

**ԿՐՕՆԱԿԱՆ**

**THE SEE OF HOLY ETCHMIADZIN AND THE VATICAN:  
A CHRONICLE OF THE CONTACTS BETWEEN ARMENIAN CATHOLICOS  
AND POPES  
(Last Part)**

**1549** – Pope Paul III (1534-49) and Julius III (1550-1535) Catholicos Stepannos V Salmastetsi (1545-67). Pope Paul III a Counter Reformation pope, a renaissance pope in the best and worst sense of the word. He convened the Council of Trent in 1545, suspended it in 1549. For the first time in the history of the Armenian Church Catholicos Step'annos V Salmastets'i on the recommendation of princes (*melik's*) in Persian Armenia with a delegation of 27 dignitaries visited Rome in 1548-49 to seek assistance from the Pope to free Eastern Armenia suffering under the rule of Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576) in the hands of the chiefs of the Kizirbash tribes. In contrast to the previous rapprochement attempt this was not in the pursuit of uniting the two churches but securing support for the liberation of Armenia convinced that 'although the authority of the Apostle Peter lies in Rome and makes it supreme' but Venice holds the keys the wisdom of the lords of Venice shall secure 'our salvation and freedom'<sup>1</sup> and firmly of the belief that 'all nations and peoples and languages believing in Christ the one who binds and frees on earth and in heaven happens on the order of the most powerful of the universal Church of Christ'. On arriving in Rome the Catholicos makes surprising declaration of obeying the Pope and placing the Armenian church under the jurisdiction of the Latin church. The problem with this declaration is that it was dependent on the Catholicos returning to Armenia and securing the authority of the overall he was representing. On the question of doctrine the Catholicos had without any doubt in his mind that the Armenian church accepted the formulae of the two natures 'unmixed and confused' «անխառն եւ անշփոթ միացմամբ» and to the demand that the Armenian church should practice the mixing of water in the chalice of the communion, the catholicos had replied that was still a matter of negotiations for later times, since the purpose of his mission was not to explain to the Latin clergy the differences between their two churches but to seek help to liberate Armenia from Persian rule'.<sup>2</sup> With letters of introduction from Pope Paul III Catholicos Step'anos had audiences with king Charles V of Germany (1519-1558) and Sigismund II Augustus of Poland

<sup>1</sup> Hovhannisyan Ashot, «Դրուագներ հայ ազատագրական մտքի պատմության: Գիրք երկրորդ (A history of Armenian liberation thinking), Erevan, Bk 2, 1959 «-թեպետ հեղինակության առաջնություն ՊեՏՐՈՍԻ Հոռոմ ֆաղաֆն է գերիշխան, սակայն Վենետիկն է բանալի եւ փականք բովանդակ ֆրիստոնություն [եւ] ի զգոնություն տերանց Վենետաց պիտի սկսի մեր փրկությունն եւ ազատությունն», pp.26-27, M. Ormanian, Azgapatum, *ibid*..., Vol. II, Bk II, p. 2241, «ամենայն ազգաց եւ ազանց եւ լեզուաց Քրիստոսադատանից կապող եւ արձակող ի յերկինս եւ յերկրի եւ հրամանահան հզոր յընդամուր յեկեղեցիս Քրիստոսի» Դաշանց Թուղթ, էջ. 12). It is most revealing that in the decision to send the Catholicos of All Armenians on a mission to Europe the lay participating Armenian merchants while acknowledging the ecclesiastical power of the Roman papacy also recognised the influence and role of the Armenian merchants in Venice.

<sup>2</sup> Assemanus Stephannus, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentinae et Palathinae codecum Mss. Florentiae 1742, «Այնուամենայնիւ շատ եւ ծանրակշիռ կրօնական խնդիրներ կային, որոնց նկատմամբ տարակարծիք էին մենք» '*plura fuerunt et gravia, qua de religione internos disseruimus*' cf. Y. S. Anasian, «Ստեփանոս Սալմաստեցի (Հատուածներ նոր ուսումնասիրությունից) (Step'anos Salmastets'i (Extracts from a new study), *Sion* (1980-81), p. 6, Grigor vrd. Petrovich (Gregorio Petrowicz) «Ստեփանոս Ե. Սալմաստեցի, Կաթողիկոս էջմիածնի (1543-1552) (Step'anos V Salmastetsi Catholicos of Etchmiadzin (1543-1552), Venice, 1964.

(19<sup>th</sup> May, 1551). In 1551 after visiting the Armenian communities in Poland, Western Ukraine and Crimea, in 1552 he returned to Etchmiadzin. The rumour that the catholicos died in Lvov in 1552 and was buried with Catholic rite in the church yard of the Armenian church in Lvov under a gravestone with falsified inscription was intended to convince the local Armenian community to convert to catholicism<sup>3</sup>.

**1559** – Pope Pius IV (1559-65). Catholicos Mikayel I Sebastatsi (1566-76) in 1562 sends a delegation to Europe consisting of Abgar *dpir*, Sult'anshah T'okhat'etsi son of the printer and priest Abgar T'okhat'etsi. They travelled to Rome and sought audience with Pope Pius IV (1559-1564). Presented the Pope chrism, gold cross and ring with the relic of the Apostle St. Thaddeus. In 1569 Abgar returned to Etchmiadzin and in glowing terms explained to Catholicos Mikayel I Salmastetsi (1545-67) the benefits to be gained by union with the Vatican.<sup>4</sup>

**1572** – Pope Pius V (1566-72) 'the great inquisitor' appointed Sultanshah, now a catholic convert with the name Marc Aton *nuncio* representing the Catholicate of Cilicia and Etchmiadzin in the Vatican. He was designated 'Vicar of the Armenians' [«Հովի հայոց»].

**1572** – Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85) in 1575 Catholicos of Cilicia Khatchatur Erazhisht (*the musician*) seeks Pope's assistance to save 'the Holy Sion' meaning Armenia, agreeing to a pact of union with Rome.

**1583** – Pope Gregory XIII send a delegation to Cilicia to Catholicos Khatchatur seeking validation that Sult'anshah was of royal lineage from Catholicos Tadeos co-adjuator to Catholicos Grigor XII Vagharshapatts'i (1576-1590).

**1585** – Sult'anshah, son of Abgar T'okhate'ci in 1584 printed two titles '*Profession dela foi*' [«Դաւանութիւն Ուղղափառութեան Հոռմէական Սր Եկեղեցոյն»] (1584) and '*Calendrier gregorien*' [«Տօմար Գրիգորեանն Յալիտենական»]. Pope Gregory XIII sent copies of these titles to Catholicos Azaria Jughayetsi (1584-1601) of Sis, suggesting that they should be implemented. In his letter of response dated 10<sup>th</sup> April 1585 the Catholicos informs the Pope that 'it is inconvenient for us to implement the new calendar before it has been accepted by other nations, for the infidels will interpret our move as being a sign that we have concluded peace with the Franks'.<sup>5</sup> The Catholicos adds that since he is unable to visit Rome he is instead sending 'Bishop Yovhannes and Deacon Grigor to help in printing the Bible.' We know, Holy Father, that the printing of the Bible will be very costly, but we trust your benevolence, for which you will receive countless blessings from our people and from those among others who wish to study the Armenian language'.<sup>6</sup>

**1592** – Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605). Co-adjuator Catholicos Melk'isedek (1590-1627) in 1602 was in correspondence with the Pope on behalf of the Armenian merchants of New Julfa. The evidence for this correspondence is provided by Pope Clement in a letter of 13<sup>th</sup> September 1602 written to the Spanish king Philipp.

<sup>3</sup> 'For the text of the forged Latin inscriptions on the grave stone' see Y.S. Anasian, *op.cit.*, pp.13-16.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription below the engraving of Abgar and his son Marco Ant[onio] Armeno presenting a copy of their Psalter to the pope reads «Ի թվանիս հայոց ռ.ժ.դ. ամին ես թոխաթցի աբգար դպիրս խնդեցի զայս նոր գիրս. ի հոռմ ի պետոս փափում և երես հրաման շինելու. բարեխաւսութեամբ այս կարտինալացս և այս եպիսկոպոսիս և իմ գրայմիտ սուլտանշայ որդոյս եկեալ ի գեղեցիկ. նաւայհայնկիտ մայրաքաղաքն. որ կոչի վանատիկ. ի թագաւորութեանն Երեմէլմոն թունին եւ շինեցաք զայս նոր գիրս և զաս փոքր մեկնիչ սաղմոսացս» See T'eodik, «Տիպ ու տառ» (Fonts and Printing), Constantinople, 1912, p. 41; Vrej Nersessian, *Catalogue of early Armenian books*, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-14.

<sup>5</sup> In November 1923 the use of the Gregorian Calendar in the Armenian Church was authorised by Catholicos Gevorg V Sourenyants (1911-1930) while the Julian Calendar continues to be in use in Jerusalem.

<sup>6</sup> Nersessian Vrej, *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books, 1512-1850*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

**1605** – Pope Paul V (1605-21). Catholicos David IV Vagharshapattsi (1590-1629) sent two letters to Pope Paul dated 1605 and 1607, seeking the Pope's intervention in the affairs of the Armenians transported to New Julfa by Shah Abbas (1585-1629). A letter from Catholicos Melk'isedek to Pope Paul V written on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May, 1610 attributed to the Catholicos is in fact by Zakaria vard. the *nuncio* appointed by the Catholicos and sent to Rome to establish relations with Rome. In response the Pope demanded the removal of the 'two errors' - not to mix water in the communion cup' and to remove from the Trisagion the terms 'was crucified for us'. A third letter dated March 22, 1613 also from the pen of Zakaria explains three miss-understandings regarding the Armenian church (a) Armenians do not mix water, (b) 'was crucified refers only to the second person of the Trinity' and (c) re confirms the rejection of the Council of Chalcedon.

**1621** – Pope Paul responds to the 3<sup>rd</sup> letter of Catholicos Melk'isedek on May 28, 1615. Catholicos's response in 1622 was to Pope Gregory XV (1621-1623).

**1622** – Pope Gregory XV (1621-23) founded the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

**1623** – Pope Urban VIII (1623-44). Catholicos Melk'isedek, presents a 'Letter of Confession on the Armenian doctrine 'expressing faithfulness to the Holy See of Rome'. In response to the Catholicos's 'Profession of Faith', on December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1626, *SCPF* in their letter of response offer 'pastoral assistance' [«հոգևոր պետքեր զոհասցնել» thus, it is not surprising that the attempts for dialogue failed.

**1629** – Pope Urban VIII (1623- 44). When Movses III Tatevatsi became Catholicos (1629-32) catholic authors attribute three Letters of the Catholicos to Pope Urban III the originals of which remain unknown. M. Ormanian doubts their authenticity. It is assumed that in these letters the Catholicos seeks the protection for the Armenians in Poland from the latin proselytism initiated by the catholic priest Nikol T'orosovitch.

**1644** – Pope Innocent X (1644-55). Pope Urban had sent a letter to Catholicos Pilipos I Aghbaketsi (1632-55) through Paul Piromalli the response of which reached late to his successor Pope Innocent.

**1688** – Pope Innocent XI (1676-1689) Catholicos Azaria of the Caucasian Albanians (Aghvank') converted to Catholicism and sought dispensation from the pope in 1688.

**1691** – Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700). Catholicos Nahapet I Edesatsi (1691-1705) revived correspondence with Rome by a letter written on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1695. Pope Innocent sends his response through Khatchatur Karnetsi (1666-1740) a catholic Armenian with gifts, among them a copy of Galanus Clemens' *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana*, 1658. The Catholicos granted authority to Khatchatur Karnetsi to preach despite being catholic.

**1700** – Pope Clement XI (1700-21) who succeeded Pope Innocent X sent a letter to Catholicos Nahapet I Edesatsi.

**1709** – Pope Clement XI (1700-21). Catholicos Agheksandr I Jughayetsi (1706-14) alarmed by the missionary exploits of the Jesuits, wrote a letter dated 25<sup>th</sup> February 1709, complaining to the Pope that 'the preachers sent by the Vatican should not work among our people but more among those who do not announce the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ'. Instead of enlightening the infidels who do not know the name of Christ 'surround our flock sowing seeds of discord and confusion'.<sup>7</sup> In 1711 the Jesuits were driven out of New Julfa.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The letter of the Catholicos to Pope Clement XI was titled "*Letter ...concerning the Regrettable Conduct of Missionaries who, in Blatant Injustice, Create Problems Amongst the Innocent Sheep of the Saintly Church of Armenia*". See M.Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, Beirut, 1960, vol .II, BK.3, pp.2768-71.

<sup>8</sup> In 1637 the Dominican preacher Paul Piromali was asked «Հայր այսօր Ժամանակ որ Տանկաստան եւ

The most notorious event during the Papacy Clement and Louis XIV was the kidnapping and incarceration by catholic fanatics organised by the French Ambassador Charles d'Argental Feriol of Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople Awetik' Evdokiatsi (1704-1711), accused of being a 'heretique, schismatic', whose autobiography written in prison was discovered in 1825 by E. Dulaurier in the Military Archives in Paris. He died in prison on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1711 and was buried in the Church of Saint -Sulpice. His tomb stone was in tack until 1793 when following the Revolution it disappeared.<sup>9</sup>

**1724** – Pope Benedict XIII (1724-30). During the reign of Catholicos Karapet II Oulnetsi (1726-29) a conflict arose between Orthodox Armenians and Catholic Armenians in Constantinople. The Catholicos who by chance happened to be in Constantinople and expressed readiness to mediate between the conflicting factions. The demands presented by the Catholics was the acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon, and the removal of the anathema from the hymn on the Tome of Leo. The Catholics sensing an opportunity to bring the Orthodox Armenians into the fold of the Latin Church, made various demands which were unacceptable and the chance to achieve union was thwarted.

**1740** – Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758). Mxithar Sebastatsi in 1733 printed his Classical Armenian Bible. In its Preface being conscious of anti-Latin accusations declares 'Although I love my people and I toil for their benefit, nevertheless my heart is loyal I believe in the catholicity of the Roman church against which I cannot sin. Similarly in everything I am obedient and loyal to the throne of Rome for which as an example I have Saint Grigorios the Illuminator', In 1740 when Benedict became Pope he sent a copy of his Bible to him.<sup>10</sup> The Pope responded with an Encyclical of blessing in 1742 acknowledging the receipt of the Bible.

**1844** – Pope Gregory XVI (1831- 46). Imitating the Armenian Catholics of Ottoman Turkey those in the Russian Empire and the Caucasus teamed up with Russian Catholics and put themselves under the jurisdiction of the Pope, lavishly supported financially by Tsarist Russia. Until the First world War and during the war their Apostolic *nuncio* was Sargis vardapet Ter-Abrahamian.

It is during this period 1919-1921, when Grigor-Petros Aghajanian, Primate of the Armenian Catholics in Tiflis and later Patriarch who in his Circular-Letter calls upon the "errant flock of the Armenian Church" [«Հայաստանեայց եկեղեցոյ մոլորեալ զաւակներին» to return to "the luminous faith of their ancestors which is the sacred faith of Rome".<sup>11</sup> Alek'sandr Eritseants

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Պարսկաստան փախչի ու ֆարզեցի արդեօք ո՞րքան մահմետականներ դարձի բերի, ֆրստոնեայ արի»։ Փիրովալը ի՞նչ պատասխան տայ. «Մահմետականները ֆրստոնեայ անե՛լ կասե՛լ աչքերը անկի բանալով. մարդ Աստուծոյ, զի՛ն չե՛ս որ ես մահմետական չդարձայ» [Father for so long you have walked and preached in Turkey and Persia how many Muhamadens did you convert to Christianity?]. Promali replied "To convert a Muhammadan to Christianity means to open his eyes to God, you are not pleased that I didn't become a Muhammadan?" There are few in life whose conscious confession could be so sincere' See Gabriel Archp. Ayvazian, «Նիկոլ եպիսկոպոս եւ Պատմութիւն դարձին Հայկազանց Լեհաստանի ի Կաթոլիկութիւն» [Bishop Nikol (Torosovitch) and the history of the conversion to Catholicism of the Armenians in Poland], Vagharshapat, 1877, note on pp. 93-94.

<sup>9</sup> Patriarch Awetik' Evdokiatsi, b. 1657, Deacon 1675, celebrate priest, 1681, Bishop 1691, Archbishop 1701 Patriarch 1704, imprisoned 1706, died, 1711 at the age of 54. Topin Marius, *L'Homme au Masque de fer*, Paris, 1870, John Noone, *The man behind the iron mask*, St. Martin's Press, 1994, pp. 99-103, 287-88; M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, *ibid.*, vol. II, Bk. 3, pp. 2778-88; Hrant Asatur, «Կոստանդնուպոլսոյ հայերը եւ իրենց պատրիարքները» (The Armenians of Constantinople and their patriarchs), Istanbul, 2011, pp. 96-98.

<sup>10</sup> Eritseants Alek'sandr, «Վենետիկի Մխիթարեանք» [The Mkhitarists of Venice], Tiflis, 1883, p. 40-41. «Ընկալա՞մք մեծարու դիւանադարին փրօփակատայի զարժանաւոր ընծայն զկարի հանելին մեզ հայկական Աստուածաշինն, և շնորհ յոյժ ունիմք»։

<sup>11</sup> Obituary 'Cardinal Gregory Agagianian. Former director of Catholic mission work', *The Times*, May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1971.



writing in 1883 with great dismay laments the missionary activities of the Mkhitarists in these terms ‘There was a time when the Mkhitarists had deserving reputation, enjoyed the love and respect of the entire Armenian nation. It was a singular institution with reputation and fame admired by Lord Byron, its reputation extended from Asia Minor to the far corners of India. But following the death of its founder the institution he founded has become an order governed by Jesuit canon laws, whose members were driven out of France judged to be harmful to society as well as religion. And now the expelled Jesuits and the new generation of Mkhitarists hand in hand are invading the Ottoman territories engaged in converting the abandoned, unprotected Armenians’<sup>12</sup> They adorn their churches with the images of St Gregory the Illuminator, St Sahak, - Saint Mesrop, Saint Nerses Shnorhali, and in their prayers of intercession [«Ասացում»] seek their intervention «Բարեխօս ունիս՛ք», and at the same time declare there is no salvation for the soul in the Armenian church. A trio formed of Grigor Petros Aghajanian, Ignatios-Petros-XVI Patanian and Archbishop Sahak Kogian, Primate of the Armenian Catholics in Lebanon were from 1956 actively supportive of the schism between Etchmiadzin and Antilias fuelling the hostility of the Vatican towards the Soviet Union<sup>13</sup>

1846 – Pope Pius IX (1846-78) in 1866 appointed Anthony Hasunian, a graduate of the SCPFS Patriarch of the Armenian Catholics in Constantinople and in 1870 extended his authority over the Catholics in Lebanon assuming the name Petros IX. At the beginning of his career he was a supporter of the Uniates performing the rites of the church in the Armenian language then he left the *Unitores* and adopted Catholicism in all its guises. In his Encyclicals he called himself ‘Catholicos of All Armenians. ‘The Hasunian Party’ taking advantage of the fact that the Armenian Catholicate in Etchmiadzin was outside the Ottoman territory and could not directly intervene to defend its doctrinal position in Constantinople. In 1870 the pope convened the first Vatican Council which approved two dogmatic constitutions: *Dei Filius*, on the relationship of reason and faith, and *Pastor Aeternus*, on the papacy’s juridical primacy and on the infallibility of the papacy’s teaching office. He invited the Armenian Patriarch Poghos T’ak’t’akian to attend the Council, the latter wrote to Catholicos Gevorg IV of Pope Pius’s call and the Catholicos refused permission. While the Abbot of the Mkhitarist Congregation Georgh Hirmiz[ian] (1797-1876) a devout catholic attended the First Vatican Council on 18 July 1870 and was among those who accepted the definition of papal primacy and infallibility. Hiwrmiwz trapped into the Hasunian pro-catholic movement on behalf of the Mkhitarist Congregation in 1853 presented a decree to the pope in which he declares the Armenian national church ‘schismatic and heretical’

<sup>12</sup> «...որ հետզհետե՛ շեղուելով իւր հիմնադրի նախագծից, մօտենում է վախճանին, անհետանալու: Նա մեծ էր նա անուն ունէր, նա ընդհանուր յարգանք էր սէր էր վայելում, երբ որ յօգուտ էր ի պատիւ հայ ազգի էր գործում: Նա այն ժամանակը եզակի էր, նորան հոշակում էր Բայրոնի բնարը, նորա համբաւի առաջ խոնարհում էր հայն թէ Փոքր Ասիայի խորքերում էր թէ հեռաւոր Հնդկաստանում: Իսկ այսօր Մխիթարի հիմնարկութիւնը ներկայանում է իբրեւ «Յիսիւսեան» կանոնադրութեամբ վարուող մի կաթոլիկական կարգ, որի նմանները բշտեցին Ֆրանսիայից իբրեւ վնասակար թէ հասարակութեանը էր թէ նոյն իսկ կրօնին: Եւ ահա բշտած յիսուսեանք էր Մխիթարի նորասերունդ աշակերտները ձեռք ձեռքի տուած դիմում են մահմետական տէրութեան մէջ անտէր անտիրական հայերին որսալու» See *Alek'sandr Eritseants*, «Վենետիկի Մխիթարեանք» *op.cit.*, pp.150-51.

<sup>13</sup> T'emirian A[lper]\*., ‘Վատիկանի խաղցած տխուր դերը, Հայ եկեղեցին զոհ կերթայ անոր էմբրիկներուն» (The sad role of the Vatican and how the Armenian Church became a victim of its intrigues) and «Դաշնակցութիւնը օտար շահերու պաշտպան գործակալութիւն մը» (‘The Dashnak Party is in the service of foreign powers’, See «Վազգէն Ա. Պալկեան Ամենայն Հայոց Կաթողիկոս (1955- 94), Erevan, 2008, pp. 743- 747 [վատերագրեր Հայ եկեղեցու Պատմութեան Գիրք ժ.2]:

\* The author an Armenian Catholic was an agent of the Lebanese Secret Service and was an observer in the negotiations between Ejmiadsin and Antilias.

The articles are signed with the initials Ա.Թ.Հ. ա Ք.Հ.Արմատեան Թ[եմիր], Arabic for «արմաւ» (dates) in the root of his surname Արմաւ[եան]:

[«հերձուածող» and «հերեւիկոս»]. The definition put great strain on the ecumenical relations with other Christian churches and resulted in considerable number of Papal clergy among them M. Ormanian (future Patriarch of Constantinople), M. Izmirlian (future Catholicos of All Armenians), Archbishops Gabriel Ayvazian, Khoren Galfayan and Sargis T'eodorian to leave the church of Rome and return to the communion of their national churches 1879.<sup>14</sup>

**1878** – Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903). A century had passed when to quell the internal conflict within the Catholic community in his Encyclical to Patriarch Azarian dated July 25<sup>th</sup> 1888 he invited the whole Armenian nation 'back into the fold of the catholic Church'. On this occasion Catholicos Makar I Ter-Petrosian Teghouttsi (1885-91) published a *General Epistle* [«Թուղթ Ընդհանրական»],<sup>15</sup> in which he reiterates the Orthodoxy and independence of the Armenian church and condemns the Papacy's eternal desire to dominate Christendom.

**1883** – Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903). Assigned the Church of St. Nicholas Tolentine, with the adjoining Monastery, in Rome for perpetuity under the jurisdiction of the Armenian catholics, as headquarters for Armenian students, there to live, and conduct services in their own language.

**1925** – Pope Pius XI (1922-39). Ruled in an autocratic way. He elevated to the status of doctor of the church Robert Bellarmine (d. 1621) his hero, who in his catechism to the question "who is a Christian" replies "One who obeys the pope and the pastor appointed by him". He both opposed Communism and Nazism in a speech he delivered in December 1925. His anti-Soviet stance was the reason why the Mkhitarists halted their missionary work and departed from Soviet Armenia.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1944 on the occasion of the celebration of the 15<sup>th</sup> centenary of the death of St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria issued an Encyclical Letter called *Orientalis Ecclesiae Decus* 'Appeals to the Monophysites - Our separated sons in the East' to examine St. Cyril's writings with unprejudicial mind and study carefully, may see the path of truth lying open before them and, through the inspiration and help of God, feel themselves called *back to the bosom of the Catholic Church*.<sup>16</sup>

**1939** – Pope Pius XII (1939-58). Pope during the Second World War, he was a firm opponent of communism in the post war. He with American - Vatican axis had in mind to bring the entire Near East and Jerusalem under the hegemony of the Vatican. The Armenian Catholic Patriarch Grigor Aghajanian actively participated in the plan to 'free Etchmiadzin from the Bolshevik servitude' [«Էջմիածնի ազատագրումը Բոլշևիկեան գերութիւնից»]. This is a citation from a letter marked Urgent by Catholicos Georg VI to Vice President of the USSR Marshal K.I. Voroshilov dated Holy Etchmiadzin, 1948.<sup>17</sup>

The last occasion when Holy Chrism (*miworn*) was blessed in Etchmiadzin was in 1926.

<sup>14</sup> Ford John T., 'Infallibility' in Encyclopedia of Catholicism, (ed.) Richard P. Macbrien, Harper Collins, 1995, pp. 664-65; Vrej Nersessian, 'Review Article: The Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church and the vision of the "Fratres Unitores" or Unifying Friars among Armenians', *Sion* nos. 8-12 (2019), p. 206; Charles A. Frazee, 'The formation of the Armenian Catholic community in the Ottoman Empire', *ECR*, Vol. VII, no. 2 (1972), pp. 149-163, A. Eretseants, *The Mkhitarists of Venice, op. cit.*, pp.71-72.

<sup>15</sup> Թուղթ Ընդհանրական S. S. Մակարայ Սրբազնագոյն Կաթողիկոսի Ամենայն Հայոց առ համօրէն դասս եկեղեցականաց եւ ժողովրդականաց հայոց, Վաղարշապատ, 1888 - ՌՅԼԸ:

<sup>16</sup> Encyclical Letter (*Orientalis Ecclesiae Decus*) of His Holiness Pius XII by Divine Providence Pope... on Saint Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria in celebration of the fifteenth centenary of his holy death, Catholic Truth Society, London, 1946, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Behbudyan Sandro, Գեորգ Զ. Զորէշեան Կաթողիկոս Ամենայն Հայոց, Bk. VI, Erevan, 1999, pp. 481 & 804 [«Վաւերագրեր Հայ եկեղեցու պատմութեան (1938-55)»]:

On special occasions the Catholicos of Cilicia has also had the authority to bless Holy Chrism provided it was distributed only to dioceses under its jurisdiction. The last time Holy Chrism was blessed in Cilicia was in 1948 which was a pretext for some primates to request Catholicos Georg VI to permit the Cilician Catholicate to bless Holy Chrism in recognition of the uncertain times. Georg VI refused that plea for it would mean all the communities in the diaspora would obtain their chrism from Cilicia, and that would break the final link that tied the diaspora with Etchmiadzin with the far-reaching consequences both internally and externally. By this single move the entire diaspora would fall under the jurisdiction of the See of Cilicia, an objective which the Soviets would have exploited and the political parties hostile to Etchmiadzin would welcome.<sup>18</sup> In 1949-50 the Mayor of Constantinople suspended the National Constitution in a bid to formulate a new constitution regarding the election of the Patriarch, but Catholicos Georg VI intervened and stopped the misfeasance.

**1958** – Pope John XXIII (1958-1963) called the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). His successor Pope Paul VI (1963-1978) two weeks after his enthronement on July 16<sup>th</sup> 1963 wrote an official letter of invitation to Catholicos Vazgen I to send two observers to the Council representing the Mother See. In its Supreme Spiritual Council held on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1963, selected Bishop Park'ev Gevorgian pastor of the Armenian community in Moscow and member of the Spiritual Council Mr. Grigor Pek'mezian to attend the council. In the 1966 session they were joined by Bishop Garegin Sarkissian, later to become Catholicos Garegin II of Cilicia and in 1995 Catholicos of All Armenians.

The Second Vatican Council represented an epoch-making and irrevocable turning point. It tacitly accepted that the Roman system of government was rejected once and for all by the Orthodox churches of the East as by the churches of the Reformation, but that they would probably have few objections to a really ecumenical papacy<sup>19</sup>

**1970** – Pope Paul VI (1963-78), Catholicos Vazgen I Palchian (1955-1994). After prolonged negotiations between Holy Etchmiadzin and the Vatican, the Catholicos paid an official visit to Pope Paul VI May, 8-12<sup>th</sup> 1970. Among his delegation were the two Armenian Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople and several Primates. During the service Holy Kiss and brotherly love' the Pope presented his ring to the catholicos. On this occasion the Pope presented Catholicos Vazgen I the relic of St Bartholomew, the first missionary to Armenia placed in an ornate *ostensorium* 'Radiance' («ճաճանշ») shaped in the form of a cross.

**1978** – When Cardinal Karol Jozef Wojtyla as elected Pope John Paul II, His Holiness Vazgen welcomed the election of the new pope with the wish 'It may be that in the person of the new pope we have the means to bring about the reconciliation between East and West'. During his visit to Turkey in 1979 Pope John Paul visited the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople.

**1992** – On June 7, 1992 Patriarch John Peter Kasparian of the Armenian Catholics published a document called "Return to Armenia" in which he questions the legitimacy of the Holy Apostolic Orthodox Church of Armenia, regarding it heretical and declaring 'Armenia as a boundless uncultivated field' or a "limitless virgin field" for evangelisation'. This was an aggressive motion against one of the five most ancient Sees of the early church in violation of the spirit of Ecumenism. On Monday, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1992 a delegation of Armenian bishops, conveyed to Pope John Paul II the concerns of His Holiness Vazgen I. What made the action of the Armenian Patriarch astonishing was the fact that, Catholicos Vazgen I in ecumenical spirit, had invit-

<sup>18</sup> Behbudyan Sandro, *ibid.*, p.805.

<sup>19</sup> Kung Hans, *The Catholic Church A short history*, *ibid.*, 2003, p. 186.

ed the Mkhitarist Fathers of Venice to send priests to tend to the spiritual needs of the Armenian ‘Uniates’ living in the Republic of Armenia.

**1996-1999** – Pope John Paul II (1978-2005) Catholicos Garegin I Sargisian (1995-99).

On December 13, 1996, His Holiness Garegin I Catholicos of All Armenians, signed a Joint Declaration in Rome with Pope John Paul II for the sake of the unity of the whole church. While the Declaration was well received in some quarters, it was criticised for one of its statements declared that the two natures were unified ‘*in the person of the Only Son*’, rather ‘*in the Person of Christ*’. The Declaration was unacceptable for the high-handed manner by which it was imposed without conciliar validation and the need to respect the ancient practice of collegiality with the bishops in matters of doctrine<sup>20</sup>. The decision of whether the Armenian Church was right or wrong in the course of all these centuries cannot be made by a single bishop even if he is the first among equals<sup>21</sup>. The authority of the Armenian Church does not rest in the hands of the Catholicos nor in the hand of the Armenian hierarchy but only and exclusively within the totality of its members, with all the faithful including the clergy. In the opinion of Ormanian ‘It is unacceptable for the catholicos and the synod to compose such a decree in which the opinion is expressed that the Armenian church accepts the Council of Chalcedon and the following three councils after Chalcedon’.<sup>22</sup>

Catholicos Garegin I, in June 1999 saw the Pope on the occasion of opening the exhibition ‘*Roma – Armenia*’ held in Grand Sistine Chapel (25<sup>th</sup> March-16<sup>th</sup> July) dedicated to the 1700<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity.

Catholicos Garegin I had an impressive gift for self-publicity, symbolic gestures, ambitious and haughty and despite countless speeches and expensive visits to the diaspora, no progress was made in healing the schism between Etchmiadzin and Antelias for which he was both instrumental creating and was installed to undo. During the reign of Pope John Paul II the real understanding with the Eastern Churches, was to be blocked; and dialogue replaced with one-sided teachings and decrees. Looked at more closely, his re-evangelization has meant re-Catholicisation and his wordy ecumenisms has under the surface been aimed at a return to the Catholic Church. If John XXII was the most significant pope of the twentieth century, John Paul II is the most contradictory.

**2000** – Pope John Paul II. Catholicos Garegin II visited the Vatican between October 8-11<sup>th</sup>, 2000 and signed a joint document in which both the pontiffs agreed to define the Turkish atrocities against the Armenians in 1915 as ‘Genocide’.

**2001** – Pope John Paul to mark the 1700<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity made return visit to Holy Etchmiadzin. The joint declaration expressed mutual recognition of the common Christian faith and sacramental life of the two Churches and the Christological accords signed by Garegin I and John Paul. The Pope was invited, in a histor-

<sup>20</sup> Nersessian Vrej, ‘Beware of Faulty Wiring’, *The Armenian Reporter INT’L*, February 22, 1997, Harut’yun sark. Ter–Asatryan, «Քրիստոսաբանական տարաձայնությունների հաշտեցման ուղիները Գարեգին Ա.-ի էկումենիկ հայեացքներում» [The paths of reconciliation on matters of Christology from the ecumenical perspective of Catholicos Garegin I], *Etchmiadzin* 2 (2018), pp.49-70.

<sup>21</sup> Nersoyan Hagop, *The Christology of the Armenian Orthodox Church*, (Comments on ‘The Joint Vatican Declaration’), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jerusalem, 2001, p.25.

<sup>22</sup> «Կաթոլիկոսի եւ սինոդին ներքին չէր այնպիսի գիր մը տալ, որով Հայերուն կը վերագրուի Քաղկեդոնի եւ անոր յաջորդած երեք ժողովներու ընդունած ըլլալ»։ See M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum op.cit.*, Vol III, Bk 2, p. 3753. This was the author’s verdict on a Tract on the Doctrine of the Armenian Church submitted to Tsar Nicholas I by Catholicos Hovhannes VIII Karbetsi in 1841.



ically un-paralleled gesture, to celebrate the Latin Catholic Eucharistic Liturgy together with the Armenian Catholic Clergy of Armenia, at the altar in the grounds of the Cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin.

**2015** – Pope Francis (13<sup>th</sup> March, 2013 - to the present) On 12 April, 2015 Pope Francis officially declared St Grigor Narekatsi (from Narek Monastery, b. 951-d.1003) ‘*doctor universalis*’ of the Church, following a pronouncement he had made on 21 February, 2001. The recognition coincided with the marking of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.<sup>23</sup>

**2016** – Pope Francis made an official visit to Armenia between 24-26<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

### Conclusion

The definition of church-state relations changed drastically during the papacy of Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) with the rise of the Cluniac monasticism in increasing as well as the spiritual power of the papacy he transformed the church itself into a legal institution with monarchical form of government. The title ‘vicar of Christ’ gradually fell out of favour, and was replaced by ‘Vicar of Saint Peter’ which suggested a higher authority and more extensive field of activity, both developments that were potentially difficult for east-west relations.<sup>24</sup>

The Armenians have never forgotten that theirs was the first sovereign State to accept the Christian faith, which has also become their national identity, with an alphabet of their own and written literature, they were never Hellenised. Rejecting the Council of Chalcedon lived in proud isolation and resisting courageously the pressure of Persian Zoroastrianism, and then of Islam steadfast to their Church and their national culture, and neither the Muslim religion nor the Arabic language gained a footing in their land. The Bagratuni Kingdom fell in 1064, they created the Little or Lesser Armenia in Cilicia. For the first time in their history they found themselves caught up in the full stream of international politics. Franks and Armenians fought side-by side against the Arabs. In 1080, the Armenian Catholicos Grigor II Vgayaser appealed to Pope Gregory VII (twenty years before the latter was contemplating an expedition against them to rescue eastern Christendom) to secure his interest for military aid to drive the Arabs out of Armenia territories.

The relations between the Armenian and Latin Church intensified. While the court remained loyal to the papal-Western alliance and marriages into French princely houses strengthened the ties with Latin Christendom, the Armenians back in the homeland did not favour closer relations with Rome, and were unwilling to fulfil the conditions which the papacy constantly demanded whenever the question of union was discussed and eventually engineered the transfer of the Catholicate to Holy Etchmiadzin in 1441 following the demise of the Kingdom of Cilicia in 1375. The most tangible evidence of this is the fabrication of the document called *Dashants T'ught* (‘*Lettera dell’ Amicitia*’).<sup>25</sup> These events clearly awakened western faith in Armenia. The

<sup>23</sup> Vrej Nersessian, Grigor Narekatsi, ‘Mystic and Poet: The Soul’s search for immediacy with God’, *One in Christ* vol. 51 (2017), no. 1, pp. 81-117.

<sup>24</sup> Meyendorff John, *Catholicity and the Church*, New York, 1983, p. 132. Anna Comnena attacking the universalist idea of the papacy promoted by Pope Gregory VII proclaims ‘When the empire was transferred from Rome to our country, to our imperial city, so was also the Senate, and the entire government, and the order of the priestly thrones. The emperors of old granted privileges to the throne of Constantinople. And, in particular, the council of Chalcedon gave to the bishop of Constantinople the first place and submitted to him all the dioceses of the world’ (*Alexiad*, I, 13, 4).

<sup>25</sup> In this document the Roman empire is described as. «Տիեզերատարած եւ աշխարհաճաւալ խորխտ եւ անխոնարհելի իշխանութիւն» while the Pope of Rome is «Աթոռակալ գլխաւորաց առաքելոցս Պետրոսի եւ Պօղոսի, որ երկնաւոր եւ երկրաւոր բանալեօքս ունի իշխանութիւն յԱրեւմտից մինչեւ յԱրեւելս ի վերայ ամենայն ազգաց եւ ազանց եւ լեզուաց քրիստոսադասանից, կապօղ եւ արծակօղ ի յերկինս եւ յերկրի եւ հրամանաւան հզոր

German Dominican Burchard, who had travelled in the East around 1308, and wrote his *Directorium ad passagiū faciendū in Terram Sanctam* in 1330, advised the West to put no trust in the Armenians, for ‘heresy was deeply rooted in their souls’.<sup>26</sup> The chronicle of the contacts between the Vatican and Holy Etchmiadzin provide irrefutable evidence.

1. The politicians and clergymen of the Cilician period resurrected the names of Emperor Constantine I and Pope Sylvester - the figures of highest authority linked with King Trdat and St. Gregory the Illuminator (Appendix in manuscripts of Agatangeghos) to secure for the Armenian Catholicosate the status identical to the Latin Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria.<sup>27</sup>

2. In return the Catholic Church demanded from the Armenian Church to recognise the Primacy of the Pope and acceptance of the ecclesiastical authority of Rome.

3. The Pope gave dispensation for mixed marriages between the royal houses of Armenia and Cyprus.

Modern historical research has proved that the popes claim to primacy is based on explicit False Decretals. The highly influential forgery that granted primacy to Pope Silvester over the churches of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, Jerusalem was extended to include the See of Holy Etchmiadzin in the 13<sup>th</sup> century according to a forged document called *Dashants T’ught’* [Դաշանց Թուղթ] [Letter of Concord]. It is fair to also mention that in Imperial Byzantium those Armenians whose first allegiance was to Byzantium were considered outsiders ‘they are Armenians only in language and script, but in everything else altogether in agreement with the Greeks and their writings as can be seen at present from the realm of the Romans to Greece’.<sup>28</sup>

The definition of the Infallibility of the Pope was formulated in *Pastor Aeternus* of the

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յընդհանուր յեկեղեցիս Քրիստոսի» (Head of the Apostles Peter and Paul, who holds the keys of heaven and earth and has authority from the west to the east over all nations and peoples and all languages that confess Christ, binder and absolver on earth and heaven’) see Karapet vard.Shahnazareants, «Դաշանց թղթի քննութիւնն ու ներումը» (A study of ‘The Letter of Concord’ and its rejection), Paris, 1862, p. 12. Peter Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die armenier im Fruhen und Hohen Mittelalter...kirchenunion im Jahre 1198*, Wien, 1996

<sup>26</sup> Quoted by Saunders J. J., *Aspects of the Crusades*, Canterbury, 1968, p. 62. in chapter V. The Armenian Ally, pp.52-65.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Armenian Church leaders reiterated this legend once again in the sixteenth century consciously and deliberately, believing that the Roman Church would assist them in achieving their national aspiration of setting up a printing press in Rome to print an Armenian Bible’. See Vrej Nersessian, *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books 1512-1850*, The British Library, 1980, pp. 10- 12. The support was denied and the first Classical Armenian Bible was printed in ‘heretical’ Amsterdam in 1666 [ Bl. Or. 70. bb. 2).

<sup>28</sup> Garsoian Nina, G. ‘The problem of Armenian integration into the Byzantine Empire’ in *Studies on the internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (eds.) Helene Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou, Washington D. C., 1998, p. 104-06. In the Cilician period differentiation was drawn between race and doctrine. The most explicit expression of this is the comment of Catholicos Nerses Shnorhal about King Levon I «որ էր հայ ըստ ազգի եւ հաւատոյ» (was of the Armenian race and faith). Similar to this is the declaration of Prince Smbat Orbelian «Հաւատով քրիստոնէայ եմ եւ ազգաւ հայ» (‘I am Christian by faith and Armenian by race’). The historian Matthew of Edessa acknowledging that Philaretos *doux* of Antioch and T’at’ul of Marash were Chalcedonian by confession but despite that they are «ազգաւ հայ են» (‘Armenian by race’) adding that Philaretos’s «Վարքն եւ կրօնքն զՀռոմոնցն ունիւր, եւ հայրենեօքն եւ մարենեօքն Հայ էր» (‘His habits and religion were according to the Romans, but was Armenian by race and motherland’). Finally most revealing is the comment of one of the executioners to Prince Toros I «Դու հայ մարդ ես, եւ մենք Հռոմի իշխանք, զի՞նչ կամիս պատասխանի տա զՀռոմոնց թագաւորին» to which Prince T’oros responds «Ո՞վ էիք դուք. որ զայր հօգոր եւ օծեալ թափաւոր Հայոց սպանանէիք, եւ կամ զի՞նչ պատասխանի ետուք ազգին Հայոց» (‘you are an Armenian and we are Roman princes’ what response do you have for the Roman king’ to which T’oros replies ‘Who were you, when you murdered the courageous and anointed king of the Armenians, or what response do you have to the Armenian nation’. See L. Ter Petrosyan «Խաչակիրները եւ Հայերը» (The Crusaders and the Armenians), Erevan, 2007, vol. II, pp. 30-32.; V. A. Arutyunova-Fidanyan ‘The ethno-confessional self-awareness of Armenian Chalcedonians’, *REA*, n. s. 21 (1988-89), pp. 531-58.

First Vatican Council (1869-1870). The primacy of Peter is based by the Council on two of the Petrine texts: Matt. xvi. 16-19 and John xxi, 15-17; the third, Luke xxii. 32, is taken as dealing not with jurisdiction but with infallibility. The perpetuation of a primacy accorded to Peter cannot be sustained. For, in the earliest episcopal lists of Roman church and the Canon of the Mass, Linus was by the appointment of Peter and Paul the first bishop of Rome. Peter was never bishop of Rome. He had no successors in that see. And no bishop of Rome succeeded to his prerogatives.<sup>29</sup> According to the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and Vatican I (1828), the bishops are the successors of the apostles and thus also agents of the infallibility assured to the ecclesiastical teaching office. The Church itself is alone infallible as the mystical presence of Christ on earth. The only infallible entity is the Church itself.

The doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit, that is, the idea that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (Lat. a *patre filioque*). The council in Lyons (1274) and again in Florence (1439) sought to impose acceptance on the Eastern Churches failed, and it remains a barrier to the profession of a common Christian faith. Pope Paul VI (d. 1978) meeting with Orthodox referred to the meeting at Lyons as a “Western synod” rather than as an ecumenical council.

The betrayal of the faith the Armenian Catholicos Grigor II Vkeyaser had placed on Pope Gregory VII never materialised, despite the role the Armenian Kingdom played in the political and cultural sphere. J. J. Saunders in his short essay ‘*The Armenian Ally*’ has this epitaph for Little Armenia

‘Thus Little Armenia disappeared from history, and has been almost completely forgotten. Yet its role was not a negligible one, either in the political or in the cultural sphere. For three hundred years, as long a time as separates us from the England of Charles II, it upheld the Christian faith in the old homeland of St Paul against the assaults of Seljuks from the north and the Mamluks from the south’.<sup>30</sup>

### Ամփոփում

451 թ. Քաղքեղոնի ժողովը պատճառ դարձաւ առաքելական եկեղեցու բաժանումին: Հայ եկեղեցին [Ասորի, Ղպտի, Հապէշ եւ Մալաբար] եկեղեցիների հետ մերժեց Քաղքեղոնի եւ Լեւոն Պապի «Տօմարի» Քրիստոսաբանական բանաձեւումները ո՛չ թէ որպէս արդիւնք «Թիւրիմացութեան» կամ «համառութեան», այլ «հաստատամտութեան»։ «Քաղքեղոն ոչ գիտեմ, և ոչ զԼեւոն ճանանչեմ: Զօրէնս նորա ոչ գիտեմ, և դատող մեղաց նորա ոչ լինիմ» ի վկայութենէ այլոց»: Հայ եկեղեցու պատմութիւնն անհնարին է տարանջատել իր ազգի պատմութիւնից: Կաթողիկ պատմաբան Ադրիան Ֆորտեսքիւն Արեւելեան եկեղեցիներին նուիրած իր պատմութեան մէջ գրում է. «Երբ մի Ղպտի կամ Հայ մի ուրիշ եկեղեցու անդամ է դառնում, Ղպտին այլեւս Ղպտի չի համարում, ոչ էլ Հայը՝ Հայ» (Adrian Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, London, 1913, p. 447):

Բիւզանդիան իրեն համարում էր Հռոմէական կայսրութեան իրաւյաջորդը եւ կայսրը՝ «Երկնաւորին յերկրի անուանակիր եւ աթոռակալ»: Իսկ Կաթողիկ եկեղեցին, իրականացնելով Կլունիական [Cluniacs] վանականութեան առաքելութիւն՝ բարձրաց-

<sup>29</sup> B. J. Kidd, *The Roman Primacy to A. D. 461*, SPCK, London, 1936, p. 154-155, D. Stone, in his *The Christian Church, maintains that 'St Cyril considered that the Petrine text were not allusion to any special position among the Apostles, but as a renewal of St. Peter's office as an Apostle, as a mark that his sin in denying our Lord had been forgiven', The Church Quarterly Review (January, 1897), p. 201.*

<sup>30</sup> Saunders J., *Aspects of the Crusades*, *ibid*, p. 63.

նելու Կաթողիկ եկեղեցու հեղինակութիւնը 1073 թ., Լատերանի ժողովում իր թողարկած «Լնդհանրական Կոնգակով», Հռոմի Պապին հռչակեց «աթոռակալ գլխաւորը Առաքելոց Պետրոսի եւ Պօղոսի»։ Ռուս պատմաբան Ֆ. Ուսպենսկին երկու այս միտումները բնութագրում է «կայսերա-պապական» եւ «պապա-կայսերական»։ Այս երկու միտումներն էլ առկայ են «Դաշանց Թուղթ» եւ 'Narratio de rebus Armeniae' կեղծուած վաւերագրերում՝ ստեղծուած լատինամիտ եւ քաղկեդոնամիտ կողմնակիցների կողմից որպէս «եկեղեցական միութիւնը հիմնաւորող միջոցներից մէկը» (Ա. Յովհաննիսեան, «Դրրւագներ հայ ազատագրական մտքի պատմութեան», հ. Ա, Երեւան, 1957 թ., էջ. 74)։

Եկեղեցիների միարարական բանակցութիւնների ամենայագեցուած շրջանն ընկնում է ԺԱ-ԺԴ դարերի միջեւ։

Կիլիկեան շրջանի հայ-լատինական միջ-եկեղեցական յարաբերութիւններն սկըսում է Գրիգոր Բ. Վկայասէր կաթողիկոսի (1066-1105) եւ Հռոմի Գրիգորիոս է. Պապի (1073-1085) գահակալութեան օրօք (1080 թ.) եւ շարունակում մինչեւ Կիլիկեան թագաւորութեան անկումը։ Մեսրոպ Ա. Արտազեցու (1359-1372) եւ Կոստանդին Գ. Թագաւորի (1344-63) օրօք ժողով է գումարւում՝ միաբանողների ագրեսիւ գործունէութիւնը կասեցնելու եւ արեւելեան հայրերի համագործակցութիւնը շահելու պատրուակով եւ դրանով ընդմիջտ կասեցնելու միարարական շարժման ոտնձգութիւնները։ Պայքարն աւարտւում է Կիլիկեան թագաւորութեան անկումով 1375 թ. եւ Ամենայն Հայոց կաթողիկոսութեան վերադարձով Սուրբ էջմիածին 1441 թ.։ Աթոռի փոխադրութիւնից յետոյ, Ստեփանոս Ե. Սալմաստեցին (1541-1566) առաջին (ոչ թէ Վազգէն Ա-ը) կաթողիկոսն է եղել, որ այցելել է Հռոմ եւ անձամբ տեսակցել Պօղոս Գ. (1534-1549) եւ Յուլիոս Գ. (1550-1553)՝ համոզուած լինելով որ պապերը «ամենայն ազգաց եւ ազանց եւ լեզուաց քրիստոսադաւանից, կապօղ եւ արձակօղ ի յերկինս եւ յերկրի եւ հրամանահան հզօր ընդհանուր յեկեղեցիս Քրիստոսի» (Դաշանց Թուղթ, էջ. 12)։

Խաչակրաց արշաւանքները մարդկութեան անցեալի պատմութեան ամենամեծ արկածախնդրութիւններից մէկն է համարւում, որը «ոչ մի նպաստ չբերեց արեւելեան, արեւմտեան եկեղեցիների մերձեցմանը, այլ ընդհակառակը՝ վնասեց եկեղեցիների միութեան ջանքերը» (Adrian Fortescue, The Orthodox Eastern Church, 1907, p. 228)։ Կաթողիկ եկեղեցին հայ եկեղեցու եւ Կիլիկեան պետութեան համագործակցութիւնը ապահովելու համար, զանազան պարգեւներ եւ պատուոյ նշաններ շնորհեց հայոց կաթողիկոսին՝ տալով նրան «Պապ Արեւելից» տիտղոսը եւ միաժամանակ տքնում էր դաւանափոխութեամբ հայ եկեղեցին միացնել կաթողիկոսութեան։

Արեւելեան հայրերի համառ պայքարի բարձրագոյն նշանակէտն էր պահպանել հայ եկեղեցու ինքնութիւնը եւ անկախութիւնը՝ ունենալով այս նշանաբանը. «յայտ առնելով՝ զի թէպէտ եւ աթոռս տարագրեցաւ ըստ մեղաց մերոց՝ ի մէջ այլասեռից, եւ աշխարհ մեր յանօրինաց ի ստրկութիւն մատնեցաւ, սակայն հիմն հաստատութեան մեր նոքա են, եւ գլխոյն անհնար է առանց անդամացն՝ գործոյ իրիք կատարումն առնել» (Ներսէս Շնորհալի, «Թուղթ Լնդհանրական», 1825, էջ. 99)։

Այս յօդուածում հեղինակը ժամանակագրական կարգով տալիս է դարերի ընթացքում տեղի ունեցած յայտնի իրադարձութիւնների պատմութիւնը՝ երկու եկեղեցիների միջեւ միութիւնը վերականգնելու ջանքերին, իսկ իր մրցակիցը՝ կաթողիկ եկեղեցին, ի դին մերձեցման, պահանջում է հայ եկեղեցու լատինականացումը։



**Abbreviations**

BS – Byzantinoslavica  
 CUP – Cambridge University Press  
 ECR – Eastern Churches Review  
 HHT – Hask Hayagitakan Taregirk'  
 JECS- Journal of Eastern Christian Studies  
 ODB -Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium  
 ODCC – Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 3rd ed.  
 REB- Revue Etudes Byzantines  
 RHC – Recueil des historiens des croisades  
 SCPF – Sacra Congregation de Propaganda Fide  
 SVTQ- Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly

REV.D. DR. NERSESS NERSESSIAN

### ԽՈՏՔ ԵՒ ԽՕՍՔ

*Մաքուր սիրտը կրնայ որեւէ բան իրագործել: Եթէ հարց տաք թէ ի՞նչ կ'ընէ տիեզերքը, քաջ գիտցէ՛ք որ ան լուռ կ'ունկնդրէ մեր մէն մի ցանկութեան:*

*Սէրը ամէն տեղ ներկայ է, սակայն կարգ մը անհատներու մօտ ան պատնէշուած է վախի պատճառով:*

*Եթէ կը քննադատես եւ յանցանքը միշտ կը բեռցնես ուրիշներուն վրայ, կը նշանակէ թէ դուն կը խուսափիս անձիդ հետ առնչուած իրականութենէ մը:*

*Մարդ միշտ պարտի պարապուծին մը, միջոց մը ստեղծել իր սրտին մէջ, որպէսզի սէրը գայ ու լեցնէ զայն:*

*Միակ ուժեղը՝ մարդն է, որ կրնայ սէրը ճանչնալ. միայն սէրն է որ կրնայ գեղեցկութիւնը պահել, եւ միայն գեղեցիկն է որ կրնայ արուեստ ծնիլ:*

*Մենք է որ արգելքներ ու պատնէշներ կը դնենք մեր սիրոյ ճամբուն վրայ անսէր ըլլալու համար:*