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THE ARMENIAN RITE ARCHDIOCESE OF LVIV IN LIGHT OF THE ARCHDIOCESAN SCHEMA FROM 1939

A b s t r a c t. Diocesan schema constitute a valuable source of knowledge on various ecclesial, diocesan or monastic communities. These important publications were also drafted for Eastern Rite Catholic Churches. One of the most interesting documents, albeit largely unknown, is the Armenian Rite Archdiocese of Lviv schema prepared in 1939, currently stored within the Archdiocese Archive in Gniezno. The information contained within this document reference the period directly preceding the start of the Second World War, which for the Armenian Rite Archdiocese of Lviv was a time of sede vacante after the death of Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz. Thanks to data contained within the schema, it is possible to recreate an image of the Armenian Rite Archdiocese of Lviv, which in 1939 was divided into 3 deaneries (Lviv, Stanisławów and Kuck), 8 territorial parishes and 1 personal parish (for the military in Łowicz). It consisted of ca. 5300 followers and 25 clergymen, of which 17 worked directly as priests. The schema additionally supplies a lot of information related to rich Armenian history and culture, their input with regards to propagating education in the Eastern borderlands and to aiding those in need.

Key words: Armenian Rite Archdiocese of Lviv, priesthood, organisation of the Armenian Rite Catholic Church, Józef Teodorowicz, Dionizy Kajetanowicz, Armenians.

Since King Casimir the Great incorporated Halych Ruthenia into the Kingdom of Poland, the Armenians became an important ethnic group inhabiting Polish lands. Thanks to their quick assimilation, they became exemplary patriots and citizens diligently fulfilling their duties. Initially, they belonged to the Armenian Apostolic Church, but over time – through the initiative of the Archbishop of Lviv Mikołaj Torosowicz – they entered into a union with Rome (1630-1635), adopting many customs from the Latin Church. This voluntary Latinization brought them closer to the Poles, which turned out to be especially burdensome during the period of national captiv-

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ity. In spite of attempts to limit their independence, especially by the Teresian-Joseph system, they survived the partitions of Poland and after Poland regained its independence, they co-created the revived Polish state.¹ Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz played a significant role in this process,² who from 1902 held the office of the Ordinary of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv, and thus he was the undisputed leader of Armenians living in Galicia. He strengthened his authority with the expressed orations, which he expressed even during the inauguration of the debates of the Legislative Sejm (10 February 1919). Later, taking part in important discussions, he influenced political, social, cultural and, above all, religious issues.³ His death (December 4, 1938) was a blow to both the members of the Armenian Church and other Polish citizens, especially given the fact that it occurred shortly before the outbreak of World War II, when the whole society needed undisputed moral leaders.

The author of the article intended to discuss the condition and position of the Armenian Church after Archbishop Teodorowicz's death when the "orphaned" ecclesiastical community faced a historical cataclysm (the outbreak of World War II, the alternating Soviet and German regimes, and the resettlement of the Armenians to the so-called Recovered Territories after 1945, deportations deep into the USSR).⁴ The elench *Schematismus archidioecesis Leopoliensis ritus Armeno-catholici pro Anno Domini 1939* (hereinafter: *The Schema*) served as the basic source, which, as a print kept in the Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno, remained unknown and thus was not explored.⁵ *The Schema* provides information on the contemporary situation of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv on many levels of its functioning, in-

¹ The history of the Armenian Church in Poland was developed by Czesław Lechicki. See Cz. LECHICKI, *Kościół ormiański w Polsce (zarys historyczny)*, Lviv: Gubrynowicz and Son, 1928.

² There is a rich literature on Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz, as an outstanding hierarch in the period of the Second Polish Republic. Noteworthy publications include: R. KUBIK, *Józef Teofil Teodorowicz. Ostatni arcybiskup polskich Ormian*, Gorzów Wielkopolski: Provincial Methodological Center, 1998; *Arcybiskup ormiański Józef Teodorowicz. Wybitny polski kapłan, kaznodzieja i mąż stanu*, ed. M. Agospowicz, Warsaw 2007; *Ormiański pasterz Lwowa ksiądz arcybiskup Józef Teodorowicz na tle dziejów ormiańskich*, ed. W. Osadczy, M. Kalinowski, M. Jacov, Lublin 2015. Here you can find further bibliographical references.

³ S. GAWLIK, *Życie i działalność ks. abpa Józefa T. Teodorowicza*, Cracow–Warsaw–Struga: Michalineum Publishing House, 1988, pp. 26-28.

⁴ It is worth noting here that the condition of the Latin Rite Archdiocese of Lviv of 1939 was discussed by Fr. Bolesław Kumor (*Archidiecezja lwowska obrządku łacińskiego w świetle schematyzmu archidiecezjalnego z 1939 r.*, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia" 3(1996), pp. 265-286).

⁵ Ł. KRUCKI, *Schematyzmy Kościołów katolickich obrządków wschodnich przechowywane w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie*, "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne" 104(2015), p. 125.

cluding administration, pastoral care, education and charity, which is not provided by other sources, because these are either fragmented or have been irretrievably lost.⁶

1. ARCHDIOCESAN ADMINISTRATOR

After the death of Archbishop Teodorowicz, the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv, for obvious reasons, remained with the seat being vacant (*sede vacante*). In December 1938, the Armenian Cathedral Chapter chose the vicar capitular, and therefore the temporary administrator of the Archdiocese – Fr. Dionizy Kajetanowicz. However, neither before the war nor during the war it was possible to appoint a new Ordinary. The office of Fr. Dionizy Kajetanowicz, therefore, became of special significance, which should not be too surprising, because the vicar himself was an extraordinary person. Born on 8 April 1878 in Tyszkowce near Horodenka, in 1896 he joined the Franciscan Order of Reformation. In 1903, he was ordained a priest by the Latin Catholic Archbishop of Lviv, Józef Bilczewski, and then he worked pastorally in Cracow and Jarosław. In 1908, with the consent of Archbishop Teodorowicz, he was incardinated in the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv, and assumed the duties of the prefect in the Armenian Dormitory in Lviv. In 1911-1922, he was a parish priest in Sniatyn, and then in the cathedral parish in Lviv. He became famous as an ardent pastor and administrator of church property. He was concerned about raising the intellectual level of the clergy. He repeatedly requested that the ordinary would send clerics to study in Rome. He brought priests from Armenia to Lviv. He was involved in writing and editorial work. He was the author of the manual *Armenian Catholic Holy Mass* which was as an essential compendium for Armenian clerics preparing for the priesthood. For his activities, especially in the field of the mentioned liturgical reform, he was repeatedly awarded with ecclesiastical offices associated with the promotion in the cathedral chapter: in 1922 he was appointed a general canon, in 1930 – a prelate, and in 1933 – a provost, having the privilege of wearing a mitre.⁷

⁶ The value of Armenian schematicisms to the history of this ecclesial community has already been pointed out by Zdzisław Obertyński (*Na marginesie diecezjalnego schematyzmu ormiańskiego*, “Sprawozdanie z Posiedzenia Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego” 26(1933) fasc. 7/9, pp. 203-214).

⁷ J. SZTEINKE, *Kajetanowicz Dionizy*, [in:] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VIII, ed. B. Migut, Lublin: Learned Society of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, column 341.

It should also be noted that Fr. Kajetanowicz was a potential successor to Archbishop Teodorowicz. In January 1939, the appropriate application was submitted by the chapter to the Holy See, but the death of Pope Pius XI (10 February 1939), and then the outbreak of World War II, put a stop to these plans. Nevertheless, until 1945, Fr. Kajetanowicz administrated the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv as the vicar capitular, then he was arrested by the Russians and sent to a forced labor camp (gulag) near the Arctic Circle, where he died on September 18, 1954, being considered saint.⁸

2. THE CHAPTER

Following the Latin diocese, there was also a cathedral chapter in the Archdiocese of Lviv, which can even be described as a “co-ordinary” of the diocese, although it was constituted relatively late, because only in the early 19th century under the administration of Archbishop Jan Jakub Szymonowicz (1800-1816). In 1803, Pope Pius VII formally agreed to its establishment, and from then on it always included: the provost (from 1866 awarded the mitred prelature), three general canons and four canons of honor.⁹ In 1939, its committee was composed of: the provost and, at the same time, the priest of the Armenian cathedral in Lviv – Fr. Kajetanowicz and three other general canons – Leon Isakowicz (dean and parish priest in Stanisławów), Wiktor Kwapinski (prosynodal judge and examiner, curial treasurer and director of “Mons Pietatis”), Adam de Rosco Bogdanowicz (promoter of justice and defender of marriage, prosynodal examiner, spiritual supervisor).¹⁰ In addition, four clergymen were appointed the honorary canons. Although the canonicate did not give entitlement to the capitular emolument (which was the income from the Jastrzębica farm near Żółkiew),¹¹ it was undoubtedly a strong mark of appreciation of pastoral and administrative work. In the period immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II, the honorary canons were: Andrzej Łukasiewicz (parish priest in Czerniowce in Bukovina, the bachelor of the Order of “Polonia Restituta”), Kajetan Amiro-

⁸ Ibid., column 342.

⁹ T. ISAKOWICZ-ZALESKI, *O Ormianach i Kościele ormiańskim w Polsce*, [in:] *Arcybiskup ormiański Józef Teodorowicz. Wybitny polski kapłan, kaznodzieja i mąż stanu*, ed. M. Agospowicz, Warsaw: Foundation of Culture and Heritage of Polish Armenians, 2007, p. 56.

¹⁰ *The Schema*, p. 14.

¹¹ Cz. LECHICKI, *Kościół ormiański*, p. 115.

wicz (parish priest in Sniatyn and the curia counsellor), Samuel Manu-giewicz (dean and parish priest in Kutu) and Franciszek Karkowski (military chaplain from Łowicz).¹²

3. THE CURIA

Following the system and organization of the Latin dioceses, the Armenian Church has developed an analogous central office, a metropolitan curia (*Curia Metropolitana*). Its individual agendas, corresponding to the structure and competences of Roman Catholic dicasteries, were customarily entrusted to the canons of the metropolitan chapter, as well as to the cathedral vicars appointed notaries.

The episcopal curia of the Armenian rite was hierarchical and organized on the basis of the relevant regulations. The most important officer was the president of the curia, or the ordinary of the place. In 1939, this office was vacant for obvious reasons. Nevertheless, there were other curial institutions, which should be discussed. The most important of them was the council of advisers, registrars and assessors. Its members were the canons of the general cathedral chapter: Dionizy Kajetanowicz, Leon Isakowicz, Wiktor Kwapiński and Adam de Rosco Bogdanowicz. The council was an advisory body of the ordinary, and during the *sede vacante* period for the vicar capitular. In addition, two other counselor offices were established: a curial counselor and an honorary counselor. In 1939, Fr. Kajetan Amirowicz was appointed the curial counselor, and Fr. Andrzej Łukasiewicz was appointed to the honorary counselor.¹³

The curia of the Armenian Church, which was located in Lwów at 13 Ormiańska Street, also appointed specialized officials: chancellor, treasurer and notary public. The Chancellery Office was held by Fr. Kajetanowicz, who was also appointed the vicar capitular by the cathedral chapter. The administration of the material property of the Church and its treasury was entrusted to Fr. Wiktor Kwapiński. Fr. Kazimierz Romaszkin held the office of notary. *The Schema* also mentions an office boy on a curial post, but does not provide his personal details. It only describes him as a lay man.¹⁴

¹² *The Schema*, p. 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

As in the Latin dioceses, there was also a college of prosynodal examiners in the Armenian Church. On the basis of *Schemiatism*, it can be said that the four canons of the general cathedral chapter mentioned above were prosynodal examiners.¹⁵ Their main duty was to examine candidates for parish priests and to participate in administrative processes.¹⁶

At the diocesan curia, there was also the archbishop's court of first instance, headed by Fr. Kajetanowicz. The court also involved two prosynodal judges: Fr. Leon Isakowicz and Fr. Wiktor Kwapiński, supporting the court vicar in the cases under consideration, as well as the promoter of justice, Fr. Adam Bogdanowicz. Fr. German Gawroński was a notary at the archbishop's court. It should be noted that in order to improve the course of court cases, the church tribunal was reformed (on 10 July 1936). As a court of second instance, the Armenian Archbishop of Lviv was established for the Armenian Court, which, reconsidering cases related to marriage, was to speed up the issuance of binding sentences.¹⁷

A separate group of clergymen were censors of books, supervising the orthodoxy of published books and job printing, of a liturgical and religious nature. The College in 1939 involved two priests – Leon Isakowicz and Adam Bogdanowicz.¹⁸ A separate administrative body operating at the archbishop's curia, which should be emphasized, was a mixed commission for conservation. Its task was to supervise renovation and construction works undertaken at sacral and economic facilities belonging to the Armenian Church (including the cathedral in Lviv). It was composed of two priests – Kajetanowicz and Isakowicz and a qualified conservator – Dr. Zbigniew Hornung.¹⁹

4. EDUCATIONAL AND CHARITY INSTITUTIONS

The Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv, like the Latin dioceses, in addition to strictly religious and pastoral activity, tried to fulfill the social tasks, which basically were educational and charity issues. In order to

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ F. BĄCZKOWICZ, *Prawo kanoniczne. Podręcznik dla duchowieństwa*, vol. I, Opole: Roman Catholic Diocese of Opole Publishing House, 1957, p. 538.

¹⁷ *The Schema*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁹ Ibid.

achieve these objectives, three institutions were established: the Archdiocesan Armenian Society, the Józef Torosiewicz School and the “Mons Pietatis,” which must be kept in mind when discussing the condition of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv.

4.1. ARMENIAN ARCHDIOCESAN SOCIETY

The Armenian Archdiocesan Society was established in 1930. It was the result of Archbishop Teodorowicz’s initiative. The constitutive task of this institution was to maintain communication with the faithful of the Armenian rite, living in dispersion (diaspora). This problem was particularly important after the exclusion of Bukovina from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary of Lviv. Bukovina was actually left without pastoral care within the Romanian state. Therefore, in order to raise and consolidate the ecclesial awareness of the Armenians, a journal was published about the history, tradition and culture of this ethnic group. It was entitled “Messenger of Saint Gregory.” It was distributed among all the faithful of the Armenian religion.²⁰

Until December 1938, Archbishop Teodorowicz, the founder of the Armenian Archdiocesan Society was its protector. After his death, the seat was vacant. However, there was an administrative council of the periodical which consisted of the following members: Jan Antoniewicz (president), Dionizy Kajetanowicz (vice president), Henryk Mikuli (vice president), Franciszek de Abgaro Zachariasiewicz (secretary), Zdzisław Łukasiewicz (vicesecretary), Feliks Teodorowicz (treasurer) and Adeodat Agoposowicz (librarian). Moreover, Adam Bogdanowicz, Józef Donabidowicz, Kajetan Kajetanowicz, Dominik Moszoro, Jakub Moszoro, Michał Łukasiewicz and Franciszek Roszko were working on the journal. The entire team was supported by the scientific council which consisted of Zenon Dawidowicz, Wiktor Kwapiński and Andrzej Bohosiewicz.²¹

²⁰ Z. OBERTYŃSKI, *Kościół ormiański*, [in:] *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. II, part. 2, ed. B. Ku-mor, Z. Obertyński, Poznań–Warsaw: Pallottinum Publishing House, 1979, pp. 84-85.

²¹ *The Schema*, pp. 40-41.

4.2. THE JÓZEF TOROSIEWICZ SCHOOL

In 1865, at the initiative of Józef Torosiewicz, a prominent doctor of medicine, a school was founded in Lviv at 21 Skarbkowska Street, named after its founder. The initial capital of 286000 Austrian crowns was to provide the institution with adequate subsistence for subsequent years. The institution was to be both a boarding house and a school for at least 20 poor boys from Armenian families who were supposed to acquire skills to perform specific craft professions in the future, as well as appropriate personal qualities.²²

In 1939, there were 45 boys in the dormitory, which was the quantity exceeding the initial limit. However, it was irrelevant, as a management board was established to supervise the whole educational and didactic process. Its members were: Fr. Bogdanowicz (chapter delegate), Zbigniew Bober (director) and Fr. Agosopowicz (deputy director supporting the educational process).²³

4.3. MONS PIETATIS

The mount of piety (Mons Pietatis) originated from a treasury which was set up in 1640 at the Armenian cathedral to help the most needy. In 1792, it was joined by other banks (ecclesial pawnshops), operating at Armenian parishes, so that they amalgamated into one large entity. It granted loans for a low percentage, which on one hand was supposed to protect the Armenians against dishonest Jewish usury, but on the other was a result of the so-called practice of wyderkaf, stretching back to Medieval times.²⁴

The ordinary of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv was the direct administrator of the Montes Pietatis. However, it is known that other administrative and pastoral duties made it difficult for him to manage the time-consuming institutions. Therefore, he was supported by the curators. Not all of them fulfilled their obligations honestly, which led to smaller or

²² T. ISAKOWICZ-ZALESKI, *O Ormianach*, p. 60.

²³ *The Schema*, p. 42.

²⁴ Wyderkaf was a type of loan granted against pledge (pawn loan). The borrower was obliged to repay it within a predetermined number of years with an interest rate of 5-8% on an annual basis. He could repay the loan earlier, without having to pay the interest charged according to the contract. See S. RUSOCKI, *Wyderkaf*, [in:] *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do roku 1945*, vol. II, ed. A. Mączak, Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna Publishing House, 1981, p. 525.

larger financial embezzlement. In 1901, a very sad situation occurred, when the then director Fr. Jan Mardyrosiewicz appropriated a large sum of money, which called into question the functioning of the institution, and thus undermined its credibility. Archbishop Teodorowicz had to not only compensate for the losses, but also restore social trust in the Mons Pietatis. In order to do that, he appointed a new management board and supervised the pawnshop transactions until his death in 1938. In 1939, the management and administrative functions were exercised by Henryk Mikuli (vice president), Andrzej Zarugiewicz and Kajetan Kajetanowicz. In addition, a trustee was appointed. The office was held by Bogusław Longchamps, a doctor of law, who was supposed to supervise the proper course of transactions. In order to provide efficient customer service, the institution also employed a group of officials trained for this purpose. These were: Wiktor Kwapiński (director), Fr. Paweł Kirmizjan (periodic official), Fr. Agoposowicz (depository), Wiktor Hubnicki (cashier), Franciszek Dąbrowski (appraiser), Kazimierz Jakubowski (liquidator) and Danuta Blaim (co-worker).²⁵

The activity of the Mons Pietatis, especially after Archbishop Teodorowicz's reform, should be seen as positive, the more so as its impact referred to areas that were badly hit by the acts of war of 1920. In addition, the loans granted were necessary during the economic crisis at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, and on the eve of World War II.

5. THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF LVIV

In order to clarify the issue, it should be stressed that the archdiocese of Lviv was part of the Second Polish Republic, although its basic organizational structure was limited to the south-eastern borderlands of Poland before World War II (former Eastern Galicia, which was part of the Austrian Partition). This emphasis is important because during the inter-war period, the organizational structures of the Armenian Church were reorganized. In 1925, under the concordat with Poland, the Holy See exempted Bukovina, located outside the reborn Polish state, from the jurisdiction of Archbishop Teodorowicz.²⁶ From then on, the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv included three deaneries: Lviv, Stanisławów, and Kutu, eight territorial parishes and one personal, military (garrison) parish in Łowicz (see Table 1).

²⁵ *The Schema*, p. 44.

²⁶ Z. OBERTYŃSKI, *Kościół*, p. 84.

Based on the 1939 *Schema*, neither the size of deaneries nor of individual parishes can be determined. However it is known that the number of the members of the Armenian Church living in Poland was about 5,300 (so there were as many people in the entire Armenian church as in one Catholic parish). The individual communities were small, which caused certain problems. The most serious of these were the issues of ensuring the existence of the clergy, and of maintaining the appropriate church infrastructure (religious buildings and farm buildings). Thus, the institution of patronage turned out to be necessary, analogous to that which had been known for centuries in the Latin Church. The patrons were the representatives of the magnate families from the Eastern Borderlands, such as the Potocki and Lubomirski families, and the wealthy citizens who wanted to have an Armenian place of worship in their cities. This turned out to be crucial, the more so that in some parishes there were several chapels (oratorios), which also had to be maintained at the appropriate level (see Table 2).

Table 1. The administrative and pastoral division of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv in 1939.

Deanery	Dean	Parish	Name of the priest	Office	Born	Ordained
Lviv	Dionizy Kajetanowicz	Lviv-Cathedral	Dionizy Kajetanowicz	Parish priest	8 IV 1878	1903
			Paweł Kirmizian	Vicar	15 X 1874	1897
			German Gawroński	Vicar	13 III 1897	1928
			Kazimierz Romaszkan	Vicar	15 VI 1909	1909
			Adeodat Agospowicz	Vicar	2 III 1908	1908
			Tadeusz Kuntze	Catechist	19 III 1887	1911
		Brzeżany	Sergiusz Egdulian	Administrator	20 II 1906	1931
Stanisławów	Leon Isakowicz	Łysieniec	Józef Magierowski	Parish priest	3 III 1879	1902
			Stanisław Łaski	“Associate”	8 VI 1904	1934
		Stanisławów	Leon Isakowicz	Parish priest	14 II 1897	1919

			Kazimierz Filipiak	“Associate”	14 I 1910	1938
			Kazimierz Roszko	“Associate”	9 II 1916	1938
		Tysmenytsia	Józef Depowski	Administrator	29 XI 1879	1913
			Jan Lechowski	“Associate”	8 III 1903	1928
Kuty	Samuel Manugiewicz	Horodenka	Walerian Bąkowski	Parish priest	21 II 1869	1894
		Kuty	Samuel Manugiewicz	Parish priest	18 V 1871	1895
		Sniatyn	Kajetan Amirowicz	Parish priest	1881	1906
		Łowicz wojskowa	Franciszek Karkowski	Chaplain	2 XII 1888	1918

Source: *Schematismus archididocesis Leopoliensis ritus Armeno-catholici pro Anno Domini 1939.*

Table 2. Decanal-parish structure of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv in 1939.

Deanery	Parish	Dedication	Filial chapels	Patronage
Lviv	Lviv-Cathedral	the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary	Wólka Panińska; in the residence of the Ordinary, Pasieki, in the Benedictine religious house; in the oratory for the poor	–
	Brzeżany	the Immaculate Conception of the BVM	Bołszowce	Count Jakub Potocki
Stanisławów	Łysieniec	the Assumption of the BVM	–	–
	Stanisławów	Our Lady of Grace	in the public cemetery	community of Stanisławów
	Tysmenytsia	St. Kajetan the Confessor	in the public cemetery	Count Artur Potocki
Kuty	Horodenka	the Immaculate Conception of the BVM	Bazar; Kosów; Żeżawa; in the cemetery in Chortkiv; Hanczarów; Kolanki; Dźwinacz	Prince Kazimierz Lubomirski

	Kuty	the Immaculate Conception of the BVM	in the cemetery	state
	Sniatyn	the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary	Zadubrowce, Mikulińce, Podwysoka	community of believers from Sniatyn

Source: *The Schema*.

While discussing the organizational structure of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv in the period preceding the outbreak of World War II, we need to mention one more important problem, namely the extent of individual parishes. A reflection on the location (former Eastern Galicia) and number (8) of these ecclesial communities leads to the conclusion that each community covered a vast area with many towns located at distance of several dozen kilometers. The main example is the cathedral parish of Lviv. In addition to the capital of the archdiocese, the following villages were also located in the parish: in the province of Lviv – Bóbrka, Brzozów, Cieszanów, Dobromyl, Drohobych, Horodok, Jarosław, Kolbuszowa, Krosno, Lisko, Łańcut, Mościska, Nisko, Przemyśl, Rava-Ruska, Rudki, Rzeszów, Sambir, Sanok, Sokal, Old Sambir, Strzyżów, Tarnobrzeg, Zhovkva; in the province of Tarnopol – Brody, Kamianka-Buzka, Peremyshliany, Radekhiv, and Zolochiv; in the province of Stanisławów – Stryj, Turka and Zhydahiv.²⁷ This regularity was also applied to other parishes, which undoubtedly hampered pastoral activity, and thus the spiritual care of the Church.

6. CLERGY

Undoubtedly, the issue of the broadly understood clergy had an impact upon the functioning of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv at the end of the 1930s was. It was the clergy who were responsible for shaping the religious image of the individual ecclesial communities, in this case belonging to the Armenian Church, organized within the borders of the Second Polish Republic. Because it is a multi-threaded problem, it should be examined carefully through the prism of several elements, beginning with issues related to formation to the priesthood, and ending with more detailed matters: the number of priests, their age (often affecting pastoral opportunities), education and involvement in administrative and pastoral activity.

²⁷ *The Schema*, p. 22.

6.1. PREPARATION FOR THE PRIESTHOOD

When discussing the clergy of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv, one should mention the people preparing for the priesthood, namely the clerics. In the period under consideration, the formation process was difficult because the Armenian community did not have its own seminary. Although, at the request of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, it was established in 1665 in Lviv, as a result of the decision of Joseph II of 1784, it was closed, and the alumni of the Armenian rite had to hold a seminary formation either in other theological institutes (clerical seminaries) or in the Pontifical Armenian College operating as part of the Gregorian University. This situation, created during the period of national captivity, persisted until the end of the Second Polish Republic.²⁸

In the discussed period, that is, on the eve of World War II, the formation of Armenian clerics was carried out in three academic centers: the Jan Kazimierz University of Lviv, the Bernardine Theological Seminary of Lviv and the Pontifical Gregorian University of Rome (actually the Pontifical Armenian College). The 1939 *Schema* lists one seminarian studying at each of these universities. Franciszek Jakubowski (born on September 23, 1907, in Suceava) studied at the Jan Kazimierz University of Lviv, who, before the final year of his studies, was given the minor orders. Jan de Hasso Agopsowicz (born on October 25, 1915, in Kociubinice near Kopyczyńce) studied at the Bernardine Theological Seminary of Lviv, who was a 5th year student, also after receiving the minor orders. Grzegorz Petrowicz (born on December 23, 1916, in Stetsev near Sniatyn) studied at the Pontifical Armenian College. He was a 3rd student of theology. The number of the clerics appears very low, but, considering the small parish network of the Armenian Church in Poland before the Second World War, it was supposed to meet the pastoral needs of the Armenian ecclesial community, which was also small.²⁹

6.2. THE CONDITION OF THE ARMENIAN CLERGY

In 1939, the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv numbered only 25 priests. The vast majority of them (17) were involved in the widely understood pastoral activity, undertaken in individual parishes of the Archdiocese.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

²⁹ Ibid.

They were parish priests (6), parish administrators (2), vicars (5), “associates” of parish priests (4), who performed vicarial functions and one catechist. Thus, it is clear that each of the eight Armenian parishes had a pastoral staffing, the largest being at the cathedral in Lviv. In addition to the parish priest, four vicars and one catechist were there. The vicars or “associates” of the parish priest were called to help with the larger parishes, which were: the cathedral in Lviv, Łysieniec, Stanisławów and Tysmenytsia. On this occasion, one should mention Fr. Franciszek Karkowski from Zhovkva, who, while serving as a military chaplain, resided in Łowicz. All Polish Armenian soldiers were entrusted to his pastoral care (see Table 1).

In order to analyze the numerical distribution of the clergy of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv, one should note that Lviv was the largest deanery, in which ten priests worked, three of whom were involved only in curial activities. The Stanisławów deanery consisted of seven priests, and the Kutry deanery – of three priests. Statistically speaking, in the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv there were about 312 faithful per one priest involved in pastoral activity, with a total of about 5,300 followers of the Armenian Church in the Second Polish Republic.

At this point, it should be noted again that several of the active priests were involved in the activities of the central offices of the Archdiocese. Administrative work did not prevent them from fulfilling the basic priestly function, which was pastoral care. Priests such as: Kajetan Amirowicz, Leon Isakowicz, Dionizy Kajetanowicz, and Kazimierz Romaszkan, through multifaceted activities in the metropolitan curia, as well as in individual parishes, set the tone in the religious life of the Armenian Church.

When discussing the potential of the clergy of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv, one should mention that among the Armenian priests there were also priests who for various reasons did not hold any clerical office in the Archdiocese. These were two priests who resided outside the archdiocese (they lived abroad). The first of them, the forty-six-year-old Ferdynand Teodor Ströck, settled in Vienna, and the second, Wacław Tworkowski, lived in Swiss Lausanne. Also Fr. Sylwester Binek did not hold an office, who in the 1939 *Schema* was described as a retired school visitor, living in Poznań. In this group of priests there was also one priest who officially retired, namely Fr. Ignacy Śledzikowski (in 1939 he was 73 years old). When he retired, he moved to France and settled in Noeux-les Mines Pas-de-Calais, although he had been previously a parish priest in Brzeżany.³⁰

³⁰ *The Schema*, p. 35.

In order to analyze the intellectual condition of the Armenian clergy, one should look at the scientific census of this social group. For 25 priests listed by the *Schema* two obtained a doctoral degree. One of them, Fr. Sergiusz Egjulian held a PhD in theology,³¹ and the other, Józef Depowski – in philosophy.³² However, it is difficult to say in the light of the analyzed source whether these were doctoral degrees obtained in Lviv or somewhere else, for example in Rome. Other priests were graduates of the theological institutes: the Jan Kazimierz University of Lviv, the Bernardine Theological Seminary of Lviv and the Pontifical Armenian College of Rome. However, they did not obtain any academic degrees.

Undoubtedly, the age of priests influenced the conduct and quality of their pastoral work. By analyzing the material included in the *Schema* regarding 24 priests,³³ important observations can be made (see Table 3).

Table 3. The age of clergy in 1939.

Age group	Number of priests
younger than 30 years	3
31 to 40 years old	4
41 to 50 years old	4
51 to 60 years old	6
61 to 70 years old	5
71 years and older	2
In total:	24

Source: *The Schema*.

In the light of these findings, it can be stated that in general the number of priests in each age group is similar. The only significant difference (3 to 6 priests) exists between the group of priests younger than 30 and the group of priests aged from 51 to 60. This disproportion could have a negative effect in the future, but on the eve of World War II was not a bad thing. In other age groups, the number of priests was similar (between 4 and 5 priests). The downward trend was also emphasized among priests aged 71 and older, but their pastoral influence was decreasing year by year for obvious reasons. To sum up the above analysis, one should mention that the average age of the priest in the period under study was 49.5: the oldest priest – Fr. Ignacy

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³³ *The Schema* lacks data on Fr. Waław Tworowski.

Śledzikowski – was 73 years old, and the youngest priest – Fr. Kazimierz Roszko – was 23 years old.

Looking complementarily at the condition of the clergy of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv from the perspective of the period immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II, one should note that it was a diverse group, in which there were significant individuals. Although on December 4, 1938, the most prominent of the Armenian clergy, Archbishop Teodorowicz, died, there were still eminent figures among the priests of the Armenian rite. Undoubtedly, one of them was Fr. Samuel Manugiewicz, dean of Kutu, who served as the senator of Poland.³⁴ But first and foremost, one should emphasize the figure of Fr. Kajetanowicz,³⁵ vicar of the Chapter after the death of the Ordinary, who during the life of Archbishop Teodorowicz tried to renew the religious life of the Armenian community by introducing liturgical reform in the spirit of the tradition cultivated in Armenia.

7. RELIGIOUS LIFE

Before the outbreak of World War II and earlier, there was no male order in the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv. *The Schema* mentions that two brothers from the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus were serving at the Armenian cathedral in Lviv. These were Michał Marciniak (born in 1911, involved in this activity since 1929) and Paweł Szymański (born in 1920, involved since 1936). However, based on the schema one can only say that they were sacristians.³⁶

The condition of the female religious life was a little better. There was only one order, namely the Armenian Benedictine Nuns. Its history dates back to 1690.³⁷ In 1939, the order was administered by sister-elect Bronisława Orłowska, who was elected on February 5, 1928. She was the supervisor of three solemnly professed nuns (see Table 4), who in addition to religious orders also held tasks assigned to them in a school for girls run by them, which was respected in Lviv.

³⁴ *The Schema*, p. 32

³⁵ J. SZTEINKE, *Kajetanowicz Dionizy*, column 341-342.

³⁶ *The Schema*, p. 21.

³⁷ M. DŁUGOSZ, P. SCHOLTZ, *Ormiański Kościół katolicki*, [in:] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XIV, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin: Learned Society of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, 2010, column 819; H. AUGUSTYNOWICZ-CIECIERSKA, P. SZCZANIECKI, *Kronika Benedyktynek ormiańskich*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 62(1984), p. 98-99.

Table 4. Solemnly Professed Armenian Benedictine Nuns

Name	Function	Date of birth	Date of profession	Date of consecration
Sister-elect Bronisława Orłowska	Sister superior	1866	1893	1905
Kazimiera Bogumiła Chądzyńska	Helper	1880	1907	1915
Matylda Julia Niemczyk	–	1881	1908	1915
Jadwiga Helena Józak	Teacher at school	1895	1913	1929

Source: *The Schema*.

Moreover, in 1939, there were six simply professed Armenian Benedictine nuns (see Table 5), who, similarly to solemnly professed nuns, were involved both in the life of the order and the aforementioned school. There was also one novice preparing to religious life in Lviv. Her name was Walentyna Radzka and she came from the Mazovian region of Paprotnia.³⁸

It is worth noting that the diocesan authorities provided the sisters with adequate spiritual care. The manifestation of this was the assignment of a habitual confessor (Robert Świętochowski, a Dominican friar) and an extraordinary confessor (Bronisław Szepelak, a Bernardine friar) to the Benedictines of Lviv. Fr. Paweł Kirmizian served as a chaplain.³⁹ Thanks to this, the sisters could fruitfully fulfill their duties, without caring about finding the right support, so much needed for the form of life they chose.

Table 5. Simply Professed Armenian Benedictine Nuns

Name	Function	Date of birth	Date of profession
Teresa Zofia Biwejnisi	Cook	1878	1922
Maria Stanisława Bakalarska	Dressmaker	1891	1925
Bernarda Zofia Dzikowska	Cloakroom attendant	1907	1934
Gertruda Józefa Zappówna	Teacher at school	1909	1934
Stanisława Aleksandra Karasiówna	Nurse	1910	1934
Franciszka Emilia Żółkiewicz	Gardener	1902	1931

Source: *The Schema*.

³⁸ *The Schema*, p. 39.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

8. PASTORAL CARE

Pastoral care is usually described as the multifaceted activity of the Church, which consists in serving man, proclaiming the word of God, celebrating the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the sacraments, interpersonal relations and the Christian testimony of life.⁴⁰ On the basis of the *Schema*, one can not say much about the activity of the Armenian Church understood in this way. This is due to the type of source, which is extremely informative and statistical. However, the information contained in it allows us to make some conclusions. First, parishes and parish churches, with chapels and oratory successes, were the usual place of pastoral activity. Sacraments, liturgies, and periodic services were held there. The administrator of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv: Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz and the vicar of Capitular Dionizy Kajetanowicz, took care of each parish to have its own priest, or a few priests if it was of greater importance. Second, as far as possible, attempts were made to create Latin-style piety organizations. They were to help the faithful in their spiritual development. The Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, mentioned in *Schemiatism*, is an example of such an organization. fr. German Gawroński, vicar of the cathedral parish, was its director and propagator. However, it is difficult to say of how many “roses” the confraternity consisted and what its impact on the faithful was.⁴¹ As little can be said about the Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The only fact the analyzed schema mentions is that it was headed by Fr. Tadeusz Kuntze, who was also a catechist at the St. Anne men’s school of Lviv.⁴²

In parish pastoral care, catechization took an important place. *The Schema* is not a good source of information on it as it only mentions the activity of two catechists: Fr. Kuntze and sister Gertrude Józefa Zappówna, a religion teacher at the aforementioned girls’ school of Lviv.⁴³

It is also difficult to say whether the clergy of the Armenian Church dealt with hospice work. There is no information on any hospital being carried out by the clergy, which suggests that there was no such activity. Perhaps this was due to logistical difficulties (extensive parishes, poor communication infrastructure), financial difficulties, or a lack of qualified staff. We can only guess.

⁴⁰ R. NIPARKO, *Duszpasterstwo*, [in:] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. IV, ed. R. Łukaszyk, Lublin: Learned Society of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, 1983, column 390.

⁴¹ *The Schema*, p. 20.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

It is a fact, however, that despite various difficulties, the Armenian clergy sought to provide support and protection to all the faithful. This is confirmed by the war and post-war histories of priests who, not afraid of losing their lives, were always together with their spiritual protégés, regardless of whether they were in prison or in exile.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of the 1939 *Schema*, it can be stated that despite the death of Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz, the Armenian Church in Poland did not go through any crisis before the outbreak of the war. Except for the archiepiscopal See, all positions were occupied. Individual church institutions carried out their tasks. Educational and charitable assistance was provided to the needy. The drama of the Armenians in Lviv and in the former Galicia began only when the Russians entered the eastern territories of the Second Polish Republic, that is, after September 17, 1939. They shared the same war fate as the Poles, being persecuted by the Germans and Soviet soldiers. After the war, they were hit by another calamity. Priests such as Dionizy Kajetanowicz, Wiktor Kwapiński, and Kazimierz Romaszkan, were sent to Stalinist labor camps.⁴⁴ Other priests were forced to move with the faithful to the so-called Regained Territories.⁴⁵ This resulted in the breakdown of the community of the Church, which had been developing in the Eastern Borderlands since the Middle Ages, and which since the 1630s continued unabated in communication with the Holy See.

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