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WEAVING IN THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE ARMENIAN COLONIES OF UKRAINE: HISTORICAL DISCOURSE

Since ancient times, weaving was one of the most important types of folk crafts and a significant component of the economic life on Ukrainian terrains. Different fabric products – rugs, clothes, belts, bedspreads, capes, and scarves – were widely used in everyday life, for the decoration of housing, as luxury goods, and as a monetary equivalent for sales and exchanges. So the relevance of this study is to highlight the role of the Armenians in the development of weaving production on Ukrainian terrains, in the formation of a trading network of various woven goods, as well as to reveal their role in shaping a special style of life and tastes of different layers of the population, the consumption culture of this kind of objects. Weaving played an important role both in the internal life of the Armenian colonies and in the external ties of the Armenians with the Polish-Ukrainian environment. Comprehensive scientific research of the historical development of Armenian weaving on the lands of Ukraine, with account of all the components of this process – silkworm, carpet weaving, the trade aspect of weaving, etc., are absent today. It is important that, as in the case of jewelry and arms manufacture, the role of Armenians in the weaving industry was also dual: they imported all types of woven products, including carpets, into Ukraine, and they were also manufacturers of various woven products not only in the Ukrainian lands but also in the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire. The intensive development of silk weaving on Ukrainian terrains, the production of goods out of local silk and carpet-manufacturing are apparently also associated with the Armenians. Although most researchers associate the development of persiarnias in Ukraine with Stanislaw's workshops of Misiorowych and Madzharskyi in the middle of the 18th c., the facts show that the vigorous growth of the persiarnias (the Armenian weaving workshops) began in the 17th c.

Keywords: Armenians, belt, carpet, culture, diaspora, silk, trade, weaving.

Problem statement. Since ancient times weaving was an important component of the economic life of the Ukrainian lands. Various woven products widely used in the domestic life, to decorate homes, as luxury items, and as a cash equivalent in the sale or exchange. Armenians had played an important role in the development of weaving on Ukrainian terrains. Armenian woven products, first of all, silk fabrics and carpets, was long been one of the most important positions of Armenian goods, which was carried by Armenian merchants to Rus', then – to Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Weaving played an important role both in the internal life of the Armenian colonies, and in the external ties of the Armenians with the Polish-Ukrainian environment.

Scale of scientific research. Comprehensive scientific research of the historical development of Armenian weaving on the lands of Ukraine, taking into account all the components of this process – silkworm, carpet weaving, the trade aspect of weaving, etc., are absent today. Partially this question – above all, the field of making of kuntush or so-called Slutsk silk gold- and silver-woven sashes – studied by Polish researchers T. Mańkowski (Mańkowski 1934, 1953, 1954, 1959), M. Taszycka (Taszycka 1990), B. Biedrońska-Słotowa (Biedrońska-Słotowa 2011),

Belarusian and Ukrainian scholars I. Skvartsova (Скварцова 2002, 2007) and L. Tsymbala (Цимбала 2000, 2003).

The aim of this paper is to reveal the role of the Armenians in the development of weaving on the Ukrainian terrains, in the formation of trade networks of various woven items, in the disclosure of their role in the formation of a special lifestyle and tastes of various social strata and culture of consumption of such kind of items.

Presentment of the basic material. The role of Armenians in the weaving industry was dual: they imported all types of woven products into Ukraine, and they were also manufacturers of various woven products not only in the Ukrainian lands, but also in the Ottoman and the Persian Empires.

Carpet weaving was one of the oldest and most important types of the traditional crafts in Armenia where carpets were woven in every single historical province (Казарян 1985, p. 135). In opinion of German researcher V. Gantzhorn, the East Christian carpet is predominantly an Armenian product (Ганцхорн 1985, p. 74). He notes, "It can be proven that by the end of the 10th c. woven carpet production would exist only in the Armenian cultural area..., which is confirmed by the analysis of the traditional patterns... deriving from the models, prevalent in pre-Christian times in the area between the Caucasus, Anatolia and Northern Syria, i. e., in the Armenian cultural area" (Ганцхорн 1985, p. 74). The scientist stresses that, although he uses term "Christian", most material that has survived until our time "is ethnically Armenian" (Ганцхорн 1985, p. 74). The main plot for various pattern combinations in Armenian carpets was the cross, later reduced to a half- and quarter-cross. Another typical form was the so-called *vishapagorg* (i. e. the dragon rug) and carpets for niches that were "the embodiment of the khachkar traditions in textiles" (Ганцхорн 1985, p. 75). The next type can be identified as "prayer rugs", used for covering conventional and double niches and choir balconies, the latter being "typically Armenian, even if made for similar intended use in the Ottoman mosques" (Ганцхорн 1985, p. 75).

Another important trend of Armenian weaving is the manufacture of the very diverse fabrics, primarily silk, which have long enjoyed great demand all over the Europe. Silk goods were one of the main types of Armenian products at all times; and Armenian artisans produced the main volume of silk and silk products, as well as carpets and carpet rolls, in the Turkish cities of Constantinople, Amasia, Brus, Diyarbekir, and the Persian cities of Isfahan, Kafan, Qazvin, Shyraz, Tabriz, (Кривонос 1996, p. 118). The famous "Polish carpets" that Armenian weavers would produce in Persia or Turkey were especially popular among the wealthy upper classes; they were ordered by magnates and made under the control of the merchant who received those orders. "Polish carpets" were silky, flatly woven, always shorn and decorated with a metal thread and floral arabesque ornament; elegant pastel colours 'with rich gold and silver embroidery' dominated (Цимбала 2003, p. 47). There was no wealthy house in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the 17th c., which would not have oriental rugs (Łozinski 1969, p. 126).

Equally popular, not only among the noblesse, but also among the townspeople, were the so-called Slutsk (silver and gold woven silk) kuntush sashes. According to the historical data, the use of woven kuntush sashes in men's clothing came from the East in about the 16th c. In the 16th–18th c. inclusively, the Slutsk (eastern) kuntush sashes could be found in both royal and lower middle class clothing sets that vividly illustrated the male portraits of that period.

Researchers believe that there were two main types of kuntush sashes brought to Ukraine: 1. soft and thin kuntush sashes for caftan girding; 2. decorative type kuntush sashes – rough, with metal buckle, originating from India (Taszycka 1990, p. 22). Kuntush sashes of the second type can hardly be found in the museum collections of Ukraine, whereas the first type is represented quite often. These are kuntush or so-called Slutsk (or "Polish") sashes: all the silk gold- and silver-woven bilateral belts often called so, regardless of their manufacturing.

The kuntush sashes manufactured in Ukraine were usually made bilateral or tri-face and quad-face bilateral. That is, the bilateral kuntush sashes could be worn both sides up, depending on the colour of clothing; sometimes the tri-face ones can be found where one side is in one colour and the other has two different colours and patterns; and by bending the belt in half, one could wear it with three different outfits. Thus, the bilateral quad-faced belt had two different colours and patterns on each side (it was a bit wider) and was used for four different dresses. Often fringe was put at the ends of Slutsk kuntush sashes (of silver, golden or simple silk threads).

In Turkey and Persia Armenian merchants preferred to buy the kuntush sashes made by Armenian craftsmen. And though these kuntush sashes are "usually referred to as Turkish, they were made by the Christian Armenians, and their style differs from the Turkish silk kuntush sashes by their ornamental and fabrication technique" (Taszycka 1990, p. 22). Since the 2nd half of the 18th c. Armenian craftsmen in Turkey and Persia made kuntush sashes, intended exclusively for the Commonwealth market (Taszycka 1990, p. 54). For

the Ukrainian market, Armenian kuntush sashes were produced mainly in the Indo-Persian style, but their size, ornamentation, technique and colour styling would noticeably differ from the Persian ones: the Armenian ones were two times narrower than the Persian ones (approx. 30 cm) and considerably shorter (approx. 300 cm, whereas the usual length of the Persian kuntush sashes was approx. 400 cm). The Armenian kuntush sash ornamentation is essentially simpler than that of the Persian ones. Judging from the characteristics of the kuntush sashes kept in the museum collections of Ukraine, sashes of Armenian manufacture dominate there. The Armenian artisans would often put their names on the kuntush sashes: Jan and Leo Madzharski, Paskhalis-Yakubowych. Apart from Istanbul, Armenian artisans produced kuntush sashes in Venice as well, and in the 17th cent. Armenian merchants would deliver them to Commonwealth (Taszycka 1990, p. 24).

The intensive development of silk weaving on Ukrainian terrains, the production of goods out of local silk and carpet-manufacturing are apparently also associated with the Armenians. Although most researchers associate the development of persiarnias in this country with Stanislaw's workshops in the middle of the 18th cent. (the workshops of Dominic Misiorowych and then of Jan Madzharskyi), the facts show that the vigorous growth of the persiarnias (the Armenian weaving workshops, manufacturing carpets, silk fabrics and silk products, especially the gold-woven products) began in the 17th c.

First of all, the fashion for the Eastern kuntush sashes began to spread in our lands from the 16th c. Therefore, Eastern silk-woven products (especially kuntush sashes) became (at least for a century) one of the main import items to the Commonwealth – time enough to conclude on whether it would be wise to make such products on the spot. Secondly, as a result of the Polish-Turkish wars and the Khmelnytsky Uprising in 1648–1654, the silk and silk products trade within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had significantly decreased. At the same time, these factors had contributed to the spread of the Oriental fashion for items of applied and decorative craft, particularly for the Eastern noble (the so-called Sarmatian) clothing among the Ukrainian and Polish aristocracy, burghers and Cossacks. In the 17th c. the Orientalization of tastes not only among the noblesse, but also among burghers, had become general. Hence, the dominance of the Eastern style in the culture and life arose (Тананаева 1979, p. 182). A silver- or gold-woven silk belt was an obligatory attribute of the Eastern clothing. As in the 2nd half of the 17th c. wealthy burghers also started to wear such clothing, the demand for kuntush sashes increased even more (Цимбала 2003, p. 55). All those factors naturally led to the development of the local silk weaving and the production of popular oriental clothing.

T. Mańkowski considered, that the "Orientalism" of the Polish culture in the 16th–17th c. was not, like in the West, an occasional phenomenon (Mańkowski 1959, p. 138). That happened due to the influence of the Armenians.

In the 17th c. rich magnates of the Zamoyskis, the Koniecpolskis, the Potockis and the Radziwills being interested in obtaining fabrics of Oriental fashion, hospitably invited Armenians to organize their persiarnias. In the 17th c. there was the persiarnia of Zahariash Oslanowych in Lviv (Hasła słownika 1986, p. 19). In the 1st half of the 17th c. Jakob Ahopsowych had a persiarnia producing carpets in Lviv (Hasła słownika 1986, p. 3). T. Mańkowski recalls the famous so-called "mahrannye trial" in 1634, when J. Ahopsowych and J. Yakubowych together with other Armenian weavers lost the lawsuit against the local weavers for counterfeiting their products: carpets and coverlets. This lawsuit also demonstrates the significant development of the Armenian weaving in our lands and probably the existence of certain privileges for the exclusive rights to manufacture these products, which had given the Armenian weavers sufficient grounds for the lawsuit (Mańkowski 1959, p. 105). There were 6 Armenian silk weaver craftsmen working in Lviv in the early 16th c. (Mańkowski 1959, p. 28).

In 1642 Hetman S. Koniecpolski introduced the production of silk gold- and silver-woven fabrics and silk products in Brody. It is mentioned that they started to import Persian silk and bring weavers from Turkey to Brody (Кривонос 1996, p. 135). At that time an Armenian colony had already existed in the city and in 1683 it had its own vogt autonomy with the rights, affirmed by the royal privilege of 1690.

In 1639, the name of the well-known 18th-century weaver Manuel Korfinskyi, who had started manufacturing "golden-heads and silver-heads" under the protectorate of S. Koniecpolski in Brody, was first mentioned (Цимбала 2003, p. 91–92). He is usually mentioned as a Greek, but we know that he would relay his craft and knowledge to the Armenians (Цимбала 2003, p. 59). In 1643 local Armenian Zachariah Markowych sent Ivan Prylutskyi, whose care-taker he was, to M. Korfinskyi for a 12-year study. The boy may have later become a famous golden-head artist (Цимбала 2003, p. 62). Judging from the names of Korfinskyi's apprentices, it is possible that

Lukashewych, Grabar and Prylutskyi could have been Armenians.

Embroidery, another craft which – at least in the 16th–17th c. – was almost entirely in the hands of the Armenians. Mentions of the golden embroiderers can be found in Lviv's municipal acts of 1397 (Кара-Васильєва 2000, p. 15). Among Lviv's embroiderers the Armenians were predominant. In the middle of the 17th c. Lviv's Armenian Jan Bohdanowych had the title of "the embroiderer (pol. "hafciarz") of His Royal Mercy" (Ormianie polscy 1999, p. 21). It was on his initiative that the Armenian embroiderers of Lviv had received the royal privilege in 1658, under which they were authorized to open their own shops and sell various products of golden embroidery. The magnate estates would have their own embroideries, too. Lviv's acts also mention women-embroiderers, particularly Hadziewycheva and Eminowycheva (Ormianie polscy 1999, p. 21).

There is no general point of view upon the origin of the Armenian weaving workshops in our country. P. Musiienko believed that at the beginning of the 17th c. Lviv's belt workshop had been the oldest in Ukraine; its products were marked "Te Jan Markowicz anno 1701" (Мусієнко 1969, p. 275). However, in the museum collections throughout Ukraine no artefacts marked "Te Jan Markowicz anno 1701" have been found.

Usually, the researchers associate the persiarnias' foundation in Ukraine with the activities of Armenian Dominic Misiorowych in Stanislaw, and later the activities of Jan (Ioannes) Madzharskyi. The first was D. Misiorowych (approx. 1744), who later moved to Brody and, according to the sources, "had always been involved in the craft, namely producing the so-called Istanbul kuntush sashes, makats and other precious fabrics" (Mańkowski 1954, p. 137; Ormianie polscy 1999, p. 22).

There is practically no information about J. Madzharskyi, especially about the first period of his life. Perhaps he had been keeping close ties with Hungary. His surname gives certain grounds for this assumption, because "madzhar" in Armenian-Kypchak means "Hungarian". However, he could also have come from Constantinople, as he had studied weaving there: a similar name "Madzharyk" could be found among the Armenians of Constantinople, a century earlier though (Дашкевич, Трыярский 1969, p. 123–137).

In Stanislaw J. Madzharskyi had been working from about the 2nd half of the 1740's till the mid-1750's. In 1758 he moved to Nesvizh at the invitation of Prince Michal Casimir Radziwill and set up silk kuntush sashes production there. In 1767 he started a persiarnia in Slutsk, where he coined the standard of the gold woven belt – the so-called Polish or Slutsk type. In 1758–1768 he worked in Nesvizh, then in Brody (Mańkowski 1954, p. 32) and later returned to Nesvizh and then to Slutsk. The Slutsk factory had existed until 1844, when the Polish costumes were banned in the Russian empire (Цимбала 2003, p. 67). In Slutsk he would sign his kuntush sashes as "Ioanes Madzarski" on the head of the belt and "Me fecit Slucie" on the other side. From 1780 Cyrillic markings had been introduced on products from Slutsk. Thus, Leo's products were signed in Cyrillic "Leo Madzharskyi" (Цимбала 2003, p. 77).

Another well-known manufacturer of silk kuntush sashes was Armenian Jan Paskhalis-Yakubowych who had come to Warsaw from Tokat (Anatolia) and opened his "Turkish Shop of Oriental Goods". In 1790 Paskhalis-Yakubowych was granted the title of His Majesty's Secretary, noble status and the coat of arms "Yakubowych", depicting a lamb with labarum (the so-called Holy Signs or Surb-Nshan). This lamb with labarum was also the trademark of Paskhalis-Yakubowych's products. Later, the Russian government also confirmed his emblem (Дашкевич 1996, p. 267).

In the 18th c. one of the largest companies importing kuntush sashes from the East and selling locally-produced kuntush sashes was Lviv's trade house (with a branch in Constantinople) which belonged to the Armenian family of the Nikorowyches. The registers of goods from that house in 1753–1774 provide some information on the workshops which produced the Slutsk kuntush sashes in Ukraine, particularly in Buchach, Kutkor, Lahodiv, Olesko, Stanislaw, Sokal, Medzhybizh and Korets (Цимбала 2003, p. 71–72).

Conclusions. During the centuries Armenians had played a significant role in the development of weaving production in Ukrainian lands, in the formation of a trading network of various woven goods, as well as in revealing their role in shaping a special style of life and tastes of different layers of the population, the consumption culture of this kind of objects. This sphere, as well as other important areas of Armenian handicrafts, needs to be considered in two interrelated thematic areas: weaving as an important historical component of Armenian merchants trade, and weaving as a powerful sphere of artisan activity. In addition, the study of Armenian weaving, both in the context of Ukrainian cultural traditions and in the context of the cultural history of other peoples, especially the Turks and Crimean Tatars, requires consideration of the question of the influence and interaction of the cultures of these peoples.

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Гаюк І. Я.

ТКАЦТВО В ЕКОНОМІЧНОМУ ТА КУЛЬТУРНОМУ ЖИТТІ ВІРМЕНСЬКИХ КОЛОНІЙ УКРАЇНИ: ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ДИСКУРС

Розглянуто значення історичних вірменських колоній України для розвитку ткацького виробництва на українських землях. Показано, що ткацтво відігравало важливу роль як у внутрішньому житті вірменських колоній, так і в зовнішніх зв’язках вірмен з польсько-українським оточенням. Комплексно висвітлено роль і місце вірменських колоністів у формуванні ринку тканих виробів на

землях України та у створенні місцевого виробництва шовкових поясів, килимів, макат тощо. З давніх часів ткацтво було одним із найпоширеніших видів народних промислів та важливою складовою господарського життя українських земель. Різноманітні ткані вироби: килими, одяг, пояси, покривала – широко використовувалися в повсякденному житті, для оформлення житла. Показано, що вірменські килими були важливим предметом торгівлі, засвідчували високий соціальний статус власника, виконували релігійну (захисну) та утилітарну функції. Актуальність дослідження полягає в комплексному висвітленні ролі вірмен у розвитку ткацтва на землях України, у виявленні впливу вірменських колоністів на формування особливого стилю життя та смаків різних верств населення, а також споживацької культури такого роду предметів. На сьогодні немає комплексних наукових досліджень історичного розвитку вірменського ткацтва на землях України з урахуванням усіх складових цього процесу: шовкоткацтва, килимарства, гаптування, торговельного аспекту тощо. З'ясовано, що, як і в ювелірній справі та зброярстві, в галузі ткацтва роль вірмен також була подвійною: вони імпортували ткані вироби до України, і вони ж були виробниками різноманітної тканої продукції не лише на українських землях, але й в Османській та Перській імперіях. Інтенсивний розвиток шовкоткацтва на українських теренах також, вочевидь, пов'язаний з вірменами. І хоча більшість дослідників пов'язує розвиток персіярень в Україні зі станіславськими (нині м. Івано-Франківськ) вірменськими майстернями Домініка Місіоровича та Іоана Маджарського в середині XVIII ст., факти засвідчують, що інтенсивне поширення вірменських ткацьких майстерень почалося вже у XVII ст.

Ключові слова: вірмени, діаспора, килим, культура, пояс, ткацтво, торгівля, шовк.

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