie.pl/O_Fundacji.

dacja „Armenian Foundation”; later as: FAF). In practice, it took the place of the KZKO Armenian Foundation, i.e. it took over the official website and achievements.

It is noted that the acknowledgement of a large immigrant community of the Polish Armenians resulted in transformations in the functioning of their institutions in the 21st century. These groups attempted to support the immigrants in some of the spheres. In 2001–2002, at the premises of Saint Peter and Paul Church in Gdańsk, an Armenian school was run where the Armenian language lessons were taught by the immigrants' representative, dr Norajr Ter-Grigorian. In 2003, at the initiative of KZKO in Warsaw, an Armenian school was formed in the Primary School No. 210 (Karmelicka Str. 13). The Saturday Armenian school under the auspices of OTK was opened in Cracow in 2004 in the Primary School No. 26 (Krasickiego Str. 34). In the cases of complications with residence permits in Poland, attempts were made to provide legal advice to the immigrants[466]. Due to the scope of assistance, FO KZKO particularly stood out as it was implementing the project of the “Kanajk-Kananc” association, which activated professionally the female immigrants from Armenia[467]. Apart from this one case, the Polish Armenians' groups generally were not aiming at reorganisation of their activity, which was targeting mainly Polish people of Armenian background. Issues concerning integration difficulties of the Armenian communities were publically articulated at a discussion of the old and new emigration as part of the conference, Armenia Cracoviensia, which took place on June 8, 2009 in Cracow[468]. The condition of a long-lasting separation between functioning and institutionalising of both emigrations is being confirmed by research conducted in the first decade of the 21st century. Part of the Polish Armenians avoided contacts with the immigrants, considering them foreigners, and a significant part

466 This kind of activity was carried out by i.e. Maciej Bohosiewicz as a representative of the Armenian minority, who run the Armenian Chancellery in Warsaw for this purpose (*Ormianie w Polsce. Działalność środowisk ormiańskich w 2006 roku*, 5-10). During his successor's lead, Fr. Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski, the support ceased.

467 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 252.

468 Renata Król-Mazur, ”Polscy Ormianie. Polacy ormiańskiego pochodzenia, Ormianie w Polsce-czyli o dylematach i problematyce integracji środowisk ormiańskich”, in *Spis podróżny: Polscy Ormianie, Ormianie w Polsce: konferencja*, ed. Monika Maciejewska and Longin Graczyk (Bydgoszcz: Fundacja Ari Ari, 2010), 17-24.

of the surveyed immigrants had had no contacts with the functioning organisations despite having lived in Poland for a few years[469].

From the middle of the first decade of the 21st century, one can speak of the commencement of the integration process of the Armenian communities in Poland. Important factors of this process were: 1) placing the first khachkar in modern-day Poland, in Cracow, in 2004 by OTK, which became the driving force for erecting more khachkars in other parts of Poland, 2) holding since 2007 the annual "silence marches" on April 24 in front of the Turkish embassy, commemorating the genocide committed against the Armenian population in 1915, 3) publications directed to both the old and the new emigration, such as brochures issued in 2006 and 2007 on the activities of the Armenian organisations and leaders in Poland, including the immigrant ones, and, in particular, partly bilingual magazine "Awedis" published since 2009 by FKiDOP[470].

Intensification of relations occurring between the circles of the old and the new emigration has been manifested also in an institutional sphere, in which one has been able to notice the development of various integration initiatives. The establishment of the **Congress of the Armenians in Poland** (**Kongres Ormian w Polsce**; later as: KOwP) took place in Warsaw in 2011. It was an attempt to create an "umbrella" organisation representing interests of the whole Armenian diaspora in Poland. However, it was not a bottom-up initiative, but represented by the ambassador of the Republic of Armenia, Ashot Galoyan. The major objectives of the Congress referred to the development of cooperation between Armenia and diaspora, representing interests of Armenians in Poland, strengthening connections with Armenia, and co-ordinating mutual activities with the state authorities of the Republic of Armenia[471]. The Congress' structures included only part of the representatives of the Armenian organisations and groups, first of all – the immigrant ones. Karen Hovsepyan became the president

469 Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością*, 210-1; Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 372-90.

470 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Chaczkary w Polsce-wczoraj i dziś", in *Ormianie*, ed. Beata Machul-Telus (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2014), 119-132; Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Armenian periodical press in contemporary Poland", *Our Europe. Ethnography – Ethnology – Anthropology of Culture* 6 (2017): 32-7; Król-Mazur, "Czasopismo 'Awedis'", 71-88.

471 KRS: 0000388506, accessed November 21, 2018, http://www.krs-online.com.pl/kongres-ormian-w-polsce-krs-698788.html.

of the management board and its members were, amongst others, Adam Terlecki (president of OTK), Genadik Martirosyan (president of SOwP in Elbląg), Margarita Woźniakowska (president of SO-P „Ani"), and Tigran Balabekyan (member of the SOwP w Łodzi's board).

Ideas for integration have begun to be applied in the emerging local organisations. The circle of the old emigration established the **TOP Society of Polish Armenians** (**Towarzystwo Ormian Polskich TOP**; later as: TOP) in Wrocław in 2011. In 2015, its management board, apart from the representatives of the old emigration, included also representatives of modern-day Armenian migrants. The **Armenian Union in Gdańsk** (**Związek Ormiański w Gdańsku**; later as: ZOwG) was founded in 2014 and registered in 2015. Their founders were representatives of various Armenian groups, from both the old and the new emigration: Monika Agospowicz from Warsaw, Armen Artwich, Fr. Cezary Annusewicz, Jakub Kopczyński, Małgorzata Sikorska-Staniszewska and Gagik Parsamyan, who became its president[472]. In 2018, **"Mer Hajrenik" Armenian Association after Archbishop Józef Teofil Teodorowicz** (**Stowarzyszenie Ormiańskie „Mer Hajrenik" im. Abp. Józefa Teofila Teodorowicza**) was founded in Koszalin. Their president was a represantative of the new emigration, Vahan Hakobyan, and the secretary was a Pole, Łukasz Trzeciak[473].

Poland-Armenia Chamber of Commerce (**Izba Gospodarcza Polska-Armenia**), established in 2012 at the initiative of the Armenian community's representatives, was an institution of a thoroughly different nature. Its management board included a Pole, Zbigniew Tomasz Szmurło, as the president and, as the members, Maciej Bohosiewicz (member of the FAF board) and Hakob Baghdasaryan (president of FCKO "Musa-Ler" management board). The Chamber agreed to develop the Polish-Armenian economic contacts by organising i.e. economic missions to Armenia (in 2012–2013).

Another nation-wide, although informal, initiative was the Council of Armenian Organisations in Poland (Rada Organizacji Ormiańskich w Polsce). A group of Armenian organisations operated under this banner as a rep-

472 (art), "Powstał Związek Ormiański w Gdańsku", *Awedis* 20 (Autumn 2014), 3.

473 Urząd Miejski w Koszalinie, *Ewidencja Stowarzyszeń zwykły*ch (pdf), accessed November 21, 2018, https://bip.koszalin.pl/artykul/1642/6785/ewidencja-stowarzyszen-zwyklych.

resentative of the entire Armenian community in Poland in 2014-2015. It included OTK, Foundation KZKO, SOwP in Łódź, FCKO "Musa-Ler", FP-O, O-PKS, KSOwP, FAF, SMO. However, it did not combine, unlike KOwP, all the organisations, including such important ones as i.e. FDiKOP.

In 2016, efforts in integrating the Armenian groups were undertaken by another ambassador or the Republic of Armenia, Edgar Ghazaryan, who organised the Armenian Forum in Poland. Its second edition took place in 2017. Partners of the Forum included 9 Armenians organisations in Poland such as FDiKOP, OTK, FP-O, FAF, TOP, ANC Poland, O-PKS, ZOwP im. JT, IGP-A[474]. It should be emphasised that two of the partners were Armenian associations established in Armenia (both in Yerevan in 2013) through their members who operated also in Poland in the past few years; they were the **Armenian-Polish Cooperation** (**Współpraca Ormiańsko-Polska**; Հայ-լեհական համագործակցություն) and **Arm-Pol "Centre for the Development of Armenian-Polish Relations"** (**Arm-Pol „Centrum rozwoju stosunków Ormiańsko-Polskich"**; Հայ-լեհական կապերի զարգացման կենտրոն).

Overall, in the period between 1990 and 2018 there were 26 independent, registered, and secular ethnic Armenian institutions in Poland (cf. Annex).

Transformations of Armenian Religious Institutions from the Late 1990s

The Armenian-Catholic priests continued to play an enormous role also in the 1990s. A structure which significantly influenced the life of the Armenian community in Silesia, but also all over Poland, was the Armenian-Catholic Parish in Gliwice where the Sanctuary of Mother of God of Łysiec, with the painting of Mother of God of Łysiec, which was the object of worship amongst the old generation, was built. Its parish priest was still Fr. Józef Kowalczyk who undertook an idea of creating the Museum of Polish Armenians. A similar role was played along the coast by the Church of Saint Peter and Paul in Gdańsk, where the life of the Armenian community in the Tricity concentrated. It suffered, however, an irreparable

474 Hayernaysor.am, "Minister of Diaspora Hranush Hakobyan participated in Second Forum of Armenians of Poland", 10/05/2017, ccessed November 21, 2018, http://hayernaysor.am/en/archives/245743.

loss together with the death of Fr. Kaziemierz Filipiak in 1992. It was not until 1995 when a new parish and diocesan priest of the Armenian diocese in Gdańsk, Father Cezary Annusewicz arrived; born in 1951 in Sopot, but originating from a Polish family from Volhynia, he was a priest of the former "Polonia" in Gdańsk, but without the knowledge of the Armenian liturgy.

In the next decade changes in the functioning of the religious institutions of the Armenian community in Poland began. In 2000, the head of the Armenian-Catholic Church, Cardinal Primate Józef Glemp, founded the Armenian Ministry in Cracow, choosing Fr. Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski as its clergyman. His pastoral activity in different Armenian centres in Poland supported the process of integrating the Armenian community in modern-day Poland. In 2004, the ministry was reorganised and divided between two clergymen: Fr. Isakowicz-Zaleski for the southern part of Poland and Fr. Artur Awdalian for the northern part of Poland. In 2006, the Chancellery of the Armenian Ministry for Northern Poland was opened in Warsaw. The new ordinary for the faithful of the Armenian Rite, Archbishop Kazimierz Nycz, conducted another reorganisation in 2007 and, in the place of the ministries, he established three parishes: the southern one with its seat in Gliwice (in the Holy Trinity Church in Gliwice, in Mikołowska Str.), the central one with its seat in Warsaw (in Res Sacra Miser Rectorial Church in Warsaw, in Krakowskie Przedmieście Str. 62) and the northern one with its seat in Gdańsk (in the Church of Saint Peter and Paul the Apostles in Gdańsk, in Żabi Kruk Str. 3)[475].

In 2017, the Armenian-Catholic clergymen were: Fr. Vardapet Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski in the northern parish, Fr. Prof. Tsayraguyn Vardapet Józef Naumowicz in the central parish, and Monsignor Cezary Annusewicz in the northern parish[476]. The Holy Trinity Church in Gliwice remained, on the other hand, the only Armenian temple in Poland.

Relations with the Armenian-Catholic patriarchate in Lebanon (Bzoummar) have been also strengthened. Its superiors started to travel to Poland, Patriarch Hovhannes Bedros XVIII Kasparian in 1989 and 1997, and Pa-

475 Abp Kazimierz Nycz, "Dekret Nr 4877/A/2009", November 20, 2009, accessed November 21, 2018, http://fundacjaormianska.pl/konferencja/ks-artur-awdaljan/.

476 Kościół Ormiańskokatolicki w Polsce. Հայ Կաթողիկէ Եկեղեցին Լեհաստանում, "Duszpasterze", accessed November 21, 2018, http://www.ordynariat.ormianie.pl/index.php/ordynariat/duszpasterze.

triarch Nerses Bedros XIX Tarmouni in 2001 and 2013. Since the end of the 1990s, the liturgical Eastern Rite, similar to the liturgy of the Armenian National Church (and thus, closer to the latest immigrants) is being favoured over the liturgy of the Latinised Lviv Rite (closer to the old emigration).

Transformations have taken place not only in the landscape of the Armenian-Catholic community. Representatives of the new emigration, the majority of whom declared their affiliation to the Armenian Apostolic Church (Gregorian Church), which lacked its own structures and clergymen in Poland, were forced in the first two decades to use the ministries of the Gregorian clergymen from abroad or the Armenian-Catholics.

Since the first decade of the 21st century the immigrants have made efforts to institute structures of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Poland. In 2006 in Łódź, the Armenian immigrants living there founded a religious association under the name of **The Armenian Apostolic Church in the Republic of Poland** (**Ormiański Kościół Apostolski w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej**). Unan Ananyan became the President of the Administrative Board of the Church. The next religious initiative of the immigrants was a registration, in Zabrze in 2010, of a religious association under the name **The Armenian Apostolic Church of Ejmiatsin Catholicosate in the Republic of Poland** (**Ormiański Kościół Apostolski Katolikosatu Eczmiadzyńskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej**). The chairman of the association's board is Fr. Mher Tsaturyan, using his monastic name Fr. Dajad (Dadżad).

In the following years, Fr. Dajad Tsaturyan commenced energetic activities in the circles of the Armenian immigrants in Poland. Amongst other things, he consecrated a khachrak in Łódź in 2013, erected by a group of Armenian immigrants who belonged to SOwP in Łódź and the local religious association. Simultaneously, an Armenian chapel was opened in Łódź as the first meetinghouse for prayers for the faithful of the Armenian Apostolic Church (situated in a room provided by the Roman-Catholic Parish under invocation of St. Mary of Graces). The opening of the seat of the Ministry of the Holy Apostolic Armenian Church in the Republic of Poland took place in Warsaw, Dzielna Str. 5, in 2015. It should be noted that apart from Fr. Dajad Tsaturyan, the clergyman of the new emigration, the ceremony was attended also by the representatives of the old

emigration, i.e. Łukasz Abgarowicz, a senator, Fr. Prof. Józef Naumowicz, an Armenian-Catholic priest.

It is worth noting that the 650th anniversary of granting the very first privilege to the Armenian community by King Casimir the Great, took place in 2017 and became an impulse for cooperation between various Armenian communities. Dozens of religious, cultural, and educational events took place all over the country under the common banner of "650 Years of Armenians in Poland", joining together the representatives of the old and the new emigration, including the religious ones, who are generally operating separately from each other. One should note that at the same time both groups of the new as well as the old emigration promoted the term "Armenian diaspora" to name all the Armenians living in Poland, but previously divided nominally into the national minority (Polish Armenians) and immigrants.

Summary

Creating separate ethnical institutions under the conditions of a diasporic life is one of the characteristics of the Armenian nation. It is noticeable that separate institutions are also one of the permanent elements in the functioning of the Armenian community in Poland. On the one hand, they allow to address the community's own needs, whether religious, economic or cultural and educational, while on the other hand, they represent this community to the dominant society and official factors in the country of residence. Diversity and shape of Armenian institutions in Poland were changeable depending on the socio-legal conditions. There were periods of an intense development of the institutional life, then of its limiting, and finally, even of its almost complete disappearance. Generally speaking, in the periods of independence the Polish state was offering favourable conditions for the creation of ethnic institutions, while the times of crisis for their functioning were taking place together with the collapse of sovereign Polish authorities. Therefore, even after the disappearance of the institutional life of the Polish Armenian groups, caused by the outcomes of the Second World War, there was a noticeable ambition for its reconstruction, which grew in strength when Poland regained its sovereignty.

In the process of developing the institutional life of the Armenian community in Poland after the Second World War, it is possible to distinguish the following stages, taking into consideration the specificity of establishing institutions, organisational form and their numbers, factors and transformative vectors: 1) rebuilding (restoration), 2) restructuring, 3) integration.

The rebuilding stage was characterised by the aspiration to restore the pre-war communal life in a new reality, at first in the Polish People's Republic and then in the Third Polish Republic. This stage spanned between 1945 and 1996, from the founding of the parish in Gliwice, throughout the efforts to deliver pastoral care in Cracow and Gdańsk, the establishment of the first institutional structures of integration (Interest Circles), and finally, the creation of the independent ethnic associations, which were aiming at recreating the communal life of the Polish Armenians' groups, i.e. OTK and ZOwP im. Teodorowicza. Creators of these institutions as well as their main participants and recipients were the representatives of the old emigration. They were directed to gather in their ranks all of the representatives of this community.

The restructuring stage is characterised by transformation of the structure of the institutional life of the Armenians in Poland together with the organisational efforts undertaken by the new immigrants and the creation of new institutional forms. It should be considered that the beginning of the process took place in 1997–1999 together with the establishment of SNWOwP, ZOwP „Ararat", SOwP Hayastan and SOwP in Elbląg. In the institutional sphere, this stage is generally characterised by a separation between the old and the new emigration, that is, respectively - the minorities and the immigrants. Immigrant groups create separate (also religious) local organisations; exclusive or immigrant-Polish in regard to the membership, focusing on adaptive and integrational issues. Simultaneously, the activities of the old emigration, as attempts to address the immigrants' needs in the organisational area, were limited to creating institutions dedicated to them such as, first and foremost, weekend schools.

The stage of integration is characterised in the institutional sphere by undertaking by the representatives of both communities joint organisational initiatives, including those of nation-wide nature. The beginning of this stage was the creating in 2009 of the "Awedis" magazine, the editors

of which were the representatives of both emigrations. In the following years, these initiatives have increased in number, i.e. the founding of KOP, IGP-A, ZOwP. At the same time, the process of redefining themselves as an entity (despite its previously indicated internal differentiation) was manifested towards both the Polish society and the diaspora – i.e. as a unique but nevertheless a part of the world's diaspora (transition from the sub-ethnos to diaspora). However, this did not end a quiet dispute emerging on the institutional level over the vision of the community, closer to the Polish Armenians (as part of the Polish nation) or the world-wide Armenian diaspora (as an element of the globalised Armenian nation). This manifested as a conflict in 2014 over the appointment of the representative of the Armenian minority to the Joint Commission, throughout which one side of the groups (including the old emigration) elected the immigrants' representative, Hrachya Boyajyan, while, due to the Polish official factors, Edward Mier-Jędrzejowicz, a Pole of Armenian background, supported by some of the groups of the old emigration, was chosen.

Table 5. **The registered secular Armenian institutions in contemporary Poland**
1) Order number, 2) Date of foundation, 3) Place of foundation, 4) Name of institution (translation to English), 5) Shortcut of the name, 6) Name of chairman mentioned in the register, 7) Organizational form of the institution, 8) Place of registration.

1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)	7)	8)
1.	1990	Kraków	Ormiańskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne (Armenian Cultural Society)	OTK	Adam Terlecki	A	KRS
2.	1995	Gliwice	Związek Ormian w Polsce im. Ks. Arcybiskupa Józefa Teodorowicza (Fr. Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz Association of Armenians in Poland)	ZOwP im. J*T*	Zenon Isakiewicz	A	KRS
3.	1997	Warszawa	Stowarzyszenie Nowych Wspólnot Ormiańskich w Polsce (The Association of New Armenian Communities in Poland)	SNWOwP	no data	A or RA	RST
4.	1998	Katowice	Związek Ormian w Polsce „Ararat" z siedzibą w Katowicach ("Ararat" Association of Armenians in Poland, Based in Katowice)	ZOwP „Ararat"	no data	A	KRS
5.	1999	Warszawa	Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce HAYASTAN (HAYASTAN Association of Armenians in Poland)	SOwP Hayastan	no data	A or RA	RST
6.	1999	Elbląg	Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce z siedzibą w Elblągu (Association of Armenians in Poland, Based in Elbląg)	SOwP w Elblągu	Genadik Martirosyan	A	KRS

7.	2001	Katowice	Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce Pharos (Pharos Association of Armenians in Poland)	SOwP Pharos	Wojciech Ostrowicki	A	KRS
8.	2004	Kraków	Fundacja Integracji Armenii z Unią Europejską „Ararat" ("Ararat" Foundation for Integration of Armenia with the European Union)	FIAzUE „Ararat"	Armen Serobyan	F	KRS
9.	2004	Warszawa	Fundacja „Ararat" ("Ararat" Foundation)	F „Ararat"	Grzegorz Kujawa	F	KRS
10.	2005	Warszawa	Stowarzyszenie Młodzieży Ormiańskiej (Association of the Armenian Youth)	SMO	Babken Khanzadyan	A	KRS
11.	2006	Warszawa	Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich (Foundation of Culture and Heritage of Polish Armenians)	FKiDOP	Ewa Abgarowicz	F	KRS
12.	2006	Warszawa	Stowarzyszenie Ormiańsko-Polskie „Ani" (Armenian-Polish Association "Ani")	SO-P „Ani"	Margarita Woźniakowska (Yeremyan)	A	KRS
13.	2007	Warszawa	Fundacja Ormiańska KZKO (Armenian Foundation KZKO)	FO KZKO	Marta Axentowicz-Bohosiewicz	F	KRS
14.	2007	Warszawa	Fundacja Centrum Kultury Ormiańskiej „Musa-Ler" ("Musa-Ler" Foundation Centre for the Armenian Culture)	FCKO „Musa-Ler"	Hakob Baghdasaryan	F	KRS
15.	2007	Warszawa	Fundacja Polsko-Ormiańska (Polish-Armenian Foundation)	FP-O	Arsen Ovsepyan	F	KRS

16.	2007	Zabrze	Stowarzyszenie Ormian na Śląsku (Association of Armenians in Silesia)	SOnŚ	Hrachya Boyajyan	RA	UM
17.	2008	Łódź	Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce (Association of Armenians in Poland)	SOwP w Łodzi	Martin Gasparyan	A	KRS
18.	2011	Wrocław	Towarzystwo Ormian Polskich TOP (TOP Society of Polish Armenians)	TOP	Adam Domanasiewicz	A	KRS
19.	2011	Warszawa	Kongres Ormian w Polsce (Congress of the Armenians in Poland)	KOwP	Karen Hovsepyan	A	KRS
20.	2012	Warszawa	Fundacja „Armenian Foundation" ("The Armenian Foundation")	FAF	Marta Axentowicz-Bohosiewicz	F	KRS
21.	2012	Zabrze	Ormiańsko-Polski Komitet Społeczny (Armenian-Polish Social Committee)	O-PKS	Hrachya Boyajyan	A	KRS
22.	2012	Warszawa	Izba Gospodarcza Polska-Armenia (Poland-Armenia Chamber of Commerce)	IGP-A	Zbigniew Szmurło	CC	KRS
23.	2013	Kielce	Kieleckie Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce (Kielce Association of Armenians in Poland)	KSOwP	Varuzhan Chobanyan	A	KRS
24.	2014	Warszawa	Ormiański Komitet Narodowy Polski „Hay Tad" (Armenian National Committee of Poland)	ANC Poland	no data	RA	UM
25.	2014	Gdańsk	Związek Ormiański w Gdańsku (The Armenian Union in Gdańsk)	ZOwG	Gagik Parsamyan	A	KRS
26.	2018	Koszalin	Stowarzyszenie Ormiańskie „Mer Hajrenik" im. Abp. Józefa Teofila Teodorowicza ("Mer Hajrenik" Armenian Association after Archbishop Józef Teofil Teodorowicz)	SO "Mer Hajrenik"	Vahan Hakobyan	RA	UM

Legend: A – association, RA – regular association, F – foundation, CC – chamber of commerce; KRS – National Court Registry, RST – Registry of Associations, UM – City Hall.

Sources:

KRS, accessed November 21, 2018, https://ekrs.ms.gov.pl/web/wyszukiwarka-krs.
Wydział Spraw Obywatelskich. Urząd m.st. Warszawa. Stowarzyszenia rejestrowe.
Wydział Spraw Obywatelskich. Urząd m.st. Warszawa. Ewidencja stowarzyszeń zwykłych.
Urząd Miejski w Zabrzu, Stowarzyszenia zwykłe zgłoszone do ewidencji stowarzyszeń mających swoją siedzibę na terenie miasta Zabrze przed 20.05.2016r., accessed November 21, 2018, http://www.bip.um.zabrze.pl/engine//bip/13?o=TreeMenu&e=e|13.
Urząd Miejski w Koszalinie, Ewidencja Stowarzyszeń zwykłych, accessed November 21, 2018, https://bip.koszalin.pl/artykul/1642/6785/ewidencja-stowarzyszen-zwyklych
Wykaz stowarzyszeń zwykłych mających siedzibę na terenie m.st. Warszawy zgłoszonych Prezydentowi m.st. Warszawy przed wejściem w życie znowelizowanych zapisów ustawy – Prawo o stowarzyszeniach tj. przed dniem 20 maja 2016 r. (doc.) https://bip.warszawa.pl/Menu_podmiotowe/biura_urzedu/AO/Wydzialy/AO_I/default.htm (accessed: 22.12.2017).

11. Armenian Diaspora in Poland – an Outline of the Problem

Renata Król-Mazur

Armenians living in the Republic of Poland (RP), who belong to the so-called old emigration (terms such as 'Polish Armenians' and 'Poles of Armenian origin' are also used) – are the descendants of Armenians who came to Poland in the Middle Ages, and to the so-called new emigration (the concept of the new wave, the third wave and the new Armenians is also used) who came to Poland after the earthquake in Armenia in 1988 and after the breakup of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Representatives of the old emigration refer to the newly arrived as "Hayastantsi"[477]. The use of the 'old' and 'new emigration' terminology is being protested against by the representatives of the latter group, who believe that these terms create problems and divide the Armenian community in Poland, and that this is the reason why they postulate to say: "Armenians living in Poland"[478].

Armenians who live in the territories of the Polish state arrived there in the fourteenth century through the Russian lands from the Crimean ar-

477 Հայաստան Hajastan - Armenia.

478 Romana Obrocka and Monika Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy, co dalej?" *Lehahayer. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Ormian polskich* 1 (2010), 187 - postulate raised by Genadik Martirosyan from the Polish Armenian Association based in Elbląg.

eas (where they adopted the language of Polovtsi called Kipchak). They settled mainly in the eastern areas: Kamieniec Podolski, Lviv, and later Bar, Stanisławów, Brzeżany, Tyśmienica, Jazłowiec, Horodenka, Mohylów Podolski, Kuty (all of which currently belong to Ukraine), Zamość and Kazimierz on the Vistula. They inhabited the areas belonging to the so-called Eastern Borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth[479]. They used the Armeno-Kipchak language (from the Turkic language group), written in the Armenian alphabet. They used this language until the mid-17th century when during the transition of Polish Armenians from the Armenian Apostolic Church to the Armenian Catholic Church they began to use the Polish language[480]. An additional reason was the lack of communication with compatriots who at the end of the 17th century began to come to Poland from the territory of Moldova. This new wave of Armenian settlement used already the Western Armenian dialect of the Armenian language. From the end of the 18th century, a rapidly progressing process of Polonization of the Armenians (the beginning had already taken place at the end of the 16th century) was being witnessed. In the period between World War I and II, only a few individuals in Poland knew the Western Armenian language (mainly clergymen). In Kuty on the Cheremosh River, several families still used the dialect of the Armenian language known in Poland as the Kuty dialect.

Despite the progressing Polonization, Armenians have never forgotten their roots. They have had a deep sense of ethnicity since the Middle Ages, the best example of which is the term *Lehahayer* (Polish Armenians) used by them[481]. They managed to harmonise their loyalty to the ethnic group and to the state in which they lived[482]. In the 19th century, due to the new po-

479 The areas located east of the rivers Narew, Bug, San, inhabited by people diversified in terms of nationality, religion and culture, were referred to as such in the Republic of Poland between 1918 and 1939; apart from Poles, there were Ukrainians, Belarussians, Lithuanians, Jews, Armenians, Tatars, Karaims, Russians, Czechs and others.

480 See more Renata Król-Mazur, „Przemiany społeczności ormiańskiej w Polsce pod wpływem unii ze Stolicą Apostolską", *Krakowskie Pismo Kresowe* 8 (2016), 15-64.

481 A renown expert on the Armenian diaspora in Poland, Prof. Wartan Grigorian from Matenadaran emphasized how old this term is and how deeply rooted it is in the traditions of Armenian language and culture.

482 This is also reflected in the identification of the descendants of Armenian families who are alive today. Their national self-awareness is defined by such terms and phrases as: "The Polish Armenian is twice a Pole", or "I am a Pole of Armenian origin". Contem-

litical and legal realities, and therefore the unification of Armenian-Polish relations, there was a change in the form of ethnicity, the shapes of which differed significantly from the Old Polish era. Elements that build the ethnic separateness of the Armenians in the 19th century were: language (used in everyday life in some regions, mainly in Pokucie and Bukovina, and in liturgy), Armenian Catholic rite, anthropological features, endogamy still dominant among them[483], names[484], genealogy, family memory, and the space of community life[485].

The carrier of principles and customs is collective memory functioning in a given social group. And the memory required the Armenians to surround themselves with representatives of their group during special ceremonies. Their ethnic identity was determined not only by their awareness but also by the awareness of groups and communities towards them outside. As Katarzyna Drąg rightly pointed out, the otherness of the Armenians, and at the same time a very long presence in the territory of Ruthenia, allows to define them as "our foreigners", locals, but different from the culture of the majority"[486]. In the case of landed gentry and the intelligentsia of Armenian origin, the declarations of ethnicity could be considered in the aspect of subjective choice, but only in the sense of a relation to inherited identification. Over time, their dissimilarity from ethnic Poles depended on the memory of another origin, another family (gens), and the only tangible proof that remained was the rite. At the beginning of the 20th century, a specific identity of Polish Armenians developed, which can be described by the Latin formula "gente Armeni natione Poloni"[487]. This allowed them to create Polish patriotism without

porary Polish Armenians sometimes feel even triple ethnic identification - among the displaced people after World War II there is also the concept of a "private homeland" identified with Eastern Galicia and Bukovina.

483 It began to disappear at the end of the 19th century.

484 They preserved the tradition of names passing from generation to generation, they used traditionally Eastern, Semitic, biblical, West-Roman names and they referred to the indigenous onomastics in the form of specifically Armenian names.

485 Wasyl, „Dziwna etniczność", 69-89.

486 Katarzyna Drąg, *W galicyjskim tyglu etnicznym, narodowym i społecznym (Kajetan Abgarowicz – Abgar Sołtan)* (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum, 2012), 101.

487 Krzysztof Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000), 100; Franciszek Wasyl, "Gente Armeni Natione Poloni. Tożsamość Ormian galicyjskich w XIX wieku", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego*

having to give up their Armenian past. In the second half of the 19th century, Austrian officials in Bukovina referred to them as "Armeno-Poles"[488].

In the 19th century, changes in the internal structure of the Armenian community in Poland took place – the Armenians abandoned their stores, thanks to the innate entrepreneurship of many of them, they gained considerable fortunes, occupying a high social position in Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. Over time, a large number of landowners developed, possessing considerable assets in Pokucie and Bukovina, and a certain percentage of state officials, doctors, lawyers, teachers, journalists and artists emerged[489]. It is worth emphasising that in spite of the rights of assimilation, Armenians living in Poland – or Poles of Armenian origin – still considered themselves Armenians and showed interest in a distant Armenia. In the 20th century, came to an end the full process of Polonization of the Armenians. During the Second World War Armenians, like Poles, became victims of murders committed on them by Ukrainian nationalists and were displaced by the Soviet authorities and sent to Kazakhstan, Siberia, and the northern areas of the USSR. After the war, 99% of the Armenians decided to leave their native areas, especially after the borders were moved and they were incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). After arriving in Poland, they were settled on the so-called Recovered Territories[490]: in the Wrocław, Zielona Góra, and Koszalin voivodeships, as well as in such cities as Cracow, Warsaw, Gdańsk, and Gliwice[491]. These post-war migration movements of Polish Armenians from the Eastern Borderlands to the Western lands are referred to by the sociologists as the second wave of migration. Professor

80/81 (2015), 64-72.

488 Renata Król-Mazur, „Bukowina jako ojczyzna prywatna polskich Ormian", in *Polska i Rumunia w Europie Środkowej w XX i XXI wieku: studia, materiały i eseje poświęcone pamięci prof. dra hab. Wojciecha Rojka = Polonia şi România în Europa Centrală în secolele XX şi XXI: studii, materiale şi eseuri dedicate in memoriam prof. univ. dr. Wojciech Rojek*, ed. Agnieszka Kastory and Henryk Walczak (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2017), 267.

489 Bronisława Wójcik-Keprulian, *Ormianie w Polsce* (Lwów: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Książek Szkolnych, 1933), 7.

490 These are the lands which, as a result of the decision of the "Big Three" (Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin), were taken away from Germany and handed over to Poland.

491 Aleksandra Garlicka, Ormianie, in *Inni wśród swoich*, ed. Wiesław Władyka and Aleksandra Garlicka (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich, 1994), 107.

Grzegorz Pełczyński, Polish cultural anthropologist and religious scholar, called the Polish Armenians a sub-ethnic community within the Polish nation[492]. Unfortunately, in 1945–1989 there were no favourable political conditions in Poland for the existence of Armenian minority organisations. The revival of the Armenian community took place in the 1980s on March 24, 1980, the Association of Armenian Culture (Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian) was established in the Cracow branch of the Polish Ethnological Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, PTL). It was not an independent organisation, but rather a branch of PTL, associating professional and amateur ethnographers. Then, emerged Associations at PTL in Warsaw and Gdańsk[493]. Due to these changes that took place in connection with the political transformation in Poland after 1989 the Armenians were enabled to set up their organisations and develop their activities. Their contribution to the history and cultural heritage of the Polish state has been recognised in 2005; the legislator included them as one of nine national minorities living in the Republic of Poland.

The third wave of migration is the inflow consisting mainly of newcomers who came to Poland as a result of the earthquake in Armenia (1988), the collapse of the USSR, and the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan about Nagorno-Karabakh. They are Armenians, citizens of Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine, Russia, and in recent years also Syria. We can distinguish several stages of departures from Armenia. In the first up to the mid-1990s, about 800,000 people emigrated[494]. Armenians, who in the 1990s came to Poland were to form a group of about 30–50 thousand people[495]. In 1995–2001, around 180,000 left Armenia. It was an economic emigration. However, in the first decade of the 21st century people with higher

492 Grzegorz Pełczyński, *Ormianie polscy w XX wieku. Problem odrębności etnicznej* (Warszawa: Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian przy Oddziale Warszawskim Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego, 1997), 161-4.

493 Grzegorz Pełczyński, „Ormianie w PRL-u", *Wrocławskie Studia Wschodnie* 16 (2012), 184-5.

494 Margarit Harutyunyan, "'Trzecia fala'. Ormianie w Polsce po 1989 r.", *Kurier Galicyjski* 9-10 (277-278), (2017), 16.

495 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 227-233. However, the estimate of 50,000 is rather high.

education and students began to emigrate[496]. Recent years have been the influx of Armenians from Syria's civil war.

The current number of Armenians living in Poland is not known. The available data differs significantly. Population censuses are not able to provide us with the actual number of Armenians living in Poland. Many of them who came to Poland in the last twenty years are still not legalised because it is difficult to meet the required conditions. They are not registered on any lists. Some of them have Ukrainian, Georgian, and Russian citizenship, and they appear in the censuses as nationals of these countries. In the National Census of Population and Housing in 2011, a total of 3,623 people declared their Armenian nationality, including 1,524 who also have Polish nationality. 2,971 people declared the Armenian nationality as their first – including 2,031 who declared it to be their only one. 652 people declared the Armenian nationality as their second one[497]. For comparison, in the census conducted in 2002, only 1,082 people claimed the Armenian nationality[498]. According to official statistics, the number of citizens of Armenia in Poland has been growing in recent years. It is associated not only with arrivals but also with the possibility of legalising the stay (it was regulated as part of abolition for foreigners in 2003, 2007, and 2012). Armenians are the most significant national group that took advantage of this opportunity[499]. From among ten nationalities who came to Poland in the largest number of immigrants in 2015,

496 Harutyunyan, "'Trzecia fala'", 16.

497 *Ludność: stan i struktura demograficzno-społeczna: Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011*, ed. Lucyna Nowak et al. (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny), 91.

498 Differences between data from these two censuses are the result of many factors - another methodology of data collection, Armenian information campaign for declaring Armenian nationality during the census and the possibility of making a self-report (Internet) - which ensured anonymity and was beneficial especially for people who have unregulated residence status.

499 In 2003, out of 3,508 foreigners from 62 countries, the majority of applications for legalization of stay were made by citizens of Armenia - 1,623 (46%), during the second abolition in 2007 they were the second group after the Vietnamese (585 applications) and during the third abolition of 2012 have submitted 713 applications, taking the fifth place among citizens of other countries, Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Diaspora ormiańska w Europie i Polsce – szanse, problemy, zagrożenia", in *Współczesne wyzwania polityki migracyjnej Polski i Unii Europejskiej*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski and Paweł Janiszewski (Olsztyn: Forum Dialogu Publicznego, 2013),107.

the citizens of Armenia were in the eighth place[500]. According to the data, as of January 1, 2016, the right to stay issued by the Office for Foreigners in Poland was granted to 3,817 citizens of Armenia[501]. There is also an upward trend in citizenship granted, temporary residence permits issued and residence visas issued [502]. A representative of the Armenian minority in the Joint Commission of the Government and National and Ethnic Minorities (Komisja Wspólna Rządu i Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych), Edward Mier-Jędrzejowicz, has stated that the Armenian diaspora in Poland amounted to at least 15,000[503]. According to estimated data (mainly provided by Armenian organisations operating in Poland and sociologists), there are between 8,000 and 40,000 people of Armenian descent in Poland. The population is scattered all over the country and does not create larger communities (as is the case with the Armenian diaspora in the USA, France, or Turkey). The Armenian side provides various overstated data on the number of Armenians in Poland, sometimes up to 92,000[504]. After the abolition of the prohibition of dual citizenship by the Armenian authorities, some of the Armenians from the new emigration decided to accept Polish citizenship. Already in 2000-2010, Polish citizenship was granted to 315 citizens of Armenia, which places them as the tenth group[505].

The new Armenian emigration is focused on finding livelihoods. They arrived in Poland without any financial means, and a large part of them did not manage to earn it. The reason for this was the lack of legalisation of stay, work permit, and the inability to use in Poland the professional

500 OECD, International Migration Outlook 2017 (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2017), 221, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2017-en or https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/international-migration-outlook-2017_migr_outlook-2017-en#page1.

501 see Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców, Ważne dokumenty - zestawienie z podziałem na województwa, https://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-specjalne/wazne-dokumenty-zestawienie/ .

502 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, ”Diaspora ormiańska w Europie i Polsce”, 111.

503 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych nr 28 z dnia 1 XII 2016 r., http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/zapisy8.nsf/0/2C3EFBCDFBFE3412C1258088005024B5/%24File/0134508.pdf.12.

504 Haias, Armenian Population in the World, accessed December 6, 2018, http://www.haias.net/news/_armenian-population.html.

505 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, ”Diaspora ormiańska w Europie i Polsce”, 110-1.

qualifications acquired in Armenia[506]. However, most of them relatively easily overcome social, cultural and social-living barriers[507]. As Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski's research has shown they often form small family civil partnerships and commercial law companies (limited liability companies, general and limited partnerships) in trade and catering[508]. As Armenians themselves emphasise today, the nature of their community changes with the Polish economy. The role of small trade disappears, and one need to look for other sources of income. This problem is faced, above all, by the representatives of the older generation, who did not learn the language (Polish) at the level that would allow them to work in the profession they had learned. The younger generation has no problem in finding their place in various sectors of the economy. A vast majority of them is employed in higher education - for example at the Jagiellonian University (Uniwersytet Jagielloński) in Cracow, the vice-chancellor for didactics is prof. dr hab. Armen Edigaryan, or on the board of international companies, i.e. Zuzanna Szmawonyan[509], who is the president of EDS Gazpetro Poland sp. z o.o (related to the oil and gas, and energy industries). For a long period, the new emigration was not interested in organising social and cultural life since they were focusing on social problems. It was also difficult because of the dispersion. Armenians from the new wave settled throughout the whole country, both in large cities, as well as in small towns and villages[510]. They formed the largest concentrations in the Katowice conurbation area, in Warsaw, Cracow, Łódź, Tricity and Wrocław. Ac-

506 Maciej Ząbek, „Ormianie w Polsce. Nowa diaspora w latach 1990-2007", in *Dylematy kaukaskie: problemy narodowościowe i migracyjne*, ed. Maciej Ząbek in association with Patrycja Prześlakiewicz and Iwona Kaliszewska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG 2010), 354.

507 Harutyunyan, "'Trzecia fala'", 16.

508 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Ormianie w Elblągu", in *Tożsamość kulturowa. Szkice o mniejszościach narodowych na Pomorzu Gdańskim, seria ósma*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski and Andrzej Krzysztof Waśkiewicz (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuki, 2008), 47-61.

509 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, „Obraz kobiet Ormianki w Polsce", in *Kobiety w życiu kulturowym Polski i świata: praca zbiorowa*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski, Adriana Frączek and Beata Słobodzian (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Gdańskiej Wyższej Szkoły Humanistycznej, 2012), 128.

510 Jadwiga Plewko, *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne oraz społeczności języka regionalnego a samorząd terytorialny w Polsce* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2009), 85-86, 90; Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Diaspora ormiańska w Europie i Polsce", 102.

cording to the latest data from 2016, most of them are now settling down in the Lower Silesia voivodship[511]. Currently, Armenians from the third wave are becoming increasingly more involved in social activities. They set up their organisations, i.e. the Armenian-Polish Social Committee (Ormiańsko-Polski Komitet Społeczny) in Zabrze, the Armenian Association in Poland based in Elbląg (Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce z siedzibą w Elblągu), the Armenian Association in Poland (Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce) with headquarters in Łódź, the Kielce Armenian Association in Poland (Kieleckie Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce), the Center of Armenian Culture Foundation "Musa Ler" (Fundacja Centrum Kultury Ormiańskiej „Musa-Ler"), the Association of the Armenian Youth (Stowarzyszenie Młodzieży Ormiańskiej)[512]. Their goals are similar. The mission of the Kielce Armenian Association in Poland is: "1) maintaining cultural unity and the bonds of national members of the association, integration of the entire environment and people of Armenian nationality, 2) expressing the aspirations and achievements of minority and acting for its social, social and cultural needs in state and local government authorities and institutions, 3) conducting activities supporting and promoting the culture of Polish Armenians, preserving, nurturing and promoting the national heritage of Armenians in Poland, as well as protecting the cultural achievements and traditions of Polish Armenians and Armenians in Poland, 4) supporting educational, cultural and social activities as well as scientific research in the field of Polish Armenians and Armenians issues in Poland and activities for the benefit of the Armenian national minority in Poland, 5) representing members of the association before the authorities of the Republic of Poland and similar associations operating in the country and abroad, 6) creating foundations for better mutual understanding and cooperation between the Polish and Armenian people, 7) providing charitable assistance, 8) providing legal assistance to persons of Armenian nationality, 9) creating the basis for Polish-Armenian economic exchange"[513]. The Armenian organisations of the new Armenians organise internal events aimed at the integration of the community

511 Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców, Ważne dokumenty.

512 They have their own websites, or they can be found on Facebook.

513 Kielce Association of Armenians in Poland. Mission, accessed December 6, 2018, https://rejestr.io/krs/475374/kieleckie-stowarzyszenie-ormian-w-polsce.

and external events, serving the promotion of Armenian traditions in Polish society.

Immigrants (Armenians of the new emigration) can be distinguished at first glance from the Polish Armenians due to their anthropological characteristics, names (in the traditional wording), and surnames[514].

Armenians, wherever they lived, would always say that the historic Armenian nation survived only thanks to language, religion, and culture. However, in the case of Armenians living in Poland, the situation is different. To understand the relationship between the old and the new Armenian emigration in Poland, it is necessary to address the three most important references for Armenians: Motherland, language, and religion.

Homeland

Polish Armenians feel a double, and sometimes triple, ethnic identification, treating Poland as an "ideological homeland"[515]. Strong in national self-awareness – which is reflected in such terms and phrases as "Polish Armenian is twice a Pole", "I am a Pole of Armenian origin". In fact, the latter term appears most often in the statements of the Armenians from the old emigration (they also feel a connection with other Polish Armenians, not with modern Armenia). Among the Armenian displaced persons after World War II there is also a third concept – "private homeland" – identified with Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. For them, the memory of murders carried out in these areas by Ukrainian nationalists is another factor connecting with the Poles and the history of Poland. For the Polish Armenians, Armenia is the home of their distant ancestors[516]. For the newcomers from Armenia, Armenia is the homeland. Their heritage and culture come from that area. The old emigration identifies its heritage with Polish culture. This is best demonstrated by the activity

514 Armenians of the old emigration have Polish-sounding surnames derived from the names of their Armenian ancestors, e.g. Abgarowicze, Bohosiewicze, Simonowicze, Kirkorowicze.

515 More on this subject, see Stanisław Ossowski, „Analiza socjologiczna pojęcia ojczyzny", in Stanisław Ossowski, *O ojczyźnie i narodzie* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984), 26.

516 Renata Król-Mazur, "Stara i nowa emigracja – czyli o dezintegracji środowiska ormiańskiego w Polsce", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 64/65 (2011), 6.

of the Polish Armenian Culture and Heritage Foundation (Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich) established in 2006, the aim of which is to protect what is left of the former Armenian community living in Poland and to restore the memory of this great heritage. In conversations with representatives of the old Armenian emigration, we can see the differences in identification with their roots: "with the new Armenians it is not very much like talking about common roots, because they have completely different, they do not feel it"[517].

The image of the Armenian community created by the old emigration in Poland is aimed at showing unity with Poland, not with Armenia (as the new emigration tries to do). In the Armenian houses of the old emigration, there are many souvenirs related to the culture of Polish Armenians created in the former Eastern Borderlands; sporadically one can find paintings depicting Mount Ararat, khachkars, or the oldest Armenian temples located in the territory of Armenia or Turkey.

The Polish Armenians are distinguished from the new emigration by the lack of active identification with Armenian political aspirations. The new emigration, however, did not create the structures of any diaspora party. Nevertheless, Armenians are visible in the political reality of the Third Republic of Poland – both at the national level (from old emigration) and local government (both from old and new emigration). Politicians and local government officials from the old emigration represent solely the interests of Polish society. Representatives of the new emigration, who are increasingly successful in local government elections, do not officially appear as representatives of the interests of their community and strive for the good of the local community[518]. It is mainly Armenians from the new emigration who are interested in the events taking place in Armenia – the main topics discussed are the conflict with Azerbaijan about Nagorno-Karabakh, corruption, the state of observance of democracy and civil liberties. Both groups (old and new emigration) are actively involved in matters of extreme importance, i.e. protest march-

517 Łukasz Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością? Imigranci z Armenii w Polsce* (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra-JR, 2008), 215.

518 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, „Partycypacja wyborcza Ormian w Polsce – problematyka badań", in *Mniejszości w wyborach – wybory mniejszości. Z badań nad partycypacją polityczną mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych*, ed. Janusz Mieczkowski (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2017), 127-142.

es at the Turkish embassy on the anniversary of the Armenian genocide; protest in 2011 at the Embassy of Hungary after the release and extradition to Azerbaijan Ramil Safarov; letter sent in April 2014 by the Council of the Armenian Federation in Poland (Rada Organizacji Ormiańskich w Polsce) on the procedure of the Senate Forum and US House of Representatives adopted by the US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee resolution 410 regarding the recognition of the events of 1915 as genocide by Turkey on the Armenians[519].

Language

Language is an essential element of ethnonational identity, which is clearly emphasised by such term as 'native'. However, in the case of Armenians, it is not so that easy because there is not one Armenian language. For Armenians, having one's alphabet is one of the determinants of national identity. Owing to Mesrop Mashtots, who at the turn of the fourth century developed the Armenian alphabet, the Armenian language has become one of the languages of a literary tradition dating back to antiquity. This old-Armenian language – grabar – is still used today as a liturgical language by the Armenian Apostolic Church and by the Armenian Catholic Church. Over time, spoken Armenian language (as opposed to the grabar used in the liturgy) has evolved and was fragmented into dialects. Despite the initiatives taken, the Armenians failed to create one national language. Two languages emerged: Western Armenian (based on dialects used by the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire) and Eastern Armenian (based on the Erivan/Ararat dialect and the dialect of the Tiflis Armenian). In this way, two variants of modern Armenian language called "ashkharabar" were created. The Western Armenian language (*arevmdahayerên*) is used by the Armenians in Turkey and the Diaspora – Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, France, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, the USA, and Argentina. The Eastern Armenian language (*arevelahayeren*) is the only official language in the Republic of Armenia[520].

519 Survey research (open questions) conducted in July 2014 among the leaders of the Armenian minority organizations.

520 Andrzej Pisowicz, „Język ormiański – rola i znaczenie dla Ormian w Polsce", in *Ormianie*, ed. Beata Machul-Telus (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2014), 171-2.

The Polish language is the mother language for Polish Armenians. However, for the Armenians of the new emigration their mother tongue is the language of their ancestors – it unites them – and therefore they choose smaller towns as a place of settlement. The Armenians of old emigration show little interest in Armenian because they do not have that need. It arouses astonishment, disappointment and sadness of the representatives of the new emigration – especially those involved in working at Armenian schools[521]. There are also the condemning words: You do not know the language. What man does not know his mother or his language?[522]

For this reason, some representatives of the new emigration cannot recognise the old emigration as Armenians: "they are Poles who think they are Armenians"[523]. In the 1980s, the course in the Eastern European language organised in Cracow by the Armenian language researcher, Prof. Andrzej Pisowicz, was attended by only a few students and only three of them graduated[524]. To date, his grammar lessons in the Eastern Armenian language are published in every issue of the quarterly "Biuletyn Ormianskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego".

For the Armenians from the new wave, the loss of language is associated with the fear of losing their sense of national identity. They are afraid that their children who were born and brought up in Poland will lose their Armenian language and Armenian culture. They are worried that the youngest generation does not want to stand out too much from their peers[525]. Armenian children adapt very well to the conditions prevailing in the Polish school, integrate with the environment of Polish children, and often achieve excellent results in studies[526]. A separate problem is also the belonging of children from mixed Polish-Armenian families. Mixed marriages are not frequent in Armenia because the knowledge

521 Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 184.

522 Ibidem, 195.

523 Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością,* 218.

524 Pisowicz, „Język ormiański", 176.

525 Initially, the children felt constrained by attending classes. At the Cracow school, the children did not want to record the program by the Polish Television, because they were afraid that they would be ridiculed and not tolerated in Polish school. Although the Armenian language is spoken in classes, children communicate with each other in Polish in their leisure time.

526 Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością,* 195.

of Armenian customs, traditions, and language is extremely important for the Armenians, and the non-Armenian partner, who probably will not know them, will not pass them over to their children to grow up to be "real" Armenians. In Armenia, the guardian of Armenian traditions is a woman, and she passes them on to children[527]. Armenians who are coming to Poland change their attitude towards marriages with foreigners[528]. For their children, the issue of choosing a spouse will no longer have such meaning because the customs prevailing in Poland are closer and more understandable to them[529]. In relationships where the mother is Polish (and such are the prevailing ones[530]), children not only do not know Armenian, but they are brought up to be Poles. Purely Armenian marriages, which must focus on living problems, do not have time to pass on to their children the Armenian tradition and language. And yet the initial period has a huge impact on the creation of the identity of the individual because this is when one searches for the answer to the question "who am I?"[531]. The question addressed to young people, in what language they think, was answered as follows: "I think in Polish, sometimes I dream in Polish"[532]. Therefore, it is vital for the new emigration that future generations do not lose their ability to use the Armenian language and the knowledge of Armenian history and culture, hence the need to create an Armenian educational program.

Caring for cultural transmission is not the only reason for the new emigration to teach the Armenian language to children. The preventive strategy "just in case" also plays a significant role – if the situation in life changes and one has to go back to Armenia[533]. It is more important among

527 Karolina Komotajtys, „Małżeństwa polsko-ormiańskie", in *Dylematy kaukaskie: problemy narodowościowe i migracyjne*, ed. Maciej Ząbek in association with Patrycja Prześlakiewicz and Iwona Kaliszewskiej (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG 2010), 452-3.

528 Most Polish-Armenian marriages were concluded in the years 1998-1999 (successively 193 and 197), Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością,* 290-1.

529 Komotajtys, „Małżeństwa polsko-ormiańskie", 452-3.

530 As researches on the problems of Polish-Armenian marriages have shown, in 1995-2006 there were 427 cases in which the wife was an Armenian woman and 839 in which she was a Pole, Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością?* 290-1.

531 Komotajtys, „Małżeństwa polsko-ormiańskie", 459.

532 Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością,* 137.

533 However, it should be taken into account that Armenia is still perceived as an unstable country, rather "democratizing" than a democratic one, with the threat of reviving

those who are undecided about their future and those who do not have a legally regulated stay. In the case of the latter, and especially their children, it is a life necessity, due to the problem of unregulated attitudes to military service in Armenia. The old proverb says that an Armenian in emigration (*spiurkahay*) first builds a school, then a church, then, at the end – a house. A characteristic feature of the Armenians is that they attach great importance to education. The President of the Armenian-Polish Social Committee in Zabrze, Hrachya Boyajyan, stressed that through the initiated educational activities Armenians wanted to preserve language knowledge among the Armenian minority in Poland and to become interested in their culture and tradition of Poles[534].

School[535]

Armenians living in Poland have the opportunity to use their education – but not everyone. The Republic of Poland in the *Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language of January 6, 2005* granted the status of a national minority to nine groups of **Polish citizens** (emphasis by RK-M.), including the Armenian minority. A minority within the meaning of the Act is "a group of Polish citizens who meet the following conditions jointly: it is less numerous than the rest of the population of the Republic of Poland; significantly differentiates itself from other citizens by language, culture or tradition; strives to preserve its language, culture or tradition; is aware of its own historical national community and is focused on its expression and protection; **its ancestors lived in the present territory of the Republic of Poland for at least 100 years** (emphasis by RK-M.)"[536]. *The Act* also established a Joint Commission of the Government

the unexplained dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh.

534 Beata Machul-Telus and Urszula Markowska-Manista, „Wokół edukacji Ormian w Polsce. Współczesne wyzwania i dylematy", in *Ormianie*, ed. Beata Machul-Telus (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2014), 196.

535 A detailed discussion of the functioning of Armenian education on the territory of the Republic of Poland can be found in a separate text in the book.

536 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Act of January 6 on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language, accessed December 6, 2018, http://ksng.gugik.gov.pl/english/files/act_on_national_minorities.pdf (Ustawa z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 r. o mniejszościach narodowych oraz o języku regionalnym, Dz. U. 2005, nr 17, poz. 141) with amendments.

and National and Ethnic Minorities, composed of a representative of each minority, elected by her. Until now, this office is fulfilled by the representatives of the old emigration.

Minority rights to learn their mother tongue or education in the minority language and the right to study the history and culture of minorities are implemented by various legal acts in force in Poland[537].

Educational rights granted to minorities by legal acts in force in Poland are mostly used by large minorities living in compact areas. The network of non-public schools organizing education in a minority language is modest. As a rule, they are run by foundations[538]. The learning of many minority languages is also possible at the level of higher education – studies are created, which are closely related to the language and culture of minorities, or language courses are organized. Currently, the Armenian language course is run only in the Eastern European Studies (Studium Europy Wschodniej) at the University of Warsaw. Previously it was also run at the Institute of Oriental Studies (Instytut Orientalistyki) of the Jagiellonian University by Prof. Andrzej Pisowicz. In the academic year 2013/2014 at the Institute of Classical Philology (Instytut Filologii Klasycznej) of the Jagiellonian University, a course of classical Armenian language (grabar) was run by Dr Garik Mkrtchyan.

The education regulations in force in Poland are not entirely favourable for Armenians living here. Educational institutions operating in Poland for Armenians are a type of Saturday-Sunday schools. They are primarily financed from a subsidy granted by the Ministry of Interior and Administration (Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, MSWiA). Every year, the Armenian organisation responsible for the school submits

537 These include Of the Act on the Education System of September 7, 1991 , the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language of January 6, 2005 (especially Article 18), and the Regulation of the Minister of National Education of November 14, 2007 on the conditions and modalities for kindergartens, schools and public institutions tasks enabling the national, ethnic and linguistic identity of pupils belonging to national and ethnic minorities and the community using a regional language , while the basis for international law is the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages. Poland has signed the Regional or Minority Languages Charter on May 12, 2003, and ratified it on February 12, 2009. In relation to Poland, the document came into force on June 1, 2009. Numerous commitments in the field of education are included in its Article 8.1

538 Elżbieta Kurzępa, *Sytuacja administracyjnoprawna mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w Polsce* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe Organizacji i Kierownictwa "Dom Organizatora", 2009),125.

to the MSWiA (for each task a separate application) a grant application (cost estimate is for a year) for the activity, which is accompanied by a report on the tasks completed. To a large extent, schools are forced to be supported by their resources. In addition to the money paid to the Parental Committee, additional collections are also carried out when the current need so requires. At events with children, one can buy traditional Armenian cakes or greeting cards – the profits from their sale are also transferred for the school's needs.

The specificity of the Armenian community in Poland made it difficult to create schools. Armenian schools existed in Elbląg, Łódź, Zabrze, Kielce, Wrocław. Armenian schools in Cracow and Warsaw have the longest history. They are the largest and best-organized institutions.

Further problems are created by the curriculum. The classes in Armenian schools in Poland are based on two curricula - a proprietary program by Margarita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska's approved by the former Ministry of National Education and Sport (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu) on April 20, 2005 and on the program approved by the Armenian Ministry of the Diaspora, which is implemented in all Armenian diaspora, because according to the Ministry the second program best reflects the needs and possibilities of the Armenians scattered throughout the world[539]. This curriculum includes history, national music, and dance classes. The approved ministerial program by Margarita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska is not possible to be implemented in the one-day school system.

School attendance is a serious problem. Children are brought to schools even from areas located up to 50 kilometres from the school's premises. Despite the declarations made, parents from the new emigration have not shown so much interest in sending children to school for a long time. As teachers say, there was a psychological factor here – young people who came to Poland as children and did not have the opportunity to learn in their language, do not see the need to educate their children

539 Margarita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska, *Program autorski nauczania języka i kultury ormiańskiej dla szkoły podstawowej (I i II etap edukacji) i gimnazjum (III etap edukacji)*, Warszawa-Kraków 2005, https://sp210.szkolnastrona.pl/index.php?c=getfile&id=20. It is authorized for school use under the number DKOS-510-1/ 05, see Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, Programy dopuszczone do użytku do starej podstawy programowej, https://men.gov.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/programy-dopuszczone-do-uzytku-do-starej-podstawy-programowej.docx.

in a language they do not know. For the Armenians from the new emigration, education in Polish schools is more important because it gives them the starting point for life. There were cases that Armenian families enrolled their children who did not know the Armenian language in school and they resigned quickly. There were also children without the basic knowledge of their language, i.e. speaking, but not writing in Armenian. It is only the third generation of newcomers who are interested in learning about their identity.

Children actively represent their schools of Armenian language and culture in various kinds of events, each year they prepare a new artistic program at the end of the school year. Armenian schools often represent the voivodeships – they highlight the artistic part of events organised by local authorities or organisations of the Armenian minority.

Classes in schools are conducted in such a way that children have the opportunity to make the most of them. Armenian schools also contribute to establishing friendships between children who have not known each other before. Children who attend different schools throughout weekdays have the opportunity to meet their peers, who often face the same problems, in the Saturday school of the Armenian language and culture. Children share knowledge with each other - about life, culture, and customs prevailing in Poland and Armenia. They learn from each other the respect for the legacy of Armenians in Armenia and the heritage of Polish Armenians[540].

Armenians from the so-called new emigration are aware of the need to initiate educational activities enabling their children to know the culture, history, and language of their country. They also want to instil this knowledge in the Poles of Armenian origin, for whom Armenian character has so far been associated with the heritage of their ancestors of their ancestors that worked in the former borderlands of the Polish Commonwealth.

However, it should be emphasized that if it were not for the old emigration, which has been connected with the Polish state since the Middle Ages, Armenians (especially those from the new emigration who care for it the most) would not be able to teach their children Armenian language and culture, and would not get support of the Polish authorities.

540 Interview carried out with the Principal of the Cracow school, Dr. Gohar Khachatryan, August 5, 2017.

It is also worth mentioning that for three years courses of the Armenian language have been conducted in Cracow, the classes being held by a representative of the new emigration, Dr Hayk Hovhannisyan, who is a sworn translator of this language. The course is addressed to adult Poles from the old emigration.

Religion

Religion is often an element that saves the nation's identity. For Polish Armenians, religion, or rather faith, was the only distinction from the rest of society. Armenians of Polish origin are Uniates (unici) (with their rite) recognising the authority of Rome. Since the main centres of Armenian settlements were located in the Eastern Borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, those who decided to move to Poland often joined the Roman Catholic Church due to the lack of their own temples when the territories were separated from Poland after World War II. Polish Armenians miss the Catholic church of the Armenian rite and its liturgy. For most displaced persons from the borderlands, it was a huge problem when Father Józef Kowalczyk, the custodian of the sanctuary in Gliwice, departed from the Latinized Lviv ritual in the liturgy[541]. Resistance was triggered by liturgical practices similar to the Uniate Armenian rite that became widespread in the diaspora around the world[542]. At present, the liturgy of the Armenian-Catholic church is celebrated in the Lebanese rite. The problem for the Polish Armenians is not only the inability to maintain their temples in the conditions of dispersion, but also to keep a sufficient number of clergy prepared for the celebration of the Armenian liturgy. The Catholic Church of the Armenian rite in Poland was administratively divided by a decree of 20 November 2009 into three territorial parishes – the northern one with its seat in Gdańsk, central with its seat in Warsaw, and the southern with its seat in Gliwice[543].

541 Apart from Gdańsk, the main center of Armenian Catholics in Poland was Gliwice.

542 Tomasz Marciniak, „Ormianie. Religijne ojczyzny polskiej diaspory w 2001 roku", in *Kultura grup mniejszościowych i marginalnych*, ed. Leon Dyczewski (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II, 2005), 143.

543 By decree of November 26, Archbishop Kazimierz Nycz, Ordinary of the faithful of the Armenian rite in Poland, appointed parish priests: Monsignor Cezary Annusewicz (Gdańsk), father Artur Awdalian (Warsaw) and father Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski (Gli-

There are 227 faithful members of the Armenian Catholic Church[544]. Armenian masses are also held in Polish churches in many Polish cities (Wrocław, Cracow, Rzeszów, Zamość, Oława, and Elbląg). Up to 30 people participate in the services[545].

The image of diaspora life of the Armenians, as well as other ethnic diaspora communities, depends to a large extent on the leaders of social and cultural life[546]. In Polish conditions, the leader of the Armenian community has always been a priest. Currently, Polish Armenians feel the lack of such a leader, and the church has ceased to integrate the Polish Armenians community. A large part of the Polish Armenians expected that Father Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski would become such a leader[547]. He has the Vatican's permission to administer the sacraments in two rites: catholic and apostolic, by carrying out separate records for this purpose[548]. He was a strong support (not only spiritual) for the new Armenians, immigrants coming to Poland. However, his involvement in social activities (including for people with disabilities), as well as political involvement, gradually excludes him from pastoral activities. There is a systematic decrease in the number of people participating in religious practices by both the old and new emigration[549].

Representatives of the new emigration are followers of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia. Its significance for Armenians was emphasized by former Armenian ambassador to Poland, Ashot Galoyan:

wice), Art., "Historyczna reforma struktur Kościoła ormiańskokatolickiego w Polsce", *Awedis. Posłaniec niosący dobrą nowinę* 2 (2010), 1, 6.

544 Król-Mazur, "Stara i nowa emigracja", 11; *Wyznania religijne w Polsce 2012-2014*, ed. Paweł Ciecieląg (Warszawa: Zakład Wydawnictw Statystycznych, 2016), 39, https://stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/oz_wyznania_religijne_stow_nar_i_etn_w_pol_2009-2011.pdf.

545 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 267.

546 Andrzej Chodubski, „Swoistość diaspory ormiańskiej", in *Diaspory*, ed. Jan E. Zamojski (Warszawa: Neriton, 2001), 75.

547 Ząbek, „Ormianie w Polsce", 358.

548 *'Pamiętajcie o naszych zmarłych...'. Kuty nad Czeremoszem 2008*, ed. Longin Graczyk and Marta Axentowicz-Bohosiewicz (Kuty, Warszawa: Fundacja Ormiańsa KZKO; Kraków: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Towarzystwa Słowaków, 2008), 64.

549 Dorota Ziętek, *Tożsamość i religia. Ormianie w krakowskiej i lwowskiej diasporze* (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS, 2008), 277-342.

> "it became the real power, the power, the centre of the national community, gave her spiritual and even political food [...] Everywhere where the Armenian diaspora is located, there is the Armenian Church and the Armenian school – a national community that lasts ages is formed around them"[550].

In conversations with the Armenians from the new emigration, membership in the Apostolic Church of Armenia is mentioned as an essential element of identity: "for the Armenian, to be an Armenian means to be an apostolic Christian"[551]. Therefore, Armenians from the new emigration do not feel the need to use the services of Armenian pastoral care in Poland, because it is foreign to them - both culturally and liturgically. They participate sporadically in the Armenian Catholic services, mainly in the situation of national holidays or events uniting the community –for example, the anniversary of the Armenian genocide. As the primary forms of religiosity, they generally recognise daily prayer and the traditional burning of candles at home and khachkars for close persons[552]. Such an image of religiosity, however, is inscribed in the history of Armenia, which has been marked by 70 years of communism. The statements like "I do not feel Catholic church" are not individual among the Armenians from the new emigration[553]. For them "a real church" is the one in which "you can smell the incense, where you can put a candle"[554]. It is often possible to hear their declarations that "no new Armenian - let the old ones' forgive me – will ever agree that a child will accept the Catholic faith. We are brought up differently. We understand that we survived in this area [it is the area of former Armenia – R. K-M.]. Holding on to the Apostolic-Gregorian Church with our teeth. And no one who is already baptised

550 „Wywiad z Ashotem Galoyanem, ambasadorem Republiki Armenii w Polsce, Kościół i szkoła", *Miejsca Święte* (2007), no. 12, 6.

551 Quote after Łukasz Łotocki. „Ormianin w Polsce, czyli kto? Mniejszość ormiańska i jej relacje ze współczesnymi imigrantami z Armenii", in *Ormianie*, ed. Beata Machul-Telus (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2014), 105.

552 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, „Emigracja ormiańska w Polsce na przełomie XX i XXI stulecia", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 62/63 (2010), 23.

553 Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 201, 195.

554 Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 201. Tomasz Marciniak met with identical statements in his research, *'Pamiętajcie o naszych zmarłych...'*, 65.

in this church will be baptised in another rite. Nobody will come to mass if it is a Polish mass [in the Armenian Catholic rite – R. K.-M.]. Nobody will come! It's all falsification"[555]. The last wave of newcomers is marked by a certain post-Soviet indifference to religious matters[556]. Armenians from the new emigration rarely participate in religious life[557]. Despite the declarations of faithfulness made to the Gregorian Church, they made relatively little effort to make the Armenian Apostolic Church (though registered) function in Poland.

For a long time masses were occasionally celebrated by priests of the Armenian Apostolic Church brought to Poland, which were usually held in Greek Catholic churches[558]. Eventually, two communities of the Armenian Apostolic Church were registered: The Armenian Apostolic Church in the Republic of Poland (Ormiański Kościół Apostolski w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) with its registered seat in Łódź (November 29, 2006) and the Armenian Apostolic Church of the Catholicosate of Ejmiatsin in the Republic of Poland (Ormiański Kościół Apostolski Katolikosatu Eczmiadzyńskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) with the seat in Zabrze (June 28, 2010). According to the Central Statistical Office (Główny Urząd Statstyczny), the first of the Churches mentioned it had more than 335 faithful members. In contrast, the Armenian Apostolic Church of the Catholicosate of Ejmiatsin in the Republic of Poland has 100 members[559]. It was not until April 15, 2015 that the Holy See of the Armenian Apostolic Church was opened in the Republic of Poland – it is located at 5 Dzielna Street in Warsaw.

The pastoral ministry is to be the foundation for building the Holy Armenian Apostolic Church in Poland shortly. The pastoral care has assumed a vast spectrum of activities. In addition to religious celebrations,

555 Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 195.

556 Tomasz Marciniak, „Ormianie w Polsce – religia i język", in *Religia i kultura w globalizującym się świecie*, ed. Marian Kempny and Grażyna Woroniecka (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS, 1999), 227-238.

557 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 267.

558 „Święto Podwyższenia Krzyża w Warszawie", *Awedis. Posłaniec niosący dobrą nowinę* 4 (2010), 3.

559 *Kościoły i związki wyznaniowe wpisane do rejestru kościołów i innych związków wyznaniowych*, accessed December 6, 2018, https://www.gov.pl/web/mswia/rejestr-kosciolow-i-innych-zwiazkow-wyznaniowych, 24, 25, 55.

there are organised liturgical singing lessons of the Armenian Apostolic Church, a course of Armenian (including a grabar) for adults, cultural evenings, meetings and discussion meetings are organised from time to time. To enrich the knowledge of Armenians in the knowledge of the Holy Scripture, Armenian history and culture, and to get them acquainted with Armenian songs and dances, meetings are organised once a week[560]. The priest of the Armenians of the Gregorian Church is Father Dajad Tsaturyan, and the Armenians of the new emigration unite around him. At least twice a year on the occasion of Christmas and New Year, and Easter, he tries to go and celebrate a mass for those Armenians who invite him (as a rule, to the cities in which lives a larger number of new Armenians). Father Dajad Tsaturyan is also an organiser of the civic life of the new Armenians. His presence in Poland contributed to the increase of their participation in religious practices.

Admittedly, in Polish conditions, language and religion cause divisions among the communities of the old and new emigration, and statements about this subject of the newly arrived Armenians have a strong emotional tinge. However, as father Dajad said: "if we help each other and encourage each other in one way or another – communication between us will become deeper and more intense, and any divisions will disappear"[561].

What Divides and What Unites the Armenian Diaspora in Poland

Armenians from the new wave, as first-generation immigrants, are promoters of the Armenian national traditions in the form in which they were shaped in Armenia. One of the most critical tasks for them is to preserve as much as possible of this legacy and pass it on to the younger generation. The children of Armenian immigrants, who along with their parents came to Poland in the mid-1990s, know the Polish language very well, often they are only in the circle of their Polish peers, and they are sporadically in touch with their countrymen of a similar age. Children born

560 ԱՌ Ի ՏԵՂԵԿՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ, accessed December 6, 2018, http://armenia.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/kosciol-apostolski1.pdf.

561 Dadżad Tsaturian, "'Przypadek' to jedno z imion Boga", interview by Armen Artwich, *Awedis. Posłaniec niosący dobrą nowinę* 7 (2011), 7.

in Poland grow in the Polish cultural environment only[562]. Those whom their parents provided with education show a more profound interest in contacts with other Armenians and assimilate the culture of the parents' country passively (they watch Armenian TV, listen to native music, and browse Armenian websites)[563].

For the Polish Armenians, as it is evident even from the statutes, the curricula and activities of the organisations and associations established by them, the most important is to document their history, achievements, and culture as a part of the history of Poland. The next places are the integration of Polish Armenian communities, assistance for immigrants from Armenia, establishing contacts with Armenia and the Armenian diaspora abroad to help the Polish Armenians maintain a spiritual contact with the rest of the nation[564]. The notion of action was most clearly expressed by Roman Obrock: "what we as the heirs of the legacy of Armenians in Poland will leave to the next generations. Our long-term goal is to survive and develop the Armenian element [understood in terms of cultural heritage created by Polish Armenians – R. K-M.] in Poland"[565].

The most important organizations founded by them are: Armenian Cultural Association (Ormiańskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne, Cracow), Foundation of Culture and Heritage of Polish Armenians (Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich, Warsaw), Armenian Foundation (Fundacja „Armenian Foundation", Warsaw), Association of Armenians in Poland named after Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz (Związek Ormian w Polsce im. Ks. Arcybiskupa Józefa Teodorowicza, Gliwice) for a long period of time engaged in cultural and educational activities for Polish Armenians, mainly dealing with preserving and cultivating their legacy. However, it should be taken into account that the collecting of Armenica (Armenian books and prints) and documenting the past

562 Here is another problem - the lack of statistical data on children born in mixed marriages, where the father was of Armenian nationality.

563 Tomasz Marciniak, „Ormianie. Pokolenie 1,5", Toruń: Instytut Socjologii UMK, 2006, http://www.centrum-armenia.umk.pl/libs/ormianiepokolenie.pdf.

564 See Adam Terlecki (interview), „Nie chcemy zamykać się w sobie. Krótka historia Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego", *Miejsca święte* (2007), no. 12, 26-28; Maciej Bohosiewicz (interview), „Ormianin, to dwa razy jak Polak", *Miejsca święte* (2007), no. 12, 22-26.

565 Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 176.

is one of the characteristic features of the Armenians' social activities and the leaders of their diaspora life[566].

In Poland Armenians of the new emigration show respect to the representatives of Armenian organisations dealing with the collection of the legacy of Polish Armenians, but these institutions are not of great interest to them[567]. Nevertheless, they try to follow the example of Polish Armenians and try to undertake similar initiatives. The Armenian-Polish Social Committee from Zabrze organises there the Armenian National Library named after Hakob Meghapart – it is supposed to collect about 4 thousand books, originating i.a. from Armenia[568]. The Armenians of the new emigration seem to be a closed community. This causes the hermeticity of cultural life, as it is addressed mainly to new Armenians[569].

The considerable dispersion of Armenian settlement in Poland makes the community less visible, and it is more difficult to unite it in order to establish its own association or organisation. Armenians undertake such activities which, however, are easier to implement in larger cities. In 1999, they created the Armenian Association of Elbląg (Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce z siedzibą w Elblągu). Five years later, the "Ararat" foundation was established in Warsaw. In 2005, the Association of Armenian Youth (Stowarzyszenie Młodzieży Ormiańskiej) was founded in this city, gathering youth from a new emigration from Warsaw, Cracow, Gdynia, Lublin, and Toruń. It aimed to integrate the dispersed community and to act to maintain a national identity among young Armenians. The last two initiatives quickly stopped functioning. The Armenian Association in Poland "Hayastan" (Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce HAYASTAN) no longer exists. Some of the organisations they founded ceased their activities quickly, and others, i.e. the Armenian-Polish Association "Ani" (Stowarzyszenie Ormiańsko-Polskie „Ani"), were not available for further

566 Chodubski, „Swoistość diaspory ormiańskiej", 76.

567 Ewa Abgarowicz, „Wspólna tradycja potrafi łączyć", interview by Armen Artwicz, *Awedis. Posłaniec niosący dobrą nowinę* (2009) no. 1, 9. See Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 245-264.

568 Prawo.pl, „Ormiańska Biblioteka Narodowa powstaje w Zabrzu", accessed December 6, 2018, http://www.oswiata.abc.com.pl/czytaj/-/artykul/ormianska-biblioteka-narodowa-powstaje-w-zabrzu.

569 Chodubski, „Swoistość diaspory ormiańskiej", 76-7.

studies[570]. The large dispersion of Armenian settlements and the inhabitation of the representatives of the new wave mainly in smaller centres is one of the main obstacles to the consolidation of diaspora activities.

For the majority of Armenians from the new emigration, the struggle to ensure the family's existence absorbs all of their time, not allowing them to set up their organizations or engaging in activities of those conducted by Armenians of Polish origin. Only when a large part of those who came to Poland in the early 1990s got firmly on their feet (settled the issue of a stay, found a good job, founded companies), more organisations started up that are likely to be able to continue their activities. These include the Polish-Armenian Foundation (Polish-Armenian Foundation, 2007, Warsaw), the Musa-Ler Cultural Center Foundation (Fundacja Centrum Kultury Ormiańskiej „Musa-Ler", 2007, Warsaw), the Armenian Association in Silesia (Stowarzyszenie Ormian na Śląsku, 2007, Zabrze), the Association Armenians in Poland (Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce, 2009, Łódź), Armenian-Polish Social Committee in Zabrze (Ormiańsko-Polski Komitet Społeczny, 2012), Kielce Armenian Association in Poland (Kieleckie Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Polsce, 2013), and Armenian Association in Lublin (Stowarzyszenie Ormian w Lublinie, 2014). In 2011, the Polish-Armenia Chamber of Commerce was established (Izba Gospodarcza Polska-Armenia, 2012), associating 115 companies interested in strengthening economic contacts between Poland and Armenia. Together, representatives of the old and new emigration founded organizations like the Society of Polish Armenians in Wrocław (Towarzystwo Ormian Polskich TOP, 2011), the Armenian Union in Gdańsk (Związek Ormiański w Gdańsku, 2015), SOAR-POLSKA Foundation (Fundacja SOAR-Polska, 2015), whose goal is humanitarian aid for orphaned Armenians all over the world, and the Association "Mer Hajrenik" named after Archbishop Józef Teofil Teodorowicz (Stowarzyszenie Ormiańskie „Mer Hajrenik" im. Abp. Józefa Teofila Teodorowicza, 2018, Koszalin)[571].

570 However, one of the 16 "active Armenian organizations in Poland" signed the call for the participation of Armenians in the Universal Population Register in 2011, http://ariari.org/home/spis-popularny-2011-apel-organizacji-ormia -skie (copy in the author's collection).

571 See Organizations of the Armenians in the National Court Register (KRS), accessed August 5, 2017, https://mojepanstwo.pl/krs/organizacje?q=Ormian (access 05/08/2017).

Old emigrants help new emigrants. Their organisations interfere even with the local authorities in specific cases. When Armenians continued to arrive in Poland in 2006, the Armenian Chancellery (Duszpasterstwo Ormiańskie dla Polski Północne) was created. Armenians can receive free legal advice in six centres in Poland: in Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, Rzeszów, Szczecin, and Wrocław. Most of them were run by the University Legal Counselling Centres[572]. Currently, some of them do not exist any longer – newly arrived immigrants use them increasingly less because they receive support from their compatriots through shared groups on Facebook. Polish Armenians, as a minority living in Poland, have their representative (this is a social role) in the Joint Commission of the Government and National and Ethnic Minorities. These functions are performed by the representatives of the old emigration.

It should not be forgotten that their attitude towards Russia divides the Polish Armenians and the new emigration. Armenians from the old emigration identify their feelings with the Polish nation. For them, Russia represents a partition, enslavement, repression from the 1940s, which mainly affected Armenians living in the eastern Polish Borderlands (especially the current Western Ukraine) in the 20th century[573]. For a long time after the end of World War II, Polish Armenians could not admit their Armenian background because the communist authorities in Poland threatened them with deportation to socialist Armenia. They were under surveillance by the security and counterintelligence services[574]. However, for those arriving from Armenia, the main enemy is Turkey, followed by Azerbaijan, while Russia is a traditional friend[575].

The participation of Polish Armenians in the diaspora's life is mainly limited to the transmission of information about themselves – that they still exist and work. Their representatives take part in congresses and conventions organised in recent years by the Ministry of the Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia. Armenians living in Poland, especially those from the new emigration, cannot rely on more support from their own country. In the case of the latter, the Embassy of the Republic of Ar-

572 *Awedis. Posłaniec niosący dobrą nowinę* (2009), no. 1, 15 and in each next issue on page 15 the addresses of the existing ones are given.

573 Król-Mazur, „Bukowina jako ojczyzna", 281.

574 Pełczyński, „Ormianie w PRL-u", 181, 184.

575 Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 198.

menia assumes that it cannot defend people staying in Poland illegally[576]. However, it actively participates in all cultural, scientific, social, and patriotic events organised by Armenian organisations. However, the Embassy did not take any steps to establish its educational institution in Poland for its citizens. Representatives of the Armenian associations complained that when the Ministry of Diaspora was established in Armenia and sent letters informing about the activities of the Armenians in Poland, they had not received an answer for a very long time, as if the Ministry was surprised that there were some Armenians in Poland[577]. In the statements issued by the Armenians, the representatives of the old and new emigration, one could feel the grudge towards the Ministry of Diaspora that it did not show them much interest and support. To the question: "How does the Ministry of Diaspora helps the Armenians living in Poland in cultivating their own culture, traditions, religious practices, and maintaining social contacts between members of the local diaspora and Armenia?", the majority of respondents answered that until now it does not fulfil any of these roles[578]. Some leaders of Armenian organisations operating in Poland take part in "Armenia-Diaspora" conferences organised in Armenia[579]. However, due to the costs, both participation in these conferences, as well as in other events held for the Armenian diaspora, is limited in the case of Armenians living in Poland[580].

It is more difficult to find common ground for agreement if different goals are met. Therefore, it is not surprising that the form of activity of the majority of Armenian organisations in Poland is not attractive for the new emigration. The only thing that unquestionably unites the old and new emigration is the Armenian genocide of 1915. Every year on April 24, in the largest cities in which Armenians live, including Warsaw and Cracow, not only joint marches through city streets are organised, but also various accompanying events - church services, scientific confer-

576 Ząbek, „Ormianie w Polsce", 356.

577 Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 201.

578 Survey research (open questions) conducted in July 2014 among the leaders of the Armenian minority organizations.

579 Report on the Armenia-Diaspora Conference, *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 30/31 (2002), 51-5.

580 Survey research (open questions) conducted in July 2014 among the leaders of the Armenian minority organizations.

ences, and film lectures. A notable example of this unity of the old and new emigration is the inscription on the khachkar erected in Cracow in 2004 by the Armenians who live there:

> "this Khachkar (...) commemorates the Armenians who from the fourteenth century lived in Poland and rendered considerable services to the Republic. The monument is also devoted to the victims of genocide committed on Armenians in Turkey in 1915, to the Armenians and Poles murdered by Ukrainian nationalists from the UPA[581] on April 19-21, 1944 in Kuty on the Cheremosh River and other border towns, the Armenian priests arrested, killed or deported to Siberia by the Soviet occupation authorities during the Second World War".

This was the first khachkar erected in Poland by the Armenian community, and it had a great impact on the adoption by the Sejm (Parliament) of the Republic of Poland by acclamation of the resolution on the memory of the victims and condemnation of the Armenian genocide in Turkey in 1915[582]. Initiatives to erect more khachkars were created by the communities of Polish Armenians and immigrants from Armenia. At present, there are 12 khachkars in Poland – a few of them were imported from Armenia[583].

Old and new Armenians are divided even by cooking issues. Dishes considered to be Armenian in the cuisine of the old emigration are unknown to the new Armenians. They are specific to Polish Armenians and were created as a result of contacts with other nationalities in the former Eastern Borderlands of the Republic of Poland - among them, for example, ganjabur, khorut or hokuhac. Thanks to the Armenian restaurants which open more frequently by new Armenians, Polish Armenians have the opportunity to learn about the traditional cuisine brought from

581 Ukrainian Insurgent Army – organized by Ukrainian nationalists in 1942 and operated in the USSR until 1956.

582 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Chaczkary w Polsce-wczoraj i dziś", in *Ormianie*, ed. Beata Machul-Telus (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2014), 124.

583 Information from HE Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia, Edgar Ghazaryan.

Armenia. Usually, in social events, they exchange recipes for treats served by both[584].

However, it should be remembered that they can offer a lot. Poles of Armenian descent can show how the Armenians in the past adopted, cohabited, assimilated, and what contribution they made to the history of Poland, a friendly country, based on their experience to facilitate newly arrived immigrants finding their place both in Polish society and among the Armenians themselves. Integration with the new homeland cannot be an accusation against Polish Armenians. Proper assimilation with the location of settlement is, after all, a feature of the Armenian community[585]. Among many features attributed to Armenian immigrants in Poland, researchers emphasise the pursuit of integration with local communities (they learn Polish, make contacts with Polish families, try to get to know and understand Polish and regional culture)[586]. Armenians of the new emigration can pass on to Polish Armenians from the old emigration the traditions, culture, and customs which they brought with them in their pure form[587]. One can even say that the influx of the new wave of Armenian expatriates encouraged Poles of Armenian origin to become more interested in the legacy of their ancestors.

The new emigration is treated by Polish Armenians as a factor in the reconstruction and revival of the old diaspora community. It can be observed for some time and especially when it comes to the functioning of Armenian education. Joint conferences, celebrations or events are organised more frequently. They participate more often in social gatherings – on July 8, 2017 Wardawar was organised for the third time by the Ar-

584 The author was an eye witness to this event at Wardawar, organized in Cracow in July 2017.

585 Zob. Andrzej Chodubski, "Ormianie jako diasporalna wspólnota narodowa i etniczna", in *Tożsamość kulturowa. Szkice o mniejszościach narodowych na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski and Andrzej Krzysztof Waśkiewicz (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuki, 2006), 63-78; Chodubski, „Swoistość diaspory ormiańskiej", 61-77.

586 Marek Okólski, *Imigranci. Przyczyny napływu, cechy demograficzno-społeczne. Funkcjonowanie w społeczeństwie polskim* (Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Społecznych UW, 1998), 61.

587 The loss of Armenian customs by the old emigration was addressed in writing many times. See e. g. Mateusz Radosław Gizowski, *Ormianie na Wybrzeżu Gdańskim* (Warszawa: Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian, 1994), 19.

menian Cultural Association, which attracted Armenians from all over the country.

Getting to know each other and drawing on Polish achievements will allow various Armenian communities to integrate with the preservation of the sense of existing diversity. The Armenian community in Poland is disintegrated and divided. In 2013, there were 30 registered Armenian organisations[588]. To consolidate the Armenian community, the Armenian Congress was organised in Poland, the aim of which is to build the unity of the Armenian community[589]. Unfortunately, the idea quickly failed. The initiative was taken over by the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia, which for the same purpose started organising the Armenian Forum in Poland (Forum Ormian w Polsce) – the last one was held on May 19, 2018. It is addressed to all Armenians living in Poland.

The "Awedis" magazine, bilingual (in Polish and Armenian) and published since autumn 2009, supports the consolidation of the "old" and "new emigration". Until now, Polish Armenians published two Polish-language magazines before World War II and from 1993 three Polish-language magazines (90% of their contents discussed topics related to the history of Polish Armenians). "Awedis" is published by the Foundation of Culture and Heritage of Polish Armenians, and financed from funds intended for national and ethnic minorities in the Ministry of Interior and Administration. The intellectual elite of the old and the new Armenians is involved in its editing. It covers topics related to the tradition of Polish Armenians, problems of contemporary Armenia, and Armenian diaspora in the world as well as Armenian immigrants in Poland. The journal reaches the most important world scientific centres dealing with armenistics, including the Matenadaran Institute named after Saint Mesrop Mashtots, Armenian National Library, and to religious centres – Ejmiatsin, the Armenian Patriarchate in Lebanon, the Order of the Mekhitarists. It is published in the printed version and online [www.awedis.ormianie.pl – ed. R. K.-M.]. The magazine was "conceived as a contemporary Armenian assembly, combining tradition with modernity and bringing

588 Information comes from the then president of the Armenian Cultural Association Mr Adam Terlecki - interview from April 15, 2013.

589 Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich, "Congress of Armenians in Poland", accessed December 6, 2018, http://www.dziedzictwo.ormianie.pl/Kongres_Ormian_w_Polsce.

together different circles within our community. (...) It is a journal with a social and cultural profile, more suitable for its fundamental goal - building unity, over language, cultural and historical barriers, while respecting the difference in identity"[590]. The journal quickly gained recognition in the eyes of readers and the Ministry of Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia, which in 2012 announced "Awedis" the winner of the competition "For a significant contribution to the preservation of Armenian identity" in the printed media category. Minister Hranush Hakobyan underlined the merits of "Awedis" in the field of strengthening cooperation between the fatherland and the diaspora, rewarding it for its efforts to preserve Armenian identity, showing events in the diaspora, analysing them, presenting Armenian cultural values and promoting them[591].

Contacts between the old and new Armenians could be easier if they were marriages among them. Until 2009, only one such case was known[592]. On account of the author's observations it can be stated that the old emigration is already a group in decline that has not been able to interest their children in Armenian roots. As a result, they no longer feel double ethnic identification, but they are only Poles. As the former president of OTK said: "not long ago we thought that the Armenian character in Poland would be lost in about 20 years. The inflow of a new emigration, arrived in Poland after the break-up of the Soviet Union and the launch of the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in Warsaw contributed to the renewal of the Armenians in Poland"[593]. The Armenian Foundation KZKO (Fundacja Ormiańska KZKO) has undertaken the attempt of young people's interest in Armenian roots, which since 2008 has been organising volunteer camps under the name "Kuty nad Czeremoszem" the small capital of the Armenians. They aim to arouse interest in the history and culture of Polish Armenians in the youth, but as Marta Axentowicz-Bohosiewicz,

590 Redakcja, "Od redakcji" (from the preface to the first issue of journal Awedis), Awedis. Posłaniec niosący dobrą nowinę 1 (2009), 2.

591 Renata Król-Mazur, "Czasopismo 'Awedis' i jego rola w zbliżeniu różnych środowisk ormiańskich w Polsce", in *Media mniejszości: mniejszości w mediach*, ed. Małgorzata Adamik-Szysiak and Ewa Godlewska (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2014), 71-88.

592 Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 194.

593 „Nie chcemy zamykać się w sobie. Krótka historia Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego", *Miejsca święte* 2007, no. 12, 28.

the president says, it is also about awakening in their young people their Armenian identity and interest in their past of their family. The camps are attended by young Armenians from Poland (including those from the new emigration who want to get to know the cultural heritage of Polish Armenians), Ukraine, the USA, Germany, and Armenia[594].

The factor that undoubtedly consolidates the old and new emigration are attempts to activate the diaspora for joint actions for Armenia. Even small but common activities are essential. An example of this is an action organized in 2008 by the Armenian Foundation KZKO, where, as part of a multi-stage project of assistance to the residents of Armenia, implemented jointly with the Ministry of the Interior and Administration and the Polish Embassy in Yerevan, in cooperation with young people from the new emigration, one of the Armenian schools was supported financially and materially (furnishing the medical office)[595]. These are unusual activities because the Armenian diaspora in Poland is considered to be one of the poorest in the world[596]. As Marta Axentowicz-Bohosiewicz said, the primary objective of the Armenian Foundation KZKO is to "connect Polish Armenians to the Armenians of fresh emigration, to (...) come up with a formula that people will not look in a hostile, strange way at one another (...)"[597]. The project was financed by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (this is a proof of how Armenians are positively acknowledged in Poland by the Poles and the government administration)[598].

The research carried out by the author in 2014 shows that Armenians in Poland consider themselves one of the weakest diasporas - the least organised and having the weakest contacts with institutions operating

594 Fundacja Armenian Foundation, „Projekt ratowania cmentarzy Ormian Polskich, accessed December 6, 2018, http://fundacjaormianska.pl/cmentarze/; Fundacja Armenian Foundation, „Kuty 2018", accessed December 6, 2018, http://fundacjaormianska.pl/ormianie/ormianie-polscy/kuty-2018/.

595 The goals written down in the statute most probably try to reflect the desire to include all Armenians living in Poland in their actions, see Fundacja Armenian Foundation, "Statut", accessed December 6, 2018, http://fundacjaormianska.pl/fundacja/statut/. Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 199; Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością,* 91-92.

596 Ząbek, „Ormianie w Polsce", 360-361.

597 Quote after Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością,* 221.

598 Ząbek, „Ormianie w Polsce", 361.

in the Republic of Armenia or diaspora organisations in other countries[599]. The attempt to change this situation was the establishment of the Armenian National Committee of Poland (Ormiański Komitet Narodowy Polski „Hay Tad") - on the initiative of the European Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy in March 2014 – Hay Tad, counterparts of which exist in many countries of the world (e.g. USA, France, Belgium, Lebanon). Its members are tasked with promoting and implementing Armenian national goals and duly representing Armenian interests by establishing close relations with the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia and Armenian organisations operating in Poland[600]. The Committee spoke about the war in Syria and the persecution suffered by Armenians there, and also published in 2015 a Polish (abbreviated) edition of the book *A fair solution. Compensation for the Armenian genocide. Report of the research group on compensation for the Armenian genocide. Final Report-April 2015* (*Sprawiedliwe rozwiązanie. Odszkodowania za ludobójstwo Ormian. Raport grupy badawczej do spraw odszkodowań za ludobójstwo Ormian. Raport końcowy-kwiecień 2015*)[601]. When reviewing the Facebook page of the Committee, one can get the impression that its activity manifests itself mainly in informing about the operation of its counterparts in the world, and events related to Armenia and its problems[602]. It is not known how many members it has, and its head is Prof. Ara Sayegh (Armenian refugee from Syria, currently working at the Wrocław University of Technology (Politechnika Wrocławska).

599 According to the surveyed people, the old emigration is very assimilated and does not see the need to act for the diaspora, and the new one does not have enough financial resources; Survey (open questions) conducted in July 2014 among the leaders of the Armenian minority organizations.

600 Fundacja Kultury i Dziedzictwa Ormian Polskich, „W Warszawie powstał Ormiański Komitet Narodowy Polski", 27.03. 2014, accessed December 6, 2018, http://dziedzictwo.ormianie.pl/W_Warszawie_powstal_Ormianski_Komitet_Narodowy_Polski.

601 Ormiański Komitet Narodowy Polski, „Oświadczenie Ormiańskiego Komitetu Narodowego Polski w związku z wydarzeniami w mieście Kessab", accessed December 6, 2018, http://ancnews.info/?p=1511#more-1511.

602 See Facebook, "Armenian National Committee of Poland - HAY TAD", accessed December 6, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/pg/haydatpoland/about/?ref=page_internal

The cooperation of Armenian organisations in Poland with organisations in Armenia is weak – these are primarily public scientific institutions such as Matenadaran or the National Library of Armenia. Cooperation between business environments is increasingly being undertaken. As far as the cooperation of the Armenian diaspora in Poland with other Armenian diasporas is concerned, it occurs in the case of Ukraine and Belarus – since the collapse of the USSR, the Armenians of the Armenians were assisted in organising themselves. It is worse for other countries because, as emphasised by the activists of the old emigration, Armenians in the Diaspora believe that Polish Armenians are not Armenians since they do not know their native tongue[603]. However, in recent years contacts have been made with the Armenian diaspora in France, the USA, and Belgium[604].

Because the "Armenian character" of Polish Armenians is something other than the "Armenian character" of Armenians from the new emigration, the Armenian circles in Poland must therefore work out a common ground. It was rightly noticed by Monika Agopsowicz, a representative of Polish Armenians: "I think that a lot of good would happen if the Armenians living in Poland permanently, i.e. those whose ancestors have been here for centuries, as well as those who have relatively recently arrived, so that it would be one group of Polish Armenians. This means that we do not have to forget about the natural differences between these two groups, but we should remember that we have common roots and a shared future"[605]. These words were taken rather seriously by the current ambassador of the Republic of Armenia, Edgar Ghazaryan, who tirelessly participates in all events organised by both of groups and makes numerous efforts to consolidate the Armenian community in Poland[606].

603 Survey research (open questions) conducted in July 2014 among the leaders of the Armenian minority organizations.

604 Ibidem.

605 Obrocka and Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy", 183-184.

606 He took office of the ambassador on October 23, 2014.

12. Armenian Education in Poland

Renata Król-Mazur

Introduction

The Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language of January 6, 2005 (*Ustawa z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 r. o mniejszościach narodowych oraz o języku regionalnym*) applicable in the Republic of Poland (RP) granted the status of a national minority to nine groups of Polish citizens, including the Armenian minority.

One of the most important elements in maintaining and developing national and ethnic minority consciousness is educational activity. The rights of members of national minorities to learn their mother tongue, education in the minority language and the right to learn the history and culture of minorities are implemented in Poland by international law and state legislation. The area of educational activities for national and ethnic minorities in Poland is wide and is undertaken by state and government bodies, and in part by the higher education system. This article aims to present problems faced by the Armenian minority in Poland in the application of their educational rights. In this work about institutions dealing with the education of Armenians, the terms: school, nursery, institution, inter-school teaching team will be used interchangeably.

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The concept of minorities in the Republic of Poland is defined by the *Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language of January 6, 2005*[607]. A minority within the definition of the *Act* is "a group of Polish citizens who meet the following conditions jointly: it is less numerous than the rest of the population of the Republic of Poland; significantly differs from other citizens by language, culture or tradition; strives to preserve its language, culture or tradition; is aware of its own historical national community and is focused on its expression and protection; **its ancestors lived in the present territory of the Republic of Poland for at least 100 years** (letters in bold by RK-M.)"[608].

The problem of minorities is usually considered as the issue of diversity within a given country. In Poland, a significant dividing point from the point of view of the situation of national and ethno-cultural groups was introduced in 1989. It began a democratic transformation – various legal regulations were adopted to ensure legal protection for members of a given minority. The following can be considered as the most important: *The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of April 2, 1997* (*Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*) including among other articles 27, 35, 53)[609]; *The Act of April 27, 2000 on the ratification of the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (*Ustawa z dnia 27 kwietnia 2000 r. o ratyfikacji Konwencji ramowej o ochronie mniejszości narodowych*) – the Convention contains principles which were not reflected in Polish legislation[610]; *Polish*

607 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Act of January 6 on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language, accessed December 6, 2018, http://ksng.gugik.gov.pl/english/files/act_on_national_minorities.pdf (Ustawa z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 r. o mniejszościach narodowych oraz o języku regionalnym, Dz. U. 2005, nr 17, poz. 141) with amendments.

608 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Act of January 6 on National and Ethnic Minorities, Chapter 1, Article 2.3. The status of a national and ethnic minority is not vested in communities of immigrant and refugee background in Poland.

609 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dz. U. 1997, nr 78, poz. 483, https://www.sejm.gov.pl/prawo/konst/angielski/kon1.htm.

610 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dz. U. 2000 nr 50, poz. 579, http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20000500579/T/D20000579L.pdf. The President signed the ratification document on November 10, 2000. Poland signed the Convention

language Act of October 7, 1999 (*Ustawa z dnia 7 października 1999 r. o języku polskim*) – including articles 1 and 2[611]; *Regulation of the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration* (further the Ministry of Interior and Administration) *of March 18, 2002 on cases in which names and texts in Polish may be accompanied by versions translated into a foreign language* (*Rozporządzenie Ministra Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji z dnia 18 marca 2002 r. w sprawie wypadków, w których nazwom i tekstom w języku polskim mogą towarzyszyć wersje w przekładzie na język obcy*)[612]; *The Act of September 7, 1991 On The Education System* (*Ustawa z dnia 7 września 1991 r. o systemie oświaty*), including Article 13[613]; *Regulation of the Minister of National Education and Sport of December 3, 2002 on the conditions and manner of performing tasks by schools and public institutions to maintain the sense of identity national, ethnic, linguistic and religious education of students belonging to national minorities and ethnic groups* (*Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu z dnia 3 grudnia 2002 r. w sprawie warunków i sposobu wykonywania przez szkoły i placówki publiczne zadań umożliwiających podtrzymywanie poczucia tożsamości narodowej, etnicznej, językowej i religijnej uczniów należących do mniejszości narodowych i grup etnicznych*)[614]; *Regulation of the Minister of National Education of March 21, 2001 on the conditions and manner of assessing, classifying*

of February 1, 1995 in the group of the first twenty countries. The Framework Convention does not contain a definition of minorities, as a result of which the authorities of a given country have the right to recognize or not a given group as a minority in order to apply to it the protection provided for by the Convention; detailed analysis of the act in: *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne w Polsce: informator 2003*, ed. Lech M. Nijakowski and Sławomir Łodziński (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2003), 93-102.

611 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dz. U. 1999 nr 90, poz. 999, https://ospcom.files.wordpress.com/2011/11/dr19.pdf.

612 Minister Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, Dz. U. 2002 nr 37, poz. 349, http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20020370349/O/D20020349.pdf. This regulation was issued on the basis of Article 10 paragraph 2 of the Polish Language Act. It does not grant national minorities all the language rights referred to in the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

613 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dz. U. 1991 nr 95, poz. 425, https://www.global-regulation.com/translation/poland/8301846/the-act-of-7-september-1991-on-the-education-system.html.

614 Minister Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu, Dz. U. 2002 nr 220, poz. 1853, http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20022201853/O/D20021853.pdf.

and promoting students and participants and conducting examinations and tests in public schools (*Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 21 marca 2001 r. w sprawie warunków i sposobu oceniania, klasyfikowania i promowania uczniów i słuchaczy oraz przeprowadzania egzaminów i sprawdzianów w szkołach publicznych*)[615]. The rights of national minorities are also protected by international standards. Due to legal regulations currently in force in Poland, national minorities have become the subject of state policy and also local and regional policy[616].

Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language of January 6, 2005, formulates principles for the functioning of national and ethnic minorities in two basic areas: in the use of minority language (ch. 2) and in the area of education and culture (ch. 3), and defines the tasks and scope of activities of bodies for national and ethnic minorities. This act had i.a. to create conditions for national minorities so that they do not feel the threat of assimilation, which until now was the most important challenge for them. Studies of sociologists show that although the Polish state does not conduct assimilation policy, minorities still have problems with maintaining their distinctiveness and preserving their cultural identity. The reason for this state of affairs lies in social processes taking place today[617].

The biggest problem of minorities (especially the smaller ones) in Poland is not the level of legal regulation, but the actual use of their rights – including the right to implementation the minority language and education in their language. The decreasing number of minorities, the small number of children, and the scattering of minorities have a negative impact on the possibility of creating a rational network of schools with the native language of teaching. As a result, we are dealing not with a clas-

615 Minister Edukacji Narodowej, Dz. U. 2001 nr 29, poz. 323, http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20010290323/O/D20010323.pdf.

616 More on this topic: Tomasz Browarek, Tomasz Browarek, "Podmioty współczesnej polityki etnicznej państwa polskiego", in *Polityka etniczna. Teorie, koncepcje, wyzwania,* ed. Henryk Chałupczak, Radosław Zenderowski, Ewa Pogorzała and Tomasz Browarek (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2015), 405-423; Jadwiga Plewko, *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne oraz społeczności języka regionalnego a samorząd terytorialny w Polsce* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2009).

617 Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper, *Mniejszościowe grupy etniczne w systemie szkolnictwa w Polsce. Przekaz kulturowy a więź etniczna* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2009), 59.

sical school, in which the whole teaching process is conducted in the native language, but with the additional learning of the language, and education is carried out in majority schools, intended for all Polish citizens[618].

When analysing the location of national minorities and the state of their national identity, at least three factors should be taken into account. The numerical status of national minorities (the results of the census become official data that must be followed by institutions and government, and self-government administration bodies), legal regulations for the status of national minorities in a given country, and processes occurring in a given minority, location in the broader context of the changes occurring in the society of the country where this minority lives[619].

Armenians, as well as other national and ethnic minorities, are located in various areas and in clusters of various sizes as a result of historical processes, as well as political decisions made in the past, and natural demographic processes. The Armenian minority lives in the Mazowieckie, Wielkopolskie, Śląskie, Małopolskie and Lubuskie voivodships, and its largest centers are located in Warsaw, Poznań, and Cracow (Gliwice is an important cultural center)[620]. Armenians of the new emigration (immigrants) settled throughout the country, forming the largest concentrations in the Katowice conurbation area, in Warsaw, Cracow, Łódź, Tricity, and Wrocław[621]. The dispersion of the Armenians and their relatively small number (compared with other minorities) means that they do not have very favourable conditions to enforce their rights and benefits fully (as one of the least numerous minorities they also receive the lowest educational subsidies – in 2012 it was PLN 382,836)[622]. Counting "their

618 Grzegorz Janusz, "Stopień asymilacji mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w Polsce i Europie", in *Etniczność, pamięć, asymilacja. Wokół problemów zachowania tożsamości mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w Polsce*, ed. Lech M. Nijakowski (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2009), 44-5.

619 Ibidem, 39.

620 Jadwiga Plewko, *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne oraz społeczności języka regionalnego a samorząd terytorialny*, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2010), 90.

621 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, "Diaspora ormiańska w Europie i Polsce – szanse, problemy, zagrożenia", in *Współczesne wyzwania polityki migracyjnej Polski i Unii Europejskiej*, ed. Andrzej Chodubski and Paweł Janiszewski (Olsztyn: Forum Dialogu Publicznego, 2013), 102.

622 Fourth Report on the Situation of National and Ethnic Minorities and a Regional

ranks" has a pragmatic dimension for them. In the case of Armenians living in Poland, there occurrs a division into the so-called old and new emigration (old – descendants of settlers who arrived in the Middle Ages, new – those who came after the earthquake in Armenia in 1988 and after the collapse of the USSR, and also after the conflict began in Syria), which divides the Armenian minority in Poland, not allowing it to take strong and active actions. To understand the relationship between the old and the new Armenian emigration in Poland, it is necessary to reach the three most important references for Armenians: Motherland, language and religion. All three, unfortunately, divide and do not unite this community in Poland[623].

Language is an important element of ethnic and national identity. Its significance was also appreciated by the legislator in the *Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language of January 6, 2005*, a large part of which is devoted to the education of minorities.

It is well-known that educational activity is an extremely important element in maintaining and developing the identity of national and ethnic minorities. This is especially important for minorities, such as Armenians. According to the threat criterion adopted by UNESCO, the Armenian language should be placed at the interface between two categories – endangered languages (children only use the language in domestic situations) and quite endangered (children no longer study it at home as a native language)[624].

The sphere of educational activities for national and ethnic minorities is wide in Poland. Some of the educational tasks are undertaken by

Language in the Republic of Poland, Warsaw 2013, 52.

623 For more see, Renata Król-Mazur, "Stara i nowa emigracja – czyli o dezintegracji środowiska ormiańskiego w Polsce", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 64/65 (2011), 6-12 and Renata Król-Mazur, "Polscy Ormianie, Polacy ormiańskiego pochodzenia, Ormianie w Polsce – czyli o dylematach i problematyce integracji środowisk ormiańskich", in *Spis podróżny: Polscy Ormianie, Ormianie w Polsce: konferencja*, ed. Monika Maciejewska and Longin Graczyk (Bydgoszcz: Fundacja Ari Ari, 2010), 8-21.

624 Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, "Wie sollte das Bildungswesen für Minderheiten in Polen gemäß der ratiufizierten Europäischen Charta der Regional- und Minderheitensprtachen aussehen ?", in *Das Bildungswesen für Minderheiten in Polen: gestern, heute, morgen: 19. Schlesienseminar, Groß Stein/Kamień Śląski 2014: die Publikation bietet eine Auswahl der Vorträge des 19. Schlesienseminars*, ed. Gerhard Schiller (Gliwice-Opole: Dom Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej, 2015), 59.

state and government bodies: Department of General and Special Education at the Ministry of National Education (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej) and Ministry of Interior and Administration (Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji), and in part by the higher education system and local government units. Minority rights to learn their mother tongue or education offered in their native language, and the right to learn their history and culture are implemented on the basis of various legal acts in force in Poland, including *The Act of September 7, 1991 On The Education System, The Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language of January 6, 2005* (especially Article 18)[625], and the *Regulation of the Minister of National Education of November 14, 2007 on the conditions and modalities for kindergartens, schools and public institutions tasks enabling to maintain the sense of national, ethnic and linguistic identity of pupils belonging to national and ethnic minorities and the community using a regional language* (*Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 14 listopada 2007 r. w sprawie warunków i sposobu wykonywania przez przedszkola, szkoły i placówki publiczne zadań umożliwiających podtrzymywanie poczucia tożsamości narodowej, etnicznej i językowej uczniów należących do mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych oraz społeczności posługującej się językiem regionalnym*), while the basis for international law is the *European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages*[626]. *The Charter* does not protect ethnic groups or people belonging to them, but regional or minority languages. Teaching a language or a minority language can take place at all levels of education. The conditions and manner of performing these tasks have been specified in the *Regulation of the Minister of National Education of November 14, 2007*[627]. Teaching the language of national and ethnic minorities, history, culture, and geography of the country with which the cultural minority is identified as a national minority according

625 See footnotes 608,614.

626 Minister Edukacji Narodowej, Dz. U. 2007 nr 214, poz. 1579, http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20072141579/O/D20071579.pdf; Council of Europe, European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages, https://rm.coe.int/168007bf4b. Poland has signed the Regional or Minority Languages Charter /the Charter on 12 V 2003, and ratified it on February 2, 2009. In relation to Poland, the document came into force on June 1, 2009. Numerous commitments in the field of education are included in its Article 8.1

627 Plewko, *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne*, 123.

to the above mentioned ordinance is to be based on curricula and textbooks admitted for school use by the minister responsible for education. The way of organising the teaching of language and culture of the country of origin for students who are not Polish citizens is defined by the regulations on the admission of non-Polish citizens to public nurseries, schools, and teacher education institutions[628]. A wide catalogue of entitlements for minorities in the sphere of education can be found in the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (Articles 12–15)[629].

The Regulation of the Minister of National Education of November 14, 2007 specifies the provisions of art. 13, par. 1 and 2 of the *The Act of September 7, 1991 On The Education System* and allows in § 1 the right to learn the traditional language, history, and culture mentioned in the minority law, and grants the opportunity to introduce artistic and additional classes as needed. A very important from the point of view of the minority is art. 13 (especially paragraphs 5 and 6) of *the Education System Act*[630]. There are provisions about the possibility of subsidising school textbooks and auxiliary books necessary to maintain national, ethnic or linguistic identity from the part of the state budget administered by the minister for education. These subsidies are not mandatory, and the way they are awarded is governed by the *Regulation of the Minister of National Education of July 14, 2006 on rates, detailed manner and procedure for granting and accounting for subject-related subsidies for school textbooks* (*Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 14 lipca 2006 r. w sprawie stawek, szczegółowego sposobu oraz trybu udzielania i rozliczania dotacji przedmiotowych do podręczników szkolnych*), issued on the basis of Article 109, paragraph 5 of the *Public Finances Act of June 30, 2005* (*Ustawa z dnia 30 czerwca 2005 r. o finansach publicznych*)[631]. The legislator (Article 13, paragraph 6 of the *Education System Act*) also

628 Roman Kisiel and Katarzyna Satkiewicz, *Aktualna polityka państwa wobec mniejszości narodowych* (Olsztyn: Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski, Katedra Polityki Gospodarczej i Regionalnej, 2008), 74.

629 Council of Europe, *The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, 5-6, https://rm.coe.int/16800c10cf.

630 See footnote 614.

631 Minister Edukacji Narodowej, Dz.U. 2006 nr 137 poz. 974, http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20061370974/O/D20060974.pdf; Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dz.U. 2005 nr 249 poz. 2104, http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20052492104/O/D20052104.pdf.

obliged the minister responsible for education to take measures to ensure the education of teachers and access to textbooks for schools and facilities that teach in a minority language (these are directives for shaping the state's educational policy, not specific action orders)[632].

The Polish state provides financial assistance in satisfying the cultural needs of national and ethnic minorities. The annual draft of the budget act contains funds for national and ethnic minorities. Their amount is considered by the National and Ethnic Minorities Committee of the Parliament of the Republic of Poland (Komisja Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych). Subsidies are granted from the part of the state budget managed by the Minister of Interior and Administration. Minority organisations for the implementation of their tasks for the protection and development of cultural identity may receive co-financing from the budget of the local government unit. *The National and Ethnic Minorities Act* gave the opportunity to subsidise investments, but also the possibility of transferring subject-based subsidies to minority organizations or cultural institutions of significant importance to minority culture. Minority organizations submit applications for subsidies to fulfil their tasks. Applications are evaluated by the Joint Government Committee and Ethnic Minorities (Komisja Wspólna Rządu i Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych) on the basis of criteria developed by the Department of Religious Denominations and National Minorities of the Ministry of Interior and Administration (Departament Wyznań Religijnych oraz Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych)[633].

Education of minorities is often the most important topic at the meetings of the Joint Commission of the Government and National and Ethnic Minorities and the Sub-Committee on Education of National Minorities (Zespół d.s. Edukacji Mniejszości Narodowych). On March 18, 2015, the members of the meeting considered how to improve the state of education serving to preserve the cultural identity of national and ethnic minorities and to maintain the regional language. The information was welcomed and the Council of Europe highly appreciated the state of implementing the *Framework Convention for the Protection of Na-*

632 Elżbieta Kurzępa, *Sytuacja administracyjnoprawna mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w Polsce* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe Organizacji i Kierownictwa "Dom Organizatora", 2009), 122-3.

633 Roman Kisiel and Katarzyna Satkiewicz, *Aktualna polityka państwa*, 83-4.

tional Minorities in Poland, paying attention, however, to the need to improve the supply of textbooks in the languages of national and ethnic minorities[634]. The problem of minority education is one of the most important and the most discussed issues. Discussions of the Sub-Committee on Education of National Minorities concern textbooks, school network, language teaching organisation or teaching a minority language. The most important problem is to provide conditions for teaching minority languages tailored to the needs of individual national and ethnic minorities (the difference in the organization of education for minorities living in compact communities and minorities that are scattered is very significant), providing appropriate teaching staff, creating a better basis for a permanent raising qualifications by the staff and preparation of minority language teaching methodologies[635]. One of the most pressing problems is the issue of preparing textbooks for minorities. The previous system provided for the development and publication of a textbook by the national and ethnic minority communities, and then the purchase of all editions by the Ministry of National Education (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej) and transfer them to pupils for free. In 2014, after the amendment to the *Education System Act*, a new opportunity emerged. The Ministry of Education may commission the development and publication of textbooks without waiting for social initiatives. The working group composed of experts was to develop a specific "road map" to determine which method would be used to edit specific, missing textbooks[636]. Until today, textbooks for all minorities have not been developed – the Armenians also do not have them.

Another challenge was to prepare for the reform of education, which was to take effect from September 1, 2017. Meetings were organised and consultations were attended by representatives of the Ministry of Na-

634 Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, *Jak poprawić stan oświaty służącej zachowaniu tożsamości kulturowej mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych oraz zachowaniu języka regionalnego?* (How to improve the state of education serving to preserve the cultural identity of national and ethnic minorities and to maintain the regional language?), accessed December 6, 2018, http://mniejszosci.narodowe.mswia.gov.pl/mne/komisja-wspolna/aktualnosci/8881,Jak-poprawic-stan-oswiaty-sluzacej-zachowaniu-tozsamosci-kulturowej-mniejszosci-.html?search=59151323.

635 Roman Kisiel and Katarzyna Satkiewicz, *Aktualna polityka państwa*, 85.

636 Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, *Jak zapewnić uczniom podręczniki do nauki…*

tional Education and the Department of Religion and National and Ethnic Minorities of the Ministry of Interior and Administration. The discussion addressed the issues of the institutional solutions providing for the proposed Regulation of the Minister of National Education on the conditions and manner of fulfilling by nurseries, schools, and public institutions of tasks enabling the national, ethnic and linguistic identity of pupils belonging to national and ethnic minorities and the community using the regional language were discussed. The changes in the core curriculum and the operation of the examination system in the language of national, ethnic, and regional minorities were discussed[637]. Unfortunately, not all directors of institutions dealing with the education of national and ethnic minorities were informed about all the meetings and decisions made on them. Representatives of the Armenian community have not been notified about the work on the new core curriculum for Armenian language teaching and the need to submit readings that were to be included in it[638].

The educational rights granted to minorities under the above-mentioned legal acts are mostly used by large minorities inhabiting compact areas – especially German, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and the Kashubian community[639]. The number of non-public schools organising education in a minority language is modest – as a rule, they are run by foundations[640]. The learning of minority languages is also made possible at the level of higher education – fields of studies are created that closely related to the language and culture of minorities, or language courses are organised. The Armenian language course is run only in the East European Studies at the University of Warsaw.

637 Nauczanie języka mniejszości – spotkanie konsultacyjne w MEN 19 V 2017, https://men.gov.pl/ministerstwo/informacje/nauczanie-jezyka-mniejszosci-spotkanie-konsultacje-w-men.html#prettyPhoto (12.06.2017).

638 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych nr 28 z dnia 1 XII 2016 r, http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/zapisy8.nsf/0/2C3EFBCDFBFE3412C1258088005024B5/%24File/0134508.pdf, 10.

639 See e. g. Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, *Nauczanie języków mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych oraz języka regionalnego na poszczególnych etapach edukacyjnych*, accessed December 6, 2018, http://mniejszosci.narodowe.mswia.gov.pl/mne/oswiata/informacje-dotyczace-o/8128,Nauczanie-jezykow-mniejszosci-narodowych-i-etnicznych-oraz-jezyka-regionalnego-n.html.

640 Kurzępa, *Sytuacja administracyjnoprawna mniejszości narodowych*, 125.

There are diametrical differences between Armenian education and the education of other minorities. In the case of Armenians, not one language, but several languages have to be taken into consideration. Armenians speak Old Armenian (which is now a liturgical language used in the Armenian Apostolic Church and by Armenian Catholics), Eastern Armenian that is used in modern Armenia and Western Armenian – used by the Armenian diaspora in Turkey, Arab countries, Cyprus, in Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, France, and the Americas[641]. The Polish language is the first language for Polish Armenians. For the Armenians of the new emigration, the native language is mostly Armenian – it unites them. The Armenians of old emigration show little interest in Armenian because they do not have need to speak it. For the Armenians from the new emigration, the loss of language is associated with the fear of loosing their sense of national identity. They are afraid that their children who were born and brought up in Poland will lose their Armenian identity - the Armenian language and Armenian culture. They are worried that the youngest generation does not want to stand out too much from their peers[642]. Armenian children adapt very well to the conditions prevailing in the Polish school, integrate with the Polish children's environment and often achieve very good results in studies. Another problem is the children belonging to Polish-Armenian mixed families. In relationships where the mother is Polish (and such are the prevailing ones[643]), children not only do not know Armenian, but they are brought up as Poles. Therefore, it is extremely important for the new emigration that future generations do not lose their ability to use Armenian language and knowledge of Armenian culture. Hence it is necessary to create an Armenian educational program that would include all interested parties (and not only those

641 Anżela Kajumowa, „Tożsamość narodowa Ormian mieszkających w Polsce", in *Narody w Europie - tożsamość i wzajemne postrzeganie: zbiór studiów*, ed. Lech Zieliński and Marek Chamot (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane Wyższej Szkoły Gospodarki, 2007), 421.

642 At the beginning of the Cracow school activities, the children did not want to record the program by the Polish Television, because they were afraid that they would not be tolerated in the Polish school. Although the Armenian language is the language of instructions and teaching, children communicate with each other in Polish.

643 For more on the problems of Polish-Armenian marriages see, Łukasz Łotocki, *Między swojskością a obcością? Imigranci z Armenii w Polsce* (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra-JR, 2008), 290-1.

who have Polish citizenship). For the new emigration, teaching children of the Armenian language is also a preventive strategy – "just in case" – if the situation in life changed and they had to return to Armenia. It is more important among those who are undecided about their future and those who do not have a legally regulated status[644]. In the case of the children of the latter, it is a life necessity due to the unregulated attitude to military service in Armenia. The old proverb says that an Armenian in exile (Սփյուռքահայ, *Spyurkahay*, Armenian Diasporian) first builds a school, then a church, then, at the end – a house. To attach a great importance to education is another characteristic feature of Armenians. The President of the Armenian-Polish Social Committee in Zabrze, Hrachya Boyajyan, stressed that through the initiated educational activities Armenians want to preserve language knowledge among the Armenian minority in Poland and to make the Poles interested in their culture and traditions[645].

Another difference in comparison of with the situation of the Armenian minority to others lies in the fact that Poland is primarily inhabited by minorities whose "foreign fatherland" is a neighbour of the Polish state (Germans, Ukrainians, Belarussians, Lithuanians, Czechs, Slovaks, and Russians). Poland has signed bilateral agreements and complementary initiatives with these countries[646]. Meanwhile, the Armenians, apart from Jews, are the only minority whose ideological homeland is not adjacent to Poland. Moreover, it works to their disadvantage. Teachers working in schools teaching Armenian language and culture can not benefit from co-financing for staff training and participation in courses organised in their distant homelands. Co-financing is granted to those minorities from countries that border with Poland and with which bilateral treaties have been signed, containing clauses on the protection of national minorities. Departures for training for Yerevan cost from PLN 1,300 to 2,000 – it is only the cost of the flight – because the Armenian side

644 Król-Mazur, "Stara i nowa emigracja", 8-10.

645 Beata Machul-Telus and Urszula Markowska-Manista, „Wokół edukacji Ormian w Polsce. Współczesne wyzwania i dylematy", in *Ormianie*, ed. Beata Machul-Telus (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2014), 196.

646 With most of our neighbours we have signed special agreements that are entirely devoted to education and culture and are of great importance for minorities who identify with nations organized in these countries. Such agreements are with the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Lithuania. Kurzępa, *Sytuacja administracyjnoprawna mniejszości narodowych*, 117.

covers the costs of training and stay. Despite the efforts undertaken for several years, the Ministry of Interior and Administration refused to cover travel expenses. For teachers of Armenian language and culture working in Poland, contact with teachers from other countries (working in the Armenian diaspora) is very educative, but for financial reasons, it is not frequent.

In Poland, there are several educational establishments founded by the Armenians – and the one operating in Cracow can serve as a model. Cracow Saturday school of Armenian language and culture[647] was founded in 2004 by the Armenian Cultural Association (Ormiańskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne, OTK, operating since 1990). The impulse for its establishment became an experience connected with the help offered to new emigrants who came to Poland not only from Armenia, but also to the Armenians living in the former Soviet republics. The new emigration wanted children to be able to study in their native language[648]. The initiative to set up a nursery came from the parents, and the then president of OTK, Adam Terlecki, also undertook all the work related to arranging the necessary formalities. One of the biggest problems was finding a place. Everyone had very high financial requirements which OTK could not afford. The Education Department of the Cracow City Office (Wydzial Edukacji, Urząd Miasta Krakowa) proposed the Armenian community to establish a social school – which was even more impossible to implement. Grażyna Płoszajska from the Ministry of National Education and Sport (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu) helped to overcome the first difficulties. Responding to the request of the then President of the OTK, the Department of Education at the City Office of Cracow agreed to the establishment of a Saturday school[649].

647 Most of the information about the school comes from its headmistress Gohar Khachatryan - interviews were conducted in July 2011 and August 2017 and from Adam Terlecki, long-time president of the OTK and co-founder of the school.

648 During the 2002 census Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań, 872 people declared using the Armenian language at home, including 321 Polish citizens and 549 people without Polish citizenship. According to the census conducted in 2011, using the Armenian language as a home declared 1,847 people, and 228 declared that it is the only one. Grzegorz Gudaszewski and Dorota Szałtys, *Struktura narodowo-etniczna, językowa i wyznaniowa ludności Polski: Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011* (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2015), 177.

649 The origins of the school's activities were recreated on the basis of the memories

The binding regulations have been a big obstacle in starting the school. To open a minority school (a Cracow school is a type of an inter-school teaching team) at least 3 children with Polish citizenship are required[650]. In the case of the Armenian minority, this is a major obstacle. The children of the new emigration want to learn the Armenian language, but as a rule, they not only do not have Polish citizenship (legally they cannot be treated as an Armenian minority living in Poland), but some of them have not regulated their residence issues. The old emigration that is assimilated for centuries does not need or is not willing to learn the Armenian language. At present, 7 children from mixed Polish-Armenian and Armenian marriages who have Polish citizenship attend the Cracow school.

When it was possible to collect the right number of children, the problem of finding a place appeared. In the end, this was solved in a way that the school legally exists at the Primary School No. 26, but operates in the rooms provided by the Provincial Public Library in Cracow (Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna w Krakowie ul. Rajska 1). The then director of the library, Dr Artur Paszko, offered his help to the Armenian community and decided that there would be no fees for it. He knew the problems of the Armenian community with which he co-operated; in 2000-2003 he was the plenipotentiary of the Małopolska voivodship governor for national minorities. Unfortunately, the room at the disposal of the Armenians in Cracow is too small – it is difficult to teach children of all ages together in one room, and at the same time to run classes in language, music, and dance.

Another obstacle to starting the school were the current rules on the employment of foreigners in Poland. Teachers had to be from Armenia because Polish Armenians have not known the language of their fathers for a long time. We managed to find an Armenian with Polish citizenship – Ruzana Muradian, who commuted to work from Częstochowa. She was employed by the headmaster of Primary School No. 26, to which the Armenian school was assigned. On October 2, 2004, she started

of the former president of the OTK - Adam Terlecki (interviews conducted in 2011 and 2015).

650 They are created when there is a small number of students, or no teacher to organize teaching in schools or nurseries. The number of students in the inter-school or inter-school team can not be less than 3 and greater than 20. Teaching a language in such departments is carried out for 3 hours a week.

working in an Armenian school, to which eleven children from Cracow and the surrounding area signed up[651] – finally, there were about twenty of them. Ruzana Muradian taught for two years, but then she resigned due to commuting problems.

Owing to the efforts of the President of OTK, A. Terlecki, Gohar Khachatryan, who lives in Cracow, managed to get a job at the school. Thanks to information obtained from employees of the Department of Social Policy of the Provincial Office of Cracow (Wydział Polityki Społecznej Małopolskiego Urzędu Wojewódzkiego w Krakowie), OTK learned that it could be employed even though it does not have Polish citizenship because it she is a research employee at a Polish university (the University of Agriculture in Cracow, Uniwersytet Rolniczy w Krakowie). She has pedagogical qualifications (a condition for all teachers). Gohar Khachatryan as the headmaster of the school is employed by the municipality of Cracow – this function is fulfilled to this day. Learning in her school is based on two programs – own curriculum of Margarita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska approved by the former Ministry of National Education and Sport on April 20, 2005[652], and a program approved by the Armenian Ministry of Diaspora Affairs (MdSD), which is implemented in all Armenian diasporas. This curriculum consists of history, music, and national dance. The procedure of employing professionals teaching these subjects lasted almost a year in the Provincial Office. First, one had to submit a job offer at the Municipal Office, which had to give the approval. At the same time, it was necessary to provide an advertisement in the press and the Internet about the search for candidates for teachers (many people applied - none of them was able to speak Armenian). Apart from the pedagogical qualifications, the candidate was required to register in Poland and have a temporary residence permit. It was also necessary to prove that there were no Polish citizens for this position. In the case of teachers (history, music, and dance) there was no requirement of citizenship because they

651 „Kronika Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 38/39 (2004), 76.

652 Authorized for school use under the number DKOS-510-1 / 05, see Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, Programy dopuszczone do użytku do starej podstawy programowej, https://men.gov.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/programy-dopuszczone-do-uzytku-do-starej-podstawy-programowej.docx.

are employed by OTK, which had to obtain permission to employ a foreigner from outside the European Union.

Another problem concerned the lack of correlation between consent to legal residence and permission for employment. In the first period temporary residence cards and employment were issued by the voivode with one year validity. In 2009, the regulations changed and the teachers received a work permit for two years, but the residence card was only for a year. The next change in regulations in 2010 adjusted the matter of employment and stay – the periods are the same, i.e. two years. The school has the following teachers:

- Armenian language – Gohar Khachatryan
- history – Veronika Hovhannisyan – she also runs the "Banali" theater
- music – Ella Mkrtchyan
- dancing – Perchuhi Kuyumyan

Today, all teachers, in addition to Veronika Hovhannisyan, have Polish citizenship, which greatly facilitates their employment. They all had or have their own children at school, which helps them to understand the needs of students. On September 25, 2010, the honorary diplomas granted by MdSD were awarded to the Armenian Ambassador, Ashot Galoyan, which was a great achievement of the teachers. The Cracow school of Armenian culture and language received in 2012 the second-class award granted by the Minister for Armenian Diaspora in a competition for the best Armenian school operating outside the Republic of Armenia.

Saturday's school of Armenian culture and language is largely financed from a subsidy granted by the Ministry of Interior and Administration. Every year, OTK submits applications (for each separate task) to the Ministry of Interior and Administration for a subsidy (cost estimate for a year) for activities to which a report on the completed tasks is attached. In the case of the school, the subsidy includes salaries for teachers (initially they worked without remuneration) and maintenance of the theatre operating at the school. The school is to a large extent forced to run on its resources. In addition to the money paid to the Parental Committee, supplementary collections are also carried out when the current need so requires. At parties where children are present, traditional Armenian cakes or greeting

cards can be bought, and the profits from their sale are also transferred to the school's needs.

At present, 20 children between the ages of 6 and 18, who live in and around Cracow (Chrzanów, Wieliczka, Skawina), are taught at the Saturday school of Armenian language and culture. There were once 5 people from Katowice, but the costs of commuting forced them to resign. Schools can also be used by people who want to learn the Armenian language and culture (high school students, students). The attendance is a big problem. The school operates on Saturday, and on that day children either help parents at work or their parents need to be working, which is the main reason why no one can bring students/children to school. They also have various obligations in their public schools which they attend (e.g. performances at music or ballet school, matches and sports tournaments). When talking with the Armenians living in Cracow one can very often hear about that obstacles. Despite the declarations made, parents from the new emigration have not shown so much interest in sending children to the school. There were cases when enrolled children from Armenian families who did not know the Armenian language resigned quickly from attending the school. There were also children who could speak but could not write in Armenian. As emphasized by teachers from the Cracow school, they started their work with teaching the children why they need to know the Armenian language and they do it to this day. As they say, their goal is to encourage children to study Armenian and to use every means in pursuit of it. They are also fully aware that these children will never speak Armenian, as their peers in Armenia, because their language is the language of adults (such as they hear around them). Teachers try to convince children that bilingualism promotes the development of their personality and can become a valuable life asset. As the director of Khachatryan assured: "Our students are brought up in a national spirit, but we do not forget that we live in Poland, (...) we want the Armenian children to integrate with the Polish environment, we want to continue the traditions of Polish Armenians who throughout history have contributed a lot to history and have always been faithful to it (...) we want the Armenians to have a positive image in Poland at all times"[653].

653 Maciej Janik, „Nowi Ormianie w Polsce z perspektywy 20 lat – sprawozdanie z uroczystej sesji naukowej", *Biuletyn Ormiańskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego* 62/63 (2010), 10.

The school awakened in children the desire to use the Armenian language in practice, as evidenced by websites such as the profile of Armenian school on Facebook. The school also contributes to making friendships between children who have not known each other before. Children who attend different schools in Cracow, in the Saturday school of Armenian language and culture have the opportunity to meet peers who often face the same problems[654]. It teaches them solidarity and empathy. For children, the fact that marks in the Armenian language in written on the Polish school certificates as an additional language is very motivating, they do not want to have bad marks[655].

Children are actively representing the Saturday school of Armenian language and culture in all kinds of events. They prepare annually a new artistic program at the end of the school year. Meetings are organised to bring Armenian and Polish traditions closer e.g Christmas: *Christmas carols with pomegranate fruits under the Christmas tree*. The program presented by the children included presentations about Armenian and Polish festive traditions combined with decorating the traditional Armenian Christmas tree. Children played a show Christmas gata (recipe for gata was given, Polish Christmas carols and songs were sung, and traditional Armenian dances were presented along with learning steps). At the end of the 2016/2017 school year, children prepared an interesting program dedicated to Komitas, an outstanding Armenian composer[656]. There is also a showcase of the Małopolska province – they highlight the artistic part of events organised by the voivode or the city. It is worth emphasizing that all graduates of the school study in renowned high schools in Cracow (High School No. 1, Secondary School No. 5, High School No. 5), and they have studied or have graduated from (Academy of Fine Arts (Akademia Sztuk Pieknych), Jagiellonian Uni-

654 The author learned when talking to students of that nationality participating in her classes that the young Armenians living in Cracow mostly do not know each other.

655 Grades in Polish schools are entered only to the level of junior high school - because the program of the Armenian language, approved by the former Ministry of National Education, is only up to the level of junior high school.

656 The children also prepared an exhibition devoted to this outstanding musician, you can see it in the background on the material from the concert, see Karen Khachatryan, Szkoła ormiańska w Krakowie - *Կրակովի հայկական դպրոց,* accessed December 6, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7U4bTARnBPM.

versity (Uniwersytet Jagielloński, UJ), Collegium Medicum UJ, AGH University of Science and Technology (Akademia Górniczo-Hutnicza).

The school implements two programs – ministerial and proprietary curriculum of Gohar Khachatryan. The latter changes the requirements of assessment, and the literature that is used imposes the purpose of the tasks, individual approach to the child – his age and skills. Geography classes are carried out both in Armenian language lessons and history. As part of history classes, there are also art classes and classes devoted to religion – to the Armenian Apostolic Church and Armenian Catholic Church. As part of the music, children are taught the Armenian flute pieces. In 2008, Mrs Veronika Hovhannisyan organised at school a theater circle in the Armenian language, which was transformed into a puppet theater "Banali" ("Small Key") a year later. The theatre produced numerous performances, including the one at the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

As it is known, all programs and textbooks for national minorities are developed by teachers of minority languages, history, and geography of the home country and admitted for school use by the Ministry of National Education. The condition for the admission of the program and textbooks for school use is to obtain positive reviews of the appraisers. The Ministry of National Education assures that for several years it has been buying full editions of textbooks for minority and ethnic languages, and the history and geography of the country of origin of minorities, which are distributed to schools free of charge[657]. Moreover, in this case also, Armenian education is not able to take advantage of this benefit because – as of today – there are no people who could write such textbooks in Poland.

The Armenian language textbooks used in the Armenian school of Cracow are imported via the Embassy of Armenia[658]. They are adapted to the child's age. There are different for six-year-old children and 12-year-old children who start learning. The school uses two types of these textbooks

657 Grażyna Płoszajska, „Zasady i działalność Ministerstwa Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu na rzecz zachowania rozwoju tożsamości narodowej i etnicznej mniejszości", in *Polityka państwa wobec mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych*, ed. Lech M. Nijakowski (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2005), 263-4.

658 One can get acquainted with them on the website of the Armenian school in Cracow, Szkoła Ormiańska, Podręczniki – *Դասագրքեր*, accessed December 6, 2018, http://szkola.armenia.pl/materialy/podreczniki/.

– one is approved by the Armenian Ministry of Education, the other by the Polish Ministry of Education. In teaching the Armenian language, Ms Gohar Khachatryan uses these books in the following way: a book to class I – *Aibenaran* (primer of the Armenian Ministry of National Education) is carried out for three years with the addition of elements from the 2nd class textbook - *Majreni lezu* (Armenian diaspora). In the 4th and 5th grade, the implementation of the 2nd class handbook ends, and the textbook for the 3rd and the 4th class – *Majreni lezu* (Armenian diaspora) is used. Class 6 and middle school use the 5th grade Majreni lezu book and the *Hayrenagititutyun* textbook (Armenian Ministry of National Education). In Poland, if there is no textbook approved and included in the list of textbooks kept by the Ministry of National Education, the teacher can use any programs and help students, according to his/her knowledge and pedagogical practice she/ he finds useful[659]. Both teachers at the Warsaw and Cracow schools emphasise that the textbooks provided by the embassy of Armenia are not very suitable for adapting to working conditions with the Armenian minority in Poland, which is already very well assimilated[660].

The approved ministerial program by Margarita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska also cannot be be implemented in the one-day school system. It received a favourable opinion from an expert – Prof. Andrzej Pisowicz, an outstanding Polish Armenian specialist, but one should take into account that it was assessed by a person dealing with students, adults, who in his work does not have to pay attention to the stages of child's development and his or her cognitive and developmental capabilities. The program was written by a person who at that time had no experience in working with Armenian children in Poland, so initially assumed that children from Armenian families already knew their language. However, in Polish reality, it is the education of children who have not had contact with the Armenian language or have had it minimally. Children from

659 The lack of textbooks for teaching Armenian children raises concerns about the Committee on National and Ethnic Minorities, see Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, *Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych nr 28 z dnia 1 XII 2016 r*, 9-10.

660 Statement by the director of the Gohar Khachatryan school in July 2011; F*ull record of the course of the meeting*... , pp. 10-11, http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/zapisy8.nsf/0/2C3EFBCDFBFE3412C1258088005024B5/%24File/0134508.pdf(02.08.2017).

the new emigration know only the spoken language – and this is the language of adults, children from mixed marriages usually do not know it, and the children of Polish Armenians do not know the language at all. The ministerial program is too ambitious – it should be remembered that it is a language with diverse phonetics and sound, and a completely distinct alphabet which cannot be completed in three years. Parents who do not see a fast and big progress sometimes criticise their children's education. The ministerial program is confusing when it comes to the tasks to be carried out – in middle school, things like polite phrases are only required [pp. 44], and in classes 1–3, the ability to talk about customs is already required[661]. The author of the ministerial program assumes that at the beginning (classes 1-3) children are to use Armenian books. The subject matter of the tasks being carried out – for example, my town, the nearest neighborhood, capital of Poland, Homeland, its symbols and national holidays [p. 14] would force the teacher to tell children about these things in Polish, but then they will not learn Armenian. The author predicts the implementation of the grammar of the Armenian language at the level of classes 1-3. Meanwhile, in Polish school, it is introduced from the 4th grade, and yet the language is learned every day. Evaluation of spelling tests [p. 34] is impossible to implement as the assessment is too drastic. It also remains the mystery of the author of the program, what she meant by writing that a child in grades 4th-5th is to use different varieties of Armenian language depending on the style of expression [pp. 32]. According to the author of the program, it emphasizes the "communication approach, or practical knowledge of language and gaining language and communication skills in the area of four basic skills: understanding, speaking, reading and writing"[662]. This is the only educational program developed for the Armenian minority and accepted by the Ministry of Education.

The exceptional importance of the school for the Armenian community in Cracow was always emphasised by the former Armenian ambassador, Ashot Galoyan, who stated that "if you hear about the OTK and Cracow,

661 Margarita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska, *Program autorski nauczania języka i kultury ormiańskiej dla szkoły podstawowej (I i II etap edukacji) i gimnazjum (III etap edukacji)*, Warszawa-Kraków 2005, https://sp210.szkolnastrona.pl/index.php?c=getfile&id=20.

662 Yeremyan-Woźniakowska, *Program autorski*, 11.

you can always hear about the school"[663]. The current ambassador, Edgar Ghazaryan, is also interested in the development of Armenian education in Poland. It is a pity that the current authorities of the OTK do not attach so much importance to the functioning of the school[664]. In September 2017, the OTK authorities refused to continue to help and represent the school. The Cracow school of Armenian language and culture has an educational website made by teachers www.szkola.armenia.pl, where one can find, i.a. Armenian language teaching materials, photos, and videos from student performances.

In connection with the mass travels of Poles abroad and the loss of workforce, the immigrants, including Armenians, are coming to Poland increasingly more often over the past few years. These newly arrived Armenians very much want their children to continue to learn the Armenian language and culture. In the opinion of Gohar Khachatryan, they are a "refreshing injection" for the Cracow school. They know the language well and use it all the time. The school is a substitute for them for everything that they had to leave in Armenia and what they miss. Contacting them with Armenians born and brought up in Poland is extremely beneficial for both parties. Children transmit knowledge to each other – about life, culture, and customs prevailing in Poland and Armenia. They teach each other the respect for the legacy of Armenians in Armenia and the heritage of Polish Armenians[665].

For the Polish authorities, Armenian education is hardly noticeable due to the generally small share of schools and students[666]. Even in institutions responsible for education, there is a lack of solid knowledge on minority schools – in the Report of the Team for Analysis and Forecasting of Education Staff of the Central Teacher Training Centre, in 2006 only

663 Janik, „Nowi Ormianie", 4.

664 On the OTK website in the tab Saturday school there are only 6 sentences about it - there is no information or documents documenting its activity. See. Ormiańskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne, *Szkoła*, accessed October 10, 2018, http://otk.org.pl/pl/szkola/.

665 The information comes from an interview conducted in August 2017 with Gohar Khachatryan.

666 Zespół ds. Analiz i Prognozowania Kadr Oświaty, *Szkolnictwo dla mniejszości narodowych i grup etnicznych w Polsce w roku szkolnym 2006/2007. Dynamika przemian. Raport* (Warszawa: Centralny Ośrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli, 2007), http://www.bc.ore.edu.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=62&from=&dirids=1&ver_id=&lp=1&QI=8B0B4D07B8C37DC6E5453FB819B40861-3, 13.

one Armenian school was recorded (and two were active) and additionally qualified as an example of primary education (such errors still appear), while all existing Armenian institutions are examples of inter-school teaching teams[667]. It is at the inter-school teaching level that they can teach children who do not have the right to permanent residence in Poland.

The Saturday school of Armenian language and culture could exist and work in Cracow thanks to the involvement of the then board of the OTK, the state (Ministry of National Education), as well as the appropriate social climate, which is the result of many different events and social activities.

Although in the field of education, *the Act* gives large rights to national and ten-national minorities, it is not possible to implement them. Refugees can study in public schools for refugees, but the problem is the lack of education in the language, culture, and history of their countries of origin[668]. To implement the educational program for all national and ethnic minorities, it is necessary to amend the Act on foreigners[669]. To be able to open any educational institution for national minorities, there must be three of its representatives who have Polish citizenship. Legal requirements suggest that the "old" Armenians are to learn the Armenian language, and they do not feel the need to do so. In turn, the majority of Armenians from the new emigration does not use education offered to foreigners because they no longer feel like foreigners in Poland. In Poland there is no possibility of formal implementation of the principles of the minority education program – there is no required number of children for individual classes at both primary and lower secondary school level. Therefore, children (aged 6–18) attend one formal class, but the program is implemented by adapting it to the individual needs of children. Based on the Margerita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska's three-level curriculum it would have to be

667 Zespół ds. Analiz i Prognozowania Kadr Oświaty, *Szkolnictwo dla mniejszości narodowych*, 19.

668 For the education of immigrants and refugees, see more Izabela Czerniejewska, *Edukacja wielokulturowa. Działania podejmowane w Polsce* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2013), 116-135, 166-185; Ewa Pogorzała, „Ewolucja polityki oświatowej państwa polskiego wobec mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych po 1989 r.", *Facta Simonidis* 4, no. 1 (2011), 103-106.

669 Children of foreigners, including those staying illegally in Poland, have guaranteed free international school-related education and additional free classes in Polish and other compensatory classes organized at the school. However, there is no obligation to organize a lesson in the language of the country from which they come.

9 children with Polish citizenship. This is the main reason why the Armenian schools founded in Poland are relatively quickly closed. According to the representatives of the Armenian minority, some legal provisions must be changed because the schools can not function on the basis of "beautiful" assumptions and declarations, and some legal provisions must be changed. They are afraid that when they lose their right to be a minority, they will no longer have the right to own education: "From the census, hysteria is made – find as many Armenians as possible, to have minority status and benefit from the rights. Another hysteria is with searching for Armenians with Polish citizenship to open the school and to maintain it"[670].

The censuses are not able to provide the actual number of Armenians living in Poland. Many of them who have come to Poland in the last twenty years still have pending immigration status because it is difficult to meet the required conditions. They are therefore not recorded in any censuses. Some of them have Ukrainian, Georgian, and Russian citizenship, and appear in the censuses as nationals of these countries. In the National Census of Population and Housing in 2011, a total of 3,623 people declared their nationality, including 1524 as co-occurring with Polish nationality. 2,971 people declared having as the first Armenian nationality – including 2,031 who declared it as the only one. 652 people declared Armenian nationality as their second one[671]. For comparison, in the census conducted in 2002, only 1,082 people declared the Armenian nationality[672]. According to official statistics, the number of citizens of Armenia in Poland has been growing in recent years.

Perhaps some of the demands made by the Armenians should be taken into account when drawing up the new law on foreigners and other rele-

670 The quote comes from a conversation with a representative of the new emigration on July 21, 2016.

671 *Ludność: stan i struktura demograficzno-społeczna: Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011*, ed. Lucyna Nowak (Warszawa: Zakład Wydawnictw Statystycznych, 2013), 91.

672 Differences between data from these two censuses are the result of many factors - another methodology of data collection, Armenian information campaign for declaring Armenian nationality during the census and the possibility of making a self-report (the Internet) - which ensured anonymity and was beneficial especially for people who have unregulated residence status.

vant legal regulations. It should be remembered that Armenians, as one of the few immigrants, declare Poland as country of destination[673].

Visits of the delegates of the Independent Committee of Experts on the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, who come to Poland every few years to check the reliability of the Polish Government's report on the implementation of the Charter, help to mobilise the entities responsible for implementing minority activities[674].

Thanks to the functioning of the schools of the Armenian minority, the renaissance of interest in Armenia, the distant mythic homeland of the ancestors, has begun among the old emigration. Its representatives willingly come to events organised by Armenian schools, because owing to them they have the opportunity to learn about the culture of Armenia (Armenian national dances, literature, music, customs, and cusine).

The specificity of the Armenian minority living in Poland, as well as the existing regulations governing the education of national and ethnic minorities, which were described in detail on the example of the Armenian school operating in Cracow, made it difficult to establish a school and maintain it. Armenian schools existed temporarily in Elbląg (there were two classes of Armenian language in which 27 children were taught)[675], Łódź (from 2009 to 2014 it operated at the Armenian Association in Poland – Łódź)[676], Zabrze (2013–2014 under the patronage

673 Tomasz Marciniak, „Trzecia fala, trzeci aspekt. Nowa zaradność ormiańskiej emigracji w Polsce", *Przegląd Polonijny* 25, no. 3 (1998), 129.

674 Art., „Rada Europy zbadała stan języka ormiańskiego w Polsce", *Awedis. Posłaniec niosący dobrą nowinę* 6 (2011), 4; Wydział Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych. Departament Wyznań Religijnych oraz Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych. Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, *Języki mniejszościowe oraz język regionalny naszym wspólnym bogactwem. Języki mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w życiu społecznym*, accessed December 6, 2018, http://www.jezyki-mniejszosci.pl.

675 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 243.

676 The school was founded by the Armenians from the new emigration for which it was difficult to accept that their children, although there could have access to television and radio in Armenian language, became passive recipients of Armenian culture (they speak little Armenian and with foreign accent and do not read books). The teachers at the school had to help themselves with Polish language during lessons. Approximately 14-18 students from Łódź and Bełchatów, Zgierz, Koluszki and Piotrków Trybunalski participated in the classes. For financial reasons, the school was forced to change the premises every year, see Fundacja Ari Ari, *Spis podróżny. Ormianie w Polsce*, accessed December 6, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k0W9-3acwE4; Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, *2nd Report for the Secretary General of the*

of the Armenian-Polish Social Committee)[677], Kielce (established in 2013 by the Association of Armenians in Kielce)[678], Wrocław (2014 established on the initiative of the Polish Armenian Society)[679]. Only the Armenian school in Cracow operates uninterrupted.

One of the largest Armenian minority schools operates in Warsaw. It was the first institution of this type, in which the Armenian language and culture were taught. It existed in 1994-1997 and was named after Mesrop Mashtots. It operated in the building of the Primary School at 20 Lindego Street, and then in the High School 5 Dolna Street. Its founder was an Armenian, Marine Restevanyan. Classes were held twice a week from 4 to 7pm[680]. They were run in Armenian and in accordance with the Armenian education system. In addition to the basic teaching subjects, additional classes were held at the school: psychology, law, and chess classes. The school issued certificates honoured in schools in Armenia,

Council of Europe concerning implementation of provisions of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by the Republic of Poland (with attachments), Warszawa 2014, http://mniejszosci.narodowe.mswia.gov.pl/download/86/18033/IIRaportPLzKartyjezregimnzal.pdf, 89; Machul-Telus and Markowska-Manista, „Wokół edukacji Ormian w Polsce", 194.

677 The school operated in the premises of Wszechnica Zabrzańska. About 20 children took part in activities that took place on Saturdays in the afternoon hours. The children learned Armenian language, history and learned the culture of Armenia, Olga Wiśniowska, „Szkoła ormiańska działa już w Zabrzu", *Dziennik Zachodni*, 3 kwietnia 2013, accessed December 6, 2018, http://www.dziennikzachodni.pl/artykul/796801,szkola-ormianska-juz-dziala-w-zabrzu,id,t.html; Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, *2nd Report for the Secretary General of the Council of Europe*, 89; Machul-Telus and Markowska-Manista, „Wokół edukacji Ormian w Polsce", 196.

678 Thanks to the help of the municipal authorities, the school obtained a room in Primary School No. 9 A. Dygasinski. Classes were held on Sunday. 12 children aged up to 10 years took part in them, learning only the Armenian language, Machul-Telus and Markowska-Manista, „Wokół edukacji Ormian w Polsce", 197.

679 Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, *2nd Report for the Secretary General of the Council of Europe*, 89.

680 Paulina Krześniak, Ormianie warszawscy. Próba określenia ich miejsca w społeczności stolicy, 10, http://www.centrum-armenia.umk.pl/libs/ormianie_warszawscy.pdf. Other data on the functioning of the school in the first period are given by Machul-Telus and Markowska-Manista, „Wokół edukacji Ormian w Polsce",185.

enabling continuation of education in schools in the Armenian educational system[681]. The school was closed due to lack of financial resources[682].

On the initiative of Paweł Korczewski and the Circle of Interests in the Culture of Armenians at the Polish Society of Folklore in Warsaw (Koło Zainteresowań Kulturą Ormian przy Oddziale Warszawskim Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego), the school began its activity in 2003. This inter-school teaching team of Armenian language and culture initially had its headquarters at Primary School No. 1 at 53 Wilcza Street, and after a year moved to the Primary School No. 210 at 13 Karmelicka St. There are two native Armenian teachers: Margarita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska and Anahit Yeremyan, both of whom graduated in pedagogy in Armenia. Initially, the school run classes on Saturdays and Sundays, however, since Margarita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska offers classes on Saturdays at the facility in Płock, Warsaw school operates only on Sunday. Classes take place in three stages of education (early school education, teaching in grades 4th – 6th and middle school) in four hours (three hours of didactics and one dance). As in the case of Cracow's school, the teachers must share their pupils and adjust the scope of the material. Teaching is based on Margarita Yeremyan-Woźniakowska's syllabus. The school also conducts dance classes – girls learn national Armenian dances. Like the Cracow school, the school organizes various events alongside educational tasks – for example, performances on the occasion of Christmas, Easter or the end of the school year. It also prepares integrational events, such as "Armenian Days", in which Armenian students prepare a patriotic program related to Armenia, and Polish ones associated with Poland. Students of the school also take part in the religious life of the Armenian minority in Poland - they participate in religious services and religious rites of the Apostolic Church of Armenia. Every year, they take part in in a march of remembrance of the victims of the Armenian Genocide in 1915 as well as related events in the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia. The school cooperates with non-governmental organizations operating in the field of multiculturalism. In the school year 2015/2016, 20 pupils studied at the Warsaw facility[683].

681 Machul-Telus and Markowska-Manista, „Wokół edukacji Ormian w Polsce", 185.

682 Nieczuja-Ostrowski, *Ormianie w Polsce*, 238.

683 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, *Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych nr 28 z dnia 1 XII 2016 r*, 4, 8, 10-11; Machul-Telus

Another facility was created for the Armenian minority living in the Tricity area (Gdańsk-Gdynia-Sopot). On the initiative of the Association of the Armenian Congress in Poland – MA Gajane Zakopian (teacher of the Armenian language) and MA Aszchen Simonian (history teacher) established a Sunday school for Armenian children in Gdańsk in 2011. Initially, it functioned in the premises of the church of St. Piotr and Paweł, and after a year it moved to Primary School No. 58 in Gdańsk, at 3 Skarpowa Street. Classes are run on Saturday and Sunday for three hours per week and include teaching Armenian and the history of Armenia. In the school year 2014/2015, 22 students aged from 6 to 17 attended the school, they were divided according to the level of teaching in two groups. The students were mainly from Gdańsk, but 4 from Wejherowo and 2 from Gdynia. A significant part of these children comes from mixed families where only one of the parents is of Armenian nationality. As in the case of the Cracow Armenians, high interest in the school's activities is emphasised, but a relatively small number of students, which is conditioned by the fact that their parents work on Sunday and cannot drive children to school, can attend[684]. For this reason, a year later, only 19 children attended classes[685].

In the 2016/2017 school year, inter-school teaching Teams of Armenian language functioned in Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, and Płock[686]. The last facility was established in 2014, and the classes took place at the Primary School No. 1 in Płock. They classes are on Saturdays; there are three groups of 24 students[687]. There is also a Facebook website of the Armenian school in Wólka Zatocka, but unfortunately, one cannot learn anything about the activity of this institution, and no one answered the questions of the author[688].

and Markowska-Manista, „Wokół edukacji Ormian w Polsce", 186-9.

684 Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, „Ormianie w Gdyni", *Zeszyty Gdyńskie*, 10 (2015), 276.

685 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, *Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych nr 28 z dnia 1 XII 2016 r*, 5.

686 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, *Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych nr 28 z dnia 1 XII 2016 r*, 4.

687 Such a number took up education in the first year of school operation, Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, *Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych nr 28 z dnia 1 XII 2016 r*, 5.

688 See Facebook, Szkoła Ormiańska w Wólce Zatockiej, accessed December 6, 2018,

Schools faced similar problems in dealing with all formalities. From the beginning, it was not possible to conduct classes in separate departments, and the students form one group irrespective of their age and level of knowledge of the Armenian language[689]. Armenians living in Gliwice also want to establish a school. Will they be able to meet the Polish legal requirements? Or will the online educational programs (e-learning distance learning) become the only alternative remaining for the Armenian minority?[690]. This possibility was already discussed by the participants of the discussion held on June 8, 2009, among representatives of the Armenian community in Poland[691]. The first venture in this direction is an e-learning course entitled *Armenian lessons* run by the Ari Ari Foundations. The project was implemented thanks to grants: MSWiA and MEN. Within "Armenian lessons" two educational and cultural tools are being expanded:

- a set of courses for children and youth in Armenian – an e-learning module
- Armenian language course – e-learning module. They are like two levels of Armenian language teaching.

About 50 people were interested in learning in this way. According to the mini monitoring conducted by the Foundation, about six people passed to subsequent classes[692]. These courses are only meant to teach the basics of the "practical" Armenian language. It is not known what

https://www.facebook.com/Szko%C5%82a-Ormia%C5%84ska-w-W%C3%B3lce-Zatockiej-1526270244342549/.

689 Michał Gryszko, "Szkoła ormiańska w Łodzi", in *Spis podróżny: Polscy Ormianie, Ormianie w Polsce: konferencja*, ed. Monika Maciejewska and Longin Graczyk (Bydgoszcz: Fundacja Ari Ari, 2010), 64.

690 See Przemysław Grzybowski, „Internet jako czynnik naturalnej edukacji międzykulturowej", in *Kultury tradycyjne a kultura globalna: konteksty edukacji międzykulturowej, vol. 1*, ed. Jerzy Nikitorowicz, Mirosław Sobecki and Dorota Misiejuk (Białystok: Trans Humana 2001), 261-2.

691 Romana Obrocka and Monika Agopsowicz, „Ormianie Polscy, co dalej?" *Lehahayer. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Ormian polskich* 1 (2010), 186, 198.

692 The information comes from the president of the Longin Graczyk Foundation. Currently, due to the change of the server by the Ari-Ari Foundation, it is not possible to use the course.

is the popularity and effectiveness of this form of education because no research has been carried out in this direction. Armenians living in Poland, being aware of the huge difficulties they have with maintaining their education, would like to be able to join the electronic teaching program of the Armenian language, which exists for the 8 millionth diaspora scattered around the world. The program developed by Armenian General Benevolent Union is prepared for people who do not know the Armenian language at all. Unfortunately, the Armenian minority organisations are not even able to co-finance this program (everyone using e-learning lessons has his or her own individual teacher who needs to be paid), so they want to establish a compromise so that so that it can be used without breaching the provisions regarding the functioning of minority education in Poland. In December 2016, a representative of the Armenian minority in the Commission, Mr Edward Mier-Jędrzejowicz, addressed the National Minority and Ethnic Minorities Committee of the Sejm with an appeal in this matter[693].

Summary

In conclusion, the most important problems related to Armenian education should be mentioned. Both the scattering schools in Poland and the small number of students make the teaching Armenian language and culture and history of Armenians to be organized in inter-school teams (classes conducted in these teams are organized within the education system, and the pupils participating in them have the right to put their marks on school certificate from the subjects like minority language, their history and culture – which in this case is a mobilizing activity for young people). Other difficulties are related to the provision of teaching staff – due to the necessary qualifications required to teach Armenian (Polish Armenians do not know the language, immigrants must be registered in the territory of the Republic and have pedagogical education), as well as the lack of textbooks – hence the need to bring teaching aids issued in Armenia (these, however, are not possible to adapt them to the needs and abilities of children learning in Armenian schools, which are already assimilated and often know the Armenian language very little, or do not

693 Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Pełny zapis przebiegu posiedzenia Komisji Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych nr 28 z dnia 1 XII 2016 r.,12.

know it at all). Armenian children from Armenian and Polish-Armenian families are included in the Polish education system, and in practice, Armenian language, history, and geography of Armenia cannot be taught by the rights of national and ethnic minorities. Since Armenian schools are small, education is becoming expensive in them, and this is one of the reasons why these schools are quickly closed. In addition to books for learning the Armenian language transfered through the Embassy of Armenia and organising in Yerevan courses for further training for Diaspora teachers, MdSD does not support Armenian education financially on the territory of the Republic of Poland. Unfortunately, Armenian schools operating in Poland do not cooperate with each other. They also did not establish closer cooperation with schools from Armenia (in this case it is due to financial reasons, and the Armenian associations that support schools do not have funds for international cooperation). Armenians in Poland are aware of the need to initiate educational activities that enable children to know the culture, history, and language of their country. They want to instill this acquaintance also in the Poles of Armenian origin, for whom Armenian language and culture has so far been associated with the heritage of their ancestors developed in the former borderlands of Poland (present Western Ukraine). They also know that if it were not for the fact that thanks to the centuries-long presence of their ancestors in Poland they were recognised as a national minority, there would be no possibility of the functioning of Armenian education in the Republic of Poland.

APPENDIX

Conference materials

Picture 1. **Poster**
Picture 2. **Website Home Page**
Picture 3. **Foreword (website)**
Picture 4. **Organizing Commitee (website)**
Picture 5. **Honorary Committe (website)**
Picture 6. **Program (website)**
Picture 7. **Photo**
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Picture 9. **Photo**
Picture 10. **Photo**
Picture 11. **Photo**
Picture 12. **Photo**
Picture 13. **Photo**
Picture 14. **Photo**


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June 1-2, 2017
International Conference
Diasporas:
Past and Present
Pomeranian University
in Słupsk
The main building
on the str. Westerplatte 64
June 1, Thursday
9.30 Registration of participants
10.00 Official opening
11.30 Coffee break
12.00 I Panel
13.30 Lunch Break
14.30 II Panel, III Panel
16.30 Official Dinner
June 2, Friday
10.00 IV Panel, V Panel
11.30 Coffee break
12.00 VI Panel, VII Panel
13.30 Conference summary
14.30 Lunch Break
riep
The honorary patronage
of the Ambassador
of the Republic of Armenia to Poland
POMORZANKA


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International Conference
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About
The Conference is organized by Department of History and Political Science at Pomeranian University in Slupsk, in association with: Research Institute for European Policy.
The aim of the conference was an attempt to look at the issue of diaspora using a broad historical and interdisciplinary approach.
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About the Conference.
The Conference: Diasporas: Past and Present is organized by Department of History and Political Sciences at Pomeranian University in Slupsk, in association with: Research Institute for European Policy.
One of the features of modern civilization change is „diasporization", understood as the transformation of immigrant communities into diaspora. As a consequence, in recent decades in Europe some new diasporas emerge (including Kurdish, Turkish, Assyrian), alongside the existing "traditional" diasporas (eg. Jewish, Armenian and Greek) which are subject to a process of revitalization as a result of migration. Representatives of these communities try to resist to the processes of assimilation preserving their cultural features, maintaining links with their country of origin and other " diaspora islands", forming separate ethnic organizational structures: cultural, social and even political. The phenomenon of existence and disappearance diaspora communities is not unique to the present, but it is noted since ancient times.
The aim of the conference is an attempt to look at the issue of diaspora using a broad historical and interdisciplinary approach. Understanding ancient diasporas, including various aspects of their existence in the past, may be useful in the diagnosis of contemporary diasporas and phenomena associated with them. Hence we prefer papers on such diasporas as Jewish, Armenian, Greek and Lebanese-Phoenician.
The particular emphasis is placed on the following issues:
- diaspora and diasporization in theoretical approach;
- history of diasporas (from antiquity to modern times);
- the political aspects of formation and functioning of diasporas;
- revitalization of the 'old' diasporas;
- diaspora institutions;
- relationships between members of the diaspora and other ethnic groups;
- the process of disappearance of diasporas;
- new diasporas in Europe and the world.
The first edition of the conference was held on Thursday 1 and Friday 2 June 2017 in the main building of the Pomeranian University, Westerplatte 64, Słupsk, Poland.
The conference languages are English, Russian, German and Polish. We intend to publish the papers presented in a post-conference publication.
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Organizing committee.



PAWEŁ NIECZUJA-OSTROWSKI

is PhD in politics and assistant professor at the Department of History and Political Science at the Pomeranian University in Słupsk, Poland. He also is a member of Executive Board of Research Institute for European Policy, a member of the scientific council of organization "Europe Our House" and executive editor of scientific journal "European Journal of Transformation Studies" (the journal is available on-line at http://europeourhouse.weebly.com/ejts.html).
For many years his academic research has focused on identification of socio-political reality of the contemporary Armenian diaspora in Poland and Europe, and issues diasporization and of Polish-Armenian relations. Results of the research were presented in a number of articles and monograph: The Armenians in Poland: Past and Present (Toruń 2011). He is scientific editor of monograph: Armenia: heritage and contemporary directions of cultural and civilizational changes (Poznań 2016). He also published in such Armenian journals in Poland as "Biuletyn" of the Armenian Cultural Association in Krakow.



WOJCIECH BEJDA

is PhD in history and assistant professor at the Department of History and Political Science at the Pomeranian University in Słupsk, Poland.
His research interests include primarily the Jewish diaspora in Egypt in the Roman times (30 BCE – 117 CE), the writings of Josephus Flavius and the Second Temple Period (104 BCE – 74 CE). He recently attended conferences at the University of Bristol and at the University College of London. Among his publications there is the paper "The City of Cain – the City of a Tyrant. The Political Aspect of the Cain Narrative in Josephus Flavius's Antiquities Judaicae, Revue Bibilique 121, 2014, s. 283–297 and the book "From Saul to Agrippa II. Jewish Kings in Josephus Flavius' Writings" (in Polish, the book will be published in 2017).
He is also the assistant editor of the "Scripta Historica". The journal covers all aspects of history and is available on-line at http://www.ssh.apsl.edu.pl

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Program

Thursday

9.30–10.00 Registration of participants (main building on the street Westerplatte 64)
10.00–11.30 Official opening of the conference (Assembly Hall)

- The inaugural lecture of prof. Józef Szymański, *Wychodźstwo z ziem polskich w XIX wieku*

11.30–12.00 Coffee break
12.00–13.30 Panel I "Diasporas – theoretical approach" (room 414), moderator: Wojciech Bejda, PhD

1. Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, PhD, *Defining of Diaspora in contemporary Humanities and Social studies*
2. Rafał Raczyński, PhD, *The diaspora engagement policy - the ways in which contemporary states build relationships with their diasporas*
3. Giorgi Tkeshelashvili, *A Europe of Diasporas*

Discussion
13.30–14.30 Lunch Break
14.30–16.00 Panel II "Diasporas in antiquity" (room 414), moderator: prof. Roman Marcinkowski

1. Prof. Adam Łukaszewicz, *An ancient Greek text and the conflict of diasporas in Alexandria*
2. Maria Miduch, PhD, *Otwartość starożytnej żydowskiej diaspory wyrażona w IV Księdze Sybilliańskiej (I w. n.e.)*
3. Wojciech Bejda, PhD, *The Egyptians as a symbol of the enemies of the Jews in the writings of Philo of Alexandria*

Discussion
14.30–16.00 Panel III "Armenian Diaspora communities in processes of transformation" (room 302), moderator: prof. Arkadiusz Modrzejewski

1. Prof. dr hab. Adam Pomieciński, and Gor Ordyan, MA, *Syryjscy Ormianie w Armenii. Diaspora w czasach kryzysu kulturowego*
2. Krzysztof Fedorowicz, PhD, *Diaspora ormiańska w Syrii*
3. Longin Graczyk, MA, *Ormianie w Polsce*

Discussion
16.30–23.00 Official Dinner

Friday

10.00–11.30 Panel IV "Polish Diaspora communities in processes of transformation" (room 414), moderator: prof. Józef Szymański

1. Ewa Modzelewska, MA, *Polish diaspora in the United States between November and January Uprising*
2. Hubert Ignatowicz, MA, *Various fields of activity in Polish church communities in London*
3. Mariusz Borysiewicz, MA, *The Economic Achievements of Polish Diaspora in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, 1898-1936*
4. Ewa Jaszewska, MA, *Wychodźstwo polskie do Stanów Zjednoczonych na łamach „ Gońca Polskiego"*

Discussion
10.00–11.30 Panel V "Armenian Diaspora in politics" (room 302), moderator: Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, PhD

1. Edita Gzoyan, PhD, *League of Nations and the Formation of Armenian Diaspora*
2. Hayk Yengibaryan, PhD, *The State Plan for the 1946-1948 Great Repatriation and the Armenian Apostolic Church*
3. Renata Król-Mazur, PhD, *Лоббирование армянской диаспоры в США по вопросу Нагорного Карабаха*
4. Kristina Torosyan, BA, *Diaspora and Nation*

Discussion
11.30–12.00 Coffee break
12.00–13.30 Panel VI "Diasporas in modern times" (room 414), moderator: prof. Jarosław Sochacki

1. Prof. Mykola Polovyi, *Assessment of the assimilation rate of the Ukrainian diaspora in the modern Russian Federation*
2. Marek Friedrich, MA, *Chińska diaspora we współczesnym świecie*
3. Andżelika Szuran-Karpiej, MA, *Diaspora żydowska współkształtująca społeczno - gospodarczy rozwój Słupska na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*

Discussion
12.00–13.30 Panel VII "Armenian Diaspora in Poland - specificity of transformations" (room 302), moderator: Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski, PhD

1. Prof. Nikola Margaryan, *Integration Through Personal Names: The experience of the Armenian Diaspora in Poland*
2. Gor Martirosyan, MA, *Trzy fale emigracji Ormian do Polski i ich działalność gospodarcza*
3. Marek Lichota, MA, *Ormianie w Zamościu w XVI -XVIII wieku i ich wpływ na przeszłość i teraźniejszość miasta*

Discussion
13.30–14.30 Conference summary, moderation: Wojciech Bejda, PhD (room 414)
14.30–15.30 Lunch




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