

DID VARDAPET MINAS TOKHATETSI, BISHOP OF THE ARMENIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA, MAKE A CONFESSION OF FAITH IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN 1686?

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According to the accepted scholarly narrative, Minas Vardapet Tokhatetsi (*Zilifdar-Oghlu Aleksanian*), Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania, made a confession of faith (*professio fidei*, *la professione della Fede Cattolica*) in Rome in the presence of Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini (1635-1700), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw (Poland) and Vardan Hunanean (1644-1715), Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg (*Leopolis*, *Leopoli*, *Lwów*, *L'vov*, now *Lviv* in the *Ukraine*), at the end of 1686.

Oxendio Virziresco (1654-1715), an Armenian Uniate priest born in Moldavia and educated at the Armenian College in Lemberg and the Urbanian College in Rome, was the missionary delegated from Rome and the main figure in bringing about the church-union of the Armenians in Transylvania with the Roman Catholic Church. On the other hand, very little is known of Bishop Minas, who led the Armenian refugees from Moldavia (*Moldova*, *Pultán*) and Poland to Transylvania between 1668 and 1672.

This article aims at analysing the circumstances of Bishop Minas's pontificate in Transylvania and re-examining the above-mentioned scholarly view on the basis of newly-found sources in the archives of the Holy See. This study is presented as a mere critical analysis of the manuscript documents kept in the archives of the Holy See in Rome.

Very little is available in the archival documents concerning the person of Bishop Minas. He was born in the province of Tokhat (now in Turkey), ca. 1610, and educated at the Edjmiatsin Seminary, Armenia. He was ordained by Catholicos Pilippos Aghbaketsi (1633-1655) as Bishop of the Armenians in Moldavia in 1649. The Armenian Prelacy of Moldavia was under the supremacy of the Armenian Archbishop in Lemberg from a jurisdictional point of view from the time of its foundation in 1509.¹ At a time when the Armenian Apostolic Archbishopry in Lemberg, led by Archbishop Nikol Torosowicz (1604-1681), had undergone a controversial church-union with Rome, the Armenian Prelacy in Moldavia was regarded as one of the last strongholds resisting this church-union trend. The Bishop himself was against any processes aimed at confessionally uniting the Armenian Apostolic Church with Rome.²

Because of his active involvement in revolts against the hard fiscal policies of Gheorghe Duca (1665-1666, 1668-1672, 1678-1683), Prince of Moldavia, Bishop Minas and his Armenians were forced to flee from Moldavia to Transylvania in 1668.³ Initially, their stay in Transylvania was to be temporary, as they planned to return to Moldavia as soon as the political situation returned to normalcy. And indeed, after Prince Duca's final fall in 1683, many Armenians returned to

Moldavia. A fragmentary manuscript written in Armenian narrates that Bishop Minas was burning with desire to be back in Moldavia. In fact, the Prelate was concerned that he would be removed from his diocese on the pretext of his escape from Moldavia.⁴

His fear was thoroughly justified. Catholicos Hakob Djughayetsi (1655-1680), unaware of the real reason for the Armenians' escape from Moldavia, interpreted Bishop Minas's act as if he had left the Prelacy in Moldavia vacant on purpose. Accordingly, the Catholicos appointed and ordained Vardapet Anat'olios Țusot as the new Bishop of the Armenians in Moldavia to replace Bishop Minas. But the newly-appointed Bishop was not able to reach his post because of the Polish-Ottoman war of 1672, which resulted in another en masse emigration of Armenians from Poland to Transylvania. During the war, the Saint John Monastery in Suceava, the Armenian Bishops' residence in Moldavia, was occupied by Polish troops and was used as a military stronghold against the Ottoman Turks.⁵ Thus, Bishop Țusot had to wait in Galați, Moldavia. At the same time, despite his removal from his post, Bishop Minas was allowed to retain his episcopal title. Nevertheless, the measure taken by the Armenian Catholicos made it impossible for Bishop Minas to return to Moldavia. He was obliged to stay in Transylvania.⁶

As mentioned above, according to the generally accepted scholarly view, due to Virziresco's missionary persuasion, Bishop Minas made a confession of faith in the Roman Catholic Church in Lemberg in the presence of Cardinal Pallavicini and Hunanean at the end of 1686. After his confession of faith, Bishop Minas prepared to return to his people in Transylvania, but, on his way home, he unexpectedly fell ill and died in late 1686.

Concerning Bishop Minas's confession of faith, one may raise the valid question: how and where did this commonly accepted belief in the scholarly statements originate?

The so-called Hevenesí and Kaprinay Collections (*Collectio Hevenesiana*, *Collectio Kaprinayana*), kept in the Library of the Lóránd Eötvös State University (ELTE) in Budapest, comprise some valuable documents on the church history of the Armenians in Transylvania. Among the manuscript sources in this collection on Bishop Minas's confession of faith in the Roman Catholic Church, the best information comes from Father Rudolf Bzensky (1651-1715), a Czech-Moravian Jesuit historian, who worked as a missionary in Transylvania from 1694. Bzensky compiled some writings in Latin on the peoples and churches of Transylvania at the request of the Jesuit Gábor Hevenesí (1654-1715) at the end of the 17th century. Furthermore, Bzensky was on very good terms with Virziresco. Bzensky devoted a subchapter to the Armenians, describing their history from the time of their settlement in Transylvania to Virziresco's ordination as a Uniate Bishop in 1691. According to his narrative, Bishop Minas, prior to Virziresco's pastoral activity, went to Lemberg, to negotiate with Nuncio Pallavicini and Archbishop Hunanean on the Armenians' church-union in Transylvania. These negotiations were concluded by bishop Minas' confession of faith in the Roman Catholic Church.⁷ Actually, Bzensky confirmed almost word for word this information on Bishop Minas' confession in his other report addressed to his superiors in 1701.⁸

Other documents concerning the Armenians in Transylvania can also be found in the Hevenesi Collection. Among these is the document called "Fidelis Relatio" from 1693, attributed to an unknown Jesuit author, who tells the church-history of the Armenians from their settlement in Transylvania to the scandalous case of faith's perfidiousness between Bishop Virziresco and the Armenians in Beszterce (*Bistrița, Bistritz*) in 1692.⁹ The document is also closely related to Virziresco's pastoral activity. It is likely that Virziresco himself narrated the Armenians' history in Transylvania to the unknown Jesuit author in 1693, as it clearly reflects Virziresco's point of view on the Armenians' church-history in Transylvania. In this document, at any rate, we can read that Bishop Minas renounced his 'heretical' belief and made a confession of faith in Rome in Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini's presence in Lemberg. Thus, Bzensky's information on the Armenians is almost identical to that of the document "Fidelis Relatio".¹⁰

On the other hand, a Jesuit document called the "Annual of the Austrian Province" (*Annalis Provinciae Austriacae*), attributed to an unknown author from the year 1697 and found in the Central Archives of the Jesuit Order in Rome (*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*), summarises very briefly the Armenians' history in Transylvania. This document maintains that Bishop Minas and Bishop Oxendio together were the creators of the Armenians' church-union with Rome in Transylvania.¹¹

Fourteen years after Bishop Minas's death, an interesting document emerged from the Holy See archive concerning this act. In 1700, Father Sebastiano Maria Accorsi (1691-1704), Theatine prefect of the Armenian College in Lemberg, in his report addressed to the Holy See, spoke about a certain Bishop Minas Tokhatetsi consecrated as an Armenian Bishop of Moldavia by Catholicos Sahak Kilistsi (1674-1686), Catholicos of the Armenians in Cilicia, who made a confession of faith in Rome in preparation for the Armenians' church-union in Transylvania.¹² Father Accorsi explained with many details that his information came directly from the Uniate Bishop Virziresco who, in fact, planned a mission to the Moldavia Armenians of the Apostolic faith in 1700.¹³

Father Accorsi's information on Bishop Minas seems to be very scanty. It is true, however, that there was a certain Minas Tokhatetsi who made a confession of faith in Rome in Constantinople, ca. 1700. Additionally, as we have mentioned above, the Armenian Bishop was ordained by Catholicos Pilippos in Edjmiatsin, and not by Catholicos Sahak. This Minas (Sargis) Tokhatetsi (1677-1700) was initially the Armenian Apostolic Patriarch of Jerusalem. Due to Roman Catholic missionary activities in the Near East, Patriarch Minas made a confession of faith in the Roman Catholic Church in Constantinople in 1699. Most probably, Father Accorsi confused various pieces of information, persons and names in his report addressed to the Holy See in 1700.

Accorsi's information on Bishop Minas's and Patriarch Minas's acts was clarified by an Armenian Uniate document. Uniate Bishop Step'annos Step'anosean Rošk'ay (1670-1739), a contemporary Polish-Armenian historian, in his *Jamanakagrutiun* (chronology) written in Armenian stated firmly that Patriarch Minas Tokhatetsi had made a confession of faith in Rome in Constantinople in 1700. Rošk'ay's *Jamanakagrutiun* furthermore, suggested that this Minas

Žamanakagrut' iwn was not the same Minas Tokhatetsi who was the Armenian Apostolic Bishop in Transylvania.¹⁴ But Father Accorsi's report addressed to the Holy See did not underpin clearly the fact that Bishop Minas of Transylvania made a confession of faith in Lemberg in 1686.

Actually, these documents (namely Father Bzensky's narratives, the document "Fidelis Relatio", the Annual of the Austrian Jesuit Province and Father Accorsi's report) were explicitly well-informed on the confessional circumstances of the Armenians in Transylvania in the 1690s. Obviously, the authors of the documents obtained their information directly from Virziresco.¹⁵ In fact, it was these documents which seemed to confirm Bishop Minas's confession of faith in Rome at first sight.

As a result of these documents, the information about Bishop Minas's confession of faith as a historical fact spread through the Hungarian and international secondary literature with no reservation. In fact, the secondary sources concerning the Armenians' church-union in Transylvania published in Hungarian or any other language are extraordinarily meagre. Research has also been hindered by the fact that the majority of these, with a few exceptions, had already come to light in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These monographs or articles very often referred to each other, and even borrowed entire chapters - word for word - from each other. They had the same narrative on Bishop Minas' confession of faith and Bishop Virziresco's missionary efforts in Transylvania. Most authors did not go into detail, examining the pastoral activity of the two bishops.¹⁶

Andreas Ilia, an 18th century Jesuit historian, for instance, copied Bzensky's narrative on Bishop Minas' confession into his book published in 1730, which presented the peoples and religions of contemporary Transylvania.¹⁷ Father Ilias's data on Bishop Minas were taken by Father Christopher Lukácsy, a priest of an Armenian Uniate Parish in Armenopolis (*Gherla, Szamosújvár*), Transylvania. In his book *Historia Armenorum Transsylvaniae* written in Latin in 1859, Father Lukácsy elaborated the church history of the Armenians in Transylvania from the beginning to his time. Lukácsy's information on Bishop Minas coincided with that of Father Ilia's book.¹⁸ The Polish-Armenian historian and Uniate priest Father Gregorio Petrowicz, in his book *La Chiesa Armena* on the history of the Armenian Uniate Churches in Poland and its neighbouring countries published in 1988 in Rome, dedicated some sketchy chapters to the Armenians' church history in Transylvania. Father Petrowicz, likewise, adopted Lukácsy's narration on Bishop Minas' confession of faith in Rome and accepted it as a historical fact.¹⁹

As a result, historiography regarded Bishop Minas's confession as a *fait accompli*. These documents and monographs unanimously confirmed that Bishop Minas had become faithful to the Roman Catholic Church. Nonetheless, Bishop Minas' confession raises a question to which the said sources have no satisfactory answer. These sources do not state that Bishop Minas made a confession of faith in Rome, preparing the Armenians in Transylvania for the church union. In fact, the circumstances of Bishop Minas' confession of faith in Rome have not been definitively clarified. Thus, we should have doubts about Bishop Minas' confession of faith in Rome.

From the Holy See viewpoint, multi-religious Transylvania was considered a missionary target. In the late 17th century, the process called Counter-Reformation, or in other words Catholic Renewal, led by the Observant Franciscans, Conventual Franciscans (Minorities), Paulines and Jesuits, was gradually getting under way in Transylvania. However, the laws of Transylvania, drawn up by the politically strong Protestant elite as a reaction to the gradual expansion of the Counter-Reformation in other Hungarian provinces in the late 17th century, did not permit the Catholics to have their own Bishop-in-diocese.²⁰

Therefore, there was no possibility for the Holy See to send Catholic missionaries to the Armenians in Transylvania for nearly twenty years after the Armenians' escape (1668-1685) from Moldavia to Transylvania. However, Bertalan Szebellébi (1631-1707), the Roman Catholic Bishop's vicar in Transylvania, and the Observant Franciscans in Transylvania attempted to convert the Armenians to Catholicism. Their attempts, though, were systematically blocked by harsh resistance led by Bishop Minas and his clergy in the late 1670s.²¹

Consequently, the Armenian Uniate Archbishopric in Lemberg initiated Catholic missions among the Armenians in Transylvania in 1683 creating the church union. The Archbishopric's wish to unite the Transylvania Armenians with the Roman Catholic Church was due to the fact that it had jurisdiction over the Armenians of Moldavia and Poland. It seems that the Armenians in Transylvania avoided the spiritual leadership of Lemberg, because they emigrated from regions - namely Moldavia and Poland - which were under the Uniate Archbishop's ecclesiastical jurisdiction.²² Therefore, the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*), the Holy See's Missionary Institution in Rome, in agreement with the Armenian Uniate Archbishop's intention in Lemberg, delegated Virziresco, to lead a mission among the Armenians in Transylvania in 1685. His mission seemed to be self-evident for the Holy See. Virziresco's ultimate task was to bring about the Armenians' church union and organise the Armenian Uniate Church in Transylvania.²³

Due to initial difficulties, and particularly the Armenian Apostolic priests' resistance, Virziresco's pastoral activity proved to be very hard. The Armenians in Transylvania, exhorted by the Armenian priests, attempted to kill Virziresco twice, because the missionary himself was regarded as a "heretical priest" loyal to "heretical Rome". Besides, the Armenians, primarily the clergy, had a vivid memory of the scandalous church-union process led by Archbishop Torosowicz, which had caused harm to the Armenian colonies and churches in Moldavia and Poland. Nonetheless, Virziresco was certain that the key to uniting the Armenians in Transylvania with the Roman Catholic Church was to convince Bishop Minas to convert to Catholicism.²⁴

Virziresco, in his long report sent to the Holy See in autumn 1686, gave an account of his relations with Bishop Minas. In his report, Virziresco related that he was accused by the Armenians of being a spy. In fact, Bishop Minas and his followers got hold of his letters addressed to Federico Veterani (1650-1695), a military general at the service of the Habsburg Court in Vienna, and Bishop Deodatus Nersesowicz (1647-1709), coadjutor of the Uniate Archbishop's Office in Lemberg.²⁵ Allegedly, Virziresco sent confidential accounts to them of the

political and religious situation in Transylvania. On this pretext, the Armenians wanted Virziresco to be expelled from Transylvania.²⁶ Minas and his clergy laid a charge against him with Michel Apafi (1661-1690), Prince of Transylvania. The accusation, however, yielded no result, for reasons unknown to us. In any case, Virziresco continued his missionary work in Transylvania without any further difficulties.²⁷

In his report of 1686, Virziresco referred to Bishop Minas as an old and ill person and said that he had made an effort to persuade Bishop Minas to convert to Catholicism. His effort to persuade Bishop Minas to pursue negotiations with a view to an eventual church union with Rome was, apparently, crowned with success. He succeeded, with the help of his family who had emigrated with Bishop Minas from Moldavia to Transylvania in 1668, in escorting him to Lemberg and inducing him to negotiate on a possible church union with the Uniate Archbishop Hunanean. Virziresco expected a lot from this negotiation because he believed that, owing to their Armenian origins, both Bishop Minas and Archbishop Hunanean would be able to agree upon the confession of faith and the church union. (Both Bishop Minas and Archbishop Vardan were born in the same province of Tokhat.)²⁸ All that can be stated with certainty is that Bishop Minas left for Lemberg with Virziresco at the end of 1686 in order to enter into negotiations with Archbishop Hunanean.

The documents kept at the Historical Archive of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome render accounts only of Bishop Minas's negotiations with Archbishop Vardan and his death. These sources, however, do not give any concrete information on the final result of these negotiations.²⁹ In these archives, we have not found any official or semi-official sources, i.e. reports, letters and documents, which would confirm Bishop Minas' confession of faith. Furthermore, there are no such documents emanating from Pallavicini, either. Thus, there is not a single source in the archives of the Holy See which confirms beyond any doubt that Bishop Minas met Nuncio Pallavicini personally in Lemberg in 1686. The documents found in the official portfolios related to the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna or in Warsaw, preserved in the Vatican Secret Archives (*Archivio Segreto Vaticano*), reveal nothing in this regard. In light of this, the following is a valid question: what explains the silence of these official documents on Bishop Minas's confession of faith?

The answer to this question seems to be very simple. The reason for the silence of the sources is that Bishop Minas did not make any confession of faith with Rome in the presence of Nuncio Pallavicini and Archbishop Hunanean in Lemberg in 1686. There is no trace of any document which confirms the confession of faith of Bishop Minas in Lemberg in the files concerning the years 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689 and 1690 in the archives of the Holy See.

All the same, Archbishop Hunanean, in his two letters sent to the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith on 14th of February 1687, offered a very valuable account of his relations with Bishop Minas. In these letters the Archbishop mentioned Bishop Minas' death and Virziresco's fruitful pastoral activity in very difficult circumstances in the preceding two years.³⁰ Furthermore, Hunanean referred to chaos or conflict among the Armenians in Transylvania,

caused by Bishop Minas' sudden death. According to his letters, the Armenians in Transylvania argued over the deceased Bishop's succession. But Archbishop Hunanean does not give any exact information on Bishop Minas's confession of faith. He rather emphasises that due to Bishop Minas's death, a Uniate Bishop or an Apostolic Vicar or an Apostolic Administrator should be appointed, ordained, and delegated by the Holy See to the Armenians in Transylvania, because the Armenian Catholicos in Edjmiatsin wanted to appoint a new Bishop for them. This newly-appointed Bishop could be Theodoros Vartanowicz (1652-1700), a Polish-Armenian priest, born in Lemberg, who wanted to enter Transylvania.³¹ Therefore, Archbishop Hunanean himself strongly recommended Virziresco to the Holy See to be appointed as an Apostolic Vicar.³² Hunanean's view happened to coincide with Virziresco's proposal to the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome in 1686, because he reported in his long narrative that the Uniate Bishop's status should be strongly upheld in the near future provided Bishop Minas were reluctant to accept the church-union with Rome.³³ Indeed, Virziresco had real ambitions to be appointed as a Uniate Bishop at the head of the Armenians in Transylvania.

Rošk'ay described the circumstances of Bishop Minas's death and funeral. He revealed that Bishop Minas had been suffering from a disease, namely kidney-stone problems for a long time.³⁴ However, like Archbishop Hunanean, Rošk'ay said nothing about Bishop Minas's confession of faith. Consequently, the accounts of Archbishop Hunanean and Bishop Rošk'ay about Bishop Minas are unanimous in suggesting that the negotiations with Bishop Minas on his confession of faith in Rome bore no results.

Recently, new documents written by Bishop Minas himself have been discovered in the Archives of the Holy See. These are about his negotiation with Archbishop Hunanean in Lemberg. Bishop Minas brought two Armenian illuminated codices known as *Harants Vark* and *Djarentir* to explain the orthodoxy of the Armenian Apostolic Church to Archbishop Hunanean, because the Catholic Church had been against the dogmas of the Armenian Apostolic Church ever since the Fourth Ecumenical Synod in Chalcedon in 451. On the basis of these two codices, Bishop Minas flatly rejected the Armenians' heresy and schismatism.³⁵ So, it can be concluded that, instead of a confession of faith, a religious dispute took place in Lemberg over the dogmas and orthodoxy of the Armenian Apostolic Church during the 'negotiation' between the Uniate Archbishop Hunanean and the Apostolic Bishop Minas. Consequently, Bishop Minas went to Lemberg to dispute with Archbishop Hunanean about the dogmas and not to negotiate about a confession of faith or a church union with Rome.

Generally, the Armenians' tenacious adherence to their religion and language, the carriers of Armenian consciousness, always helped to preserve Armenian culture and national identity in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. For that matter, the Church symbolised national unity among the Armenians living in the Motherland or in the Diaspora. To preserve religion, language, identity and culture was, however, even more difficult in the Diaspora. That was the reason why the Armenian Apostolic Church was reluctant to accept church-union and struggled

against all kinds of church union attempts from Constantinople (Byzantium) and Rome alike throughout its history.

The non-existence of Bishop Minas's confession of faith is further confirmed by Virziresco's report sent to the Holy See from Transylvania in spring 1687. In his report, written in Italian, Virziresco stated that Bishop Minas died as a heretic and schismatic and not as a Uniate Bishop. Furthermore, he reported that he saw a great chance of being appointed as a Uniate Bishop among the Armenians in Transylvania because of the vacancy caused by Bishop Minas's death.³⁶ All in all, Virziresco evidently denied the fact that Bishop Minas had made a confession of faith in Rome.

On 2 May 1688 in Lemberg, Virziresco wrote another report addressed to the Holy See on his relations with Bishop Minas. He narrated again, very succinctly, Bishop Minas's death. Furthermore, he reminisced about the conflicts of Bishop Minas and his clergy in Transylvania in 1686. Virziresco wanted to forbid Bishop Minas and his priests to continue their "heretic" and "schismatic" Armenian liturgy in churches and private houses. Consequently, it does not seem likely that Bishop Minas and his clergy in Transylvania were willing to accept the church union with Rome in 1686.³⁷ In fact, this report suggests that Virziresco, propagating Catholicism as a Uniate missionary in Transylvania, had a very conflictual relation with Bishop Minas.

At any rate, in these two letters sent to the Holy See in 1687 and 1688 Virziresco undermined Bishop Minas's confession of faith as a historical fact. However, Virziresco expressed a different view about Bishop Minas's confession of faith to Father Bzensky, Father Accorsi and the unknown author of the document called "Fidelis Relatio" between 1693 and 1701. The propagation of Bishop Minas's confession of faith with Rome as a fact was in Virziresco's interest, because he was eager to be appointed as a Uniate Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania.

To sum up, Oxendio Virziresco's long missionary reports on his pastoral activity in Transylvania in 1686, 1687 and 1688 confirm that he was on no good terms with the late Bishop Minas from both the confessional and dogmatic point of view. This seems to attest that Bishop Minas himself was unwilling to negotiate upon a confession of faith or a possible church union in Rome. Furthermore, this could also suggest that religious disputes were recurrent in Lemberg, but not a confession of faith with Rome.

Nevertheless, there are three documents preserved in the ELTE State University's Library, Budapest (two documents written by the Jesuit missionary Bzensky and one document called "Fidelis Relatio"), and one document at the Holy See and the Jesuits' Central Archives from 1693, 1694, 1697, 1700 and 1701, which describe vividly Bishop Minas's confession of faith in Lemberg. This information has spread through Hungarian and international historiography without any reservations. All five of these documents attributed to the Jesuit and Theatine fathers' activity in Poland and Transylvania, however, were closely linked with Virziresco's missionary activity in Transylvania. He had evidently narrated in them the full history of the Armenians in Transylvania, including Bishop Minas's life and activity.

Bishop Minas's confession of faith in Rome in Lemberg was presumably propagated as a historical fact by Virziresco himself. Consequently, it was in Virziresco's interest to spread this information because he was eager to be nominated and ordained as a Uniate Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania. Therefore, he stated that the late Bishop Minas died as a Uniate - and not an (Eastern) Apostolic - Bishop after he conducted negotiations in Lemberg in 1686. In fact, Virziresco had created a story to legitimise, or a legend to justify his exclusive right to become Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania after the death of Bishop Minas. In this manner, he had managed to lead astray his contemporaries as well as posterity with his story.

If Bishop Minas had really made a confession of faith in Rome in Lemberg in 1686, scholars would surely have found several documents regarding this event in the Archives of the Holy See. For, the Roman Catholic Church always followed with great attention cases of Eastern Christian prelates' uniating with Rome from the confessional point of view. In addition, the Holy See usually documented well this kind of event. Thus, Bishop Minas's confession of faith in Rome proves to be a myth, rather than a reality.

Document

Oxendio Virziresco's letter to Archbishop Edoardo Cybo (1619-1705), Titular Archbishop of Seleucia, Secretary of Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, Rome.

Date and Place: Spring 1687, Transylvania (now in Romania).

Language: Contemporary Italian with contemporary orthography.

Document: APF CU (=Collegio Urbano). Vol. 3, Fol. 472/r-v (Rome, Italy).

Contents (Abstract, Regestum): *Oxendio Virziresco has returned from Poland to Transylvania. He feared that his pastoral activity was in danger at first sight, but, by God's grace, his missionary work remained immune. Thus, he managed to convert another nine Armenians in Transylvania to the Roman Catholic Faith.*

Oxendio Virziresco says in his report that there are still Armenians in Transylvania who are against the Roman Catholic Faith at this moment. On this pretext, Oxendio wants to be in touch with the Roman Catholic Bishopric's Vicar in Transylvania as his prelate because he would like to receive a letter of recommendation from the Vicar in order to handle the problem of the Armenians in Transylvania who are against the Roman Catholic Faith.

In the meantime, Virziresco describes how he met Archbishop Vito Pilutio da Vignatello in Transylvania on his way back to Rome. The latter told Virziresco about innumerable afflictions he faced in Moldavia, Poland and Transylvania. The Archbishop also said that there was an Armenian Bishop in Poland, (namely Johannes Bernatowicz), who had caused very serious problems to the Roman Catholic Church. Furthermore, (referring to Archbishop Vito's account), this Polish Bishop's sins were much more serious than those that heretical Bishops had committed before.

Finally, Virziresco renders account of the death of the heretic Bishop Minas Tokhatetsi. Furthermore, he regards his death as a favorable moment for the Holy See to fill the deceased heretic Bishop's seat with a Catholic (Uniate) Bishop in Transylvania.

Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signore Padrone Colendissimo!

Ritornato dalla³⁸ Polonia al medesimo luogo degli³⁹ Armeni, trovai tutte⁴⁰ le mie fatiche in grande pericolo, ma con la grazia⁴¹ di⁴² Dio, non⁴³ patirono nessun⁴⁴ detrimento, anzi crebbero con nove conversioni degl'altri Armeni, non mancavano⁴⁵ però⁴⁶ quelli⁴⁷ que⁴⁸ resistevano⁴⁹ alla verità catholica, per le sollevazioni⁵⁰ dei quali attualmente me ne vado⁵¹ appresso⁵² il Signore Vicario Generale di questo regno di Transilvania,⁵³ al quale, perchè⁵⁴ io, sarebbe ottimo inviare⁵⁵ una⁵⁶ lettera⁵⁷ di⁵⁸ raccomandatione, mi incontrai con il Monsignore Vito⁵⁹ che ritornava⁶⁰ a Roma,⁶¹ ma il povero arcivescovo⁶² n'ha patito⁶³ tali e tante cose, che sarebbe molto a riferirle qui, ma quel polacco vescovo,⁶⁴ come testimoniavi⁶⁵, dico che fa tali scandali qui anche nel popolo e nel⁶⁶ clero catholico, che ne ho⁶⁷ anche sentito essersi commessi dai vescovi heretici.

Il vescovo heretico Minas⁶⁸ è morto, perciò prego a mandare qualcuno⁶⁹ al⁷⁰ suo⁷¹ posto, per occupare quel posto poichè adesso è il tempo opportuno interim come (472/v.) obbedientissimo e devotissimo figlio della Chiesa Romana e della Sacra Congregazione⁷² resto anchè di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima.

Humillissimo et Ossequiissimo Servitore.

Oxendius Virzirescus.⁷³

Alumnus Congregationis Sacrae de Propaganda Fide.⁷⁴

ABBREVIATIONS

APF = Archivio storico della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o de „Propaganda Fide”, Rome, Italy.

APF Acta SC. = Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.

APF CU. = Collegio Urbano.

APF FVC. = Fondo Visite e Collegi.

APF Lettere SC. = Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione.

APF SC FA. = Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Armeni.

APF SC FM. = Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Moldavia.

APF SOCG. = Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali.

ARSI = Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy.

ARSI FA. Hist. = Fondo Austria.Historia.

ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano, Vatican City.

ASV ANV. = Archivio della Nunziatura in Vienna.

ELTE EKK = Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár és Kézirattár [Loránd Eötvös State University's Library and Archive], Budapest, Hungary.

ELTE EKK. CH. = Collectio Hevenesiana.

ELTE EKK. CK. = Collectio Kaprinayana.

MA = Matenadaran [National Archives], Yerevan, Republic of Armenia.

MA MS. = Manuscripta.

PL = *Primási Levéltár* [The Primate's Archive], Esztergom, Hungary.

PL AEV = Archivum Ecclesiasticum Vetus.

PL AEV SPK. = Sub Primatae Kollonich (1695–1707).

ENDNOTES

- ¹ APF FM. Vol. 2, Fol. 126r-127r; Հայր Ղևոնդ Ալիշան, *Կամենեց Տարեգրքը Հայոց Հեհաստանի Եւ. Բաւարիայի* (Fr. Ghevont Alishan, Kaments, yearbook of the Armenians of Poland and Romania), Venetik, 1896, pp. 125-126; Igor Nistor, *Handel und Wandel in der Moldau. Bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Czernowitz, 1912, pp. 55-57, 109.
- ² APF SC FA. Vol. 1, Fol. 525r-526v, Fol. 602r-610v; MA MS. No. 5350; Մինաս Բեշկեանց, *Ճանապարհորդութիւն Ի Հեհաստան* (Minas Bejeshkiant, A journey in Poland), Venetik, 1830, pp. 111-115; *Գաւառութիւն Առաքել Վարդապետի Դարձեցումը* (History of Arakel Vardapet Davrijetsi), Vagharshapat, 1896, pp. 228, 335, 337, 364, 367, 370-373, 375-378, 382, 384-389, 526-531, 640, 645; Gregorio Petrowicz, *L'Unione degli Armeni in Polonia con la Santa Sede (1626-1686)*, Parte prima, Roma, 1950 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 135), pp. 9-12, 14, 16, 22-23, 52, 79-80, 101-102, 104, 115, 124, 195-196, 225-229, 235, 246-251, 266-270, 295, 297, 307; Հայր Համազասպ Ոսկեան, *Ստեփանոս Բոշքայ-Փամեանկացւոյն Կամ Տարեգրքը Եւ. Եկեղեցականը* (Fr. Hamazasp Voskian, Stepanos Roshkay, Chronology or about the year- and church-events), Vienna, 1964, pp. 127, 165, 169, 172-173, 175-181, 182-195; Gayane Pingirian, "La Chapitre 28 de Livres Histoires du Arak'el Dawrižec'i et ses Sources Concernant le Mouvement des Colonies Arméniennes d'Ukraine Durant les Années 20-50 du 17 Siècle," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 14 (1980), pp. 443-457; Edmond Schütz, "An Armeno-Kipchak Document of 1640 from Lvov and its Background in Armenia and in Diaspora," *Between Danube and the Caucasus. A Collection of Papers Concerning Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe*, György Kara (ed.), Budapest, 1987, pp. 284-316; Առաքել Դարձեցի, *Գրքը Գաւառութեանց* (Arakel Davrijetsi, History book), prepared by Edvard Khanlaryan, Yerevan, 1990, pp. 293-310; Raymond Haroutioun Kévorkian, "Le Patriarcat Arménien de Constantinople et l'Occident Catholique au XVIIe Siècle," *Revue du Monde Arménien Moderne et Contemporain*, Tome I, (1994), pp. 24-26.
- ³ ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 21, p. 81; Suren Kolandjian, "Les Arméniens en Transylvanie. Xe-XVIIIe siècles," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 5 (1967), p. 359.
- ⁴ Ալիշան, *Կամենեց*, pp. 127, 197; Աշոտ Աբրահամեան, *Համառոտ Ուրուագիծ Հայ Գաղութագրի Գաւառութեան* (Ashot Abrahamian, A brief history of the Armenian colonies), Vol. 1, Yerevan, 1964, p. 352; Kolandjian, pp. 360-362.
- ⁵ "In Socziava parimente sono le chiese tutte abrugiate dai tartari; questa città è parimente presidiata dai polacchi, ma il presidio e nel vescovado degli armeni fuori della città" (APF SC FM. Vol. 2, Fol. 345r-346r; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 21, p. 81).
- ⁶ MA MS. No. 9800; Հայր Բակորոս Տաշեան, *Յուշակ Հայրիչէ Զեռադրաց Մատենադարանին Միջինարեանց Ի Հիւննա* (Fr. Hagopos Dashian, List of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Library of the Mekhitarists in Vienna), Vienna, 1895, p. 116; "Maximis incommodis patentissime, hac tamen spe hinc usque vixit, fore ut tandem aliquando, chara pace subsequente iterum ad propria in Moldaviam remigrare valeat" (Éble Gábor, *A Szamosújvári Verzár Család* (History of Family Verzár in Szamosújvár), Budapest, 1915, p. 13).

- ⁷ "Conversio episcopi Minas ad fidem Romano-Catholicam est subsecuta, qui se ideo una cum Oxendio contulit, et coram cardinale Pallavicino in Polonia nuntio apostolico professionem fidei. Absoluto haeresi Minas reversus est cum Oxendio in Transylvaniam, ubi post breve tempus laethali morbo correptus, animam creatori suo reddidit" (ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 16, p. 32); "Ut ille ipse missionarius apostolicus Oxendius non solum omnia dilueret adversa, sed etiam episcopus Minas persuaderetur ad faciendum iter Leopolum, ubi professionem fidei emisit coram eminentissimo cardinale Pallavicino, archiepiscopo Vartano, eiusque administratore ac episcopo suffraganeo. Absolutus ab haeresi Minas in Transylvaniam rediit, in morbum incidit Deoque creatori animam reddidit" (ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 23, Liber V. Cap. 16. (no pagination); Christophorus Lukácsy, *Historia Armenorum Transsylvaniae a Primordiis Usque Nostram Memoriam e Fontibus Authenticis et Documentis Antea Ineditis Elaborata*, Viennae, 1859, p. 68.
- ⁸ "Clerum Catholicum quoque adauxit continua ab A. C. 1684 praesentia Oxendii Virziresky Aladiensis Armenorum Episcopi, cujus dioecesis e Moldavia transierant in Transylvaniam, et cum antecessore Episcopo Minas, ejuratis haereticis erroribus, in gremium Catholicae Ecclesiae Romanae suscepti stationes in Transylvania stabiles obtinuerunt" (ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 29, p. 346; ELTE EKK. CK. Cod. 11, p. 112).
- ⁹ ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 21, pp. 81-84; Kornél Nagy, "The Document Fidelis Relatio (1693) and the Armenians in Transylvania. (A Memorial about the Armenians' Church in Transylvania)," *Haigazian Armenological Review*, Vol. 30, 2010, pp. 379-394.
- ¹⁰ "Minas, (qui coram eminentissimo domino Cardinale Pallavicinio haeresim abiurans), mortus est" (ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 21, p. 82).
- ¹¹ The Jesuits missions in Hungary and Transylvania always belonged to the supremacy of the Austrian Jesuit Province (*Provincia Austriaca*) in the 16th and 18th centuries. The independent Jesuit Province in Hungary was only established in 1909 (ARSI FA. Hist. Vol. 155, Fol. 81/v).
- ¹² "Morto Isaac, il patriarca consecrò vescovo in suo luogo un tale Minas, che ricovratosi in Transylvania per quare che quel tempo in Moldavia venne poi a Leopoli in tempo dell' eminentissimo Pallavicini all' hora nunzio, e nelle mani fece la professione della Fede [Cattolica] e ritornando al suo popolo non per strada" (APF SOCG. Vol. 537, Fol. 418/r-v).
- ¹³ APF Acta SC. Vol. 70, Fol. 341/v-346r; APF SOCG. Vol. 537, Fol. 417/r-v, Fol. 419r; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 89, Fol. 116r-117r.
- ¹⁴ APF SOCG. Vol. 534, Fol. 6r-7/v, Fol. 29r, Fol. 30r, Fol. 31r, Fol. 32r, Fol. 37/v, Fol. 426/r-v, Fol. 428r, Fol. 429/v; APF SOCG. Vol. 536, Fol. 244/r-v, Fol. 245r-246/v, Fol. 248r-249r, Fol. 250/r-v, Fol. 251r, Fol. 252r, Fol. 254r, Fol. 255r; PL AEV SPK, No. 361; *Ոսկեհան*, pp. 190-192; Raymond Haroutioun Kévorkian, "L'imprimerie Surb Ėjmiacin et Surb Sargis Zōrawar et le Conflict entre Arméniens et Catholiques a Constantinople," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 15 (1981), pp. 401-437; Raymond Haroutioun Kévorkian, "Documents Archives Français sur le Patriarcat Arménien de Constantinople (1701-1714)," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 19 (1985), pp. 367-370.
- ¹⁵ Antal Molnár, *Lehetetlen Küldetés? Jezsuiták Erdélyben és Felső-Magyarországon a 16-17 Században* (Mission Impossible? Jesuit Fathers in Transylvania and Upper-Hungary in the 16th and 17th Centuries), Budapest, 2009, pp. 213-215.
- ¹⁶ Lukács Bárány, "Verzirescul Oxendius I" (Oxendio Virziresco's Biography), *Arménia*, 3 (1888), pp. 67, 71; *Գրիգոր Վրդ. Գուրգիսյան, ՆշխարիՔույրիս. Դրանսիականիոյ Հայոց Մկարդպոյիս*, Vienna, 1894, pp. 10, 14-17, 122-124; Merza Gyula, *Orményi Püspökség* (The Armenian Episcopacy in Transylvania), Kolozsvár, 1896, pp. 5, 9-10; Kristóf Szongott, *Szamosújvár Szabad Királyi Város Monográfiája* (Monography of the privileged town called Szamosújvár), Vol. 3, Szamosújvár, 1901, p. 256; Antal Hodinka,

A Munkácsi Görög-Katolikus Püspökség Története (History of the Greek-Catholic Episcopacy in Munkács), Budapest, 1909, pp. 2-3; Éble, pp. 10, 15; János Karácsonyi, *Magyarország Egyháztörténete* (Church history of Hungary), Budapest, 1929, pp. 219-220; Zsolt Trócsányi, "Տրանսիլվանիայի Հայերի Իրաւական Կացութիւնը 17-րդ դարի Հրովարտակի Շրջանում (1690-1848)," *Հայ-Հունգարական Պատմական Եւ Աշխուհական Կայերի Պատմութիւնը, Վաղիմիր Բարխուդարեան-Անտալ Վարշ (յարբ.), Երեւան, 1983, p. 173.*

¹⁷ Andreas Ilia, *Ortus et Progressus Variarum in Dacia Gentium et Religionum*, Claudiopolis, 1730, pp. 64, 72.

¹⁸ "Doctor Minas Eudoxiensis (sic Tokhatetsi) Csillfidar-Oghlu (sic Zilifdarean) cognominatus episcopus moldaviensis, venit mecum Leopolim et coram cardinale [Opitio] Pallavicinio Innocenti XI. legato, qui tunc Leopoli erat, professus est fidem catholicam anno Domini 1686. Aerea armenorum 1135" (Lukácsy, p. 68); Ալիշան, *Կամեկէց*, p. 127; Gregorio Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia e Nei Paesi Limitrofi, Parte Terza, 1686-1954*, Roma, 1988 (Studia Ecclesiastica 17, Historica 10), p. 78; Paul Shore, *Jesuits and the Politics of Religious Pluralism in Eighteenth-Century Transylvania. Culture, Politics and Religion, 1693-1773*, Rome, 2007 (Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, 61), pp. 75-79.

¹⁹ Transylvania bordered upon Poland in this period (Petrowicz, *La Chiesa*, p. 82).

²⁰ APF SOCG. Vol. 510, Fol. 94r+101v; Antal Jakab, *Az Erdélyi Római Katolikus Püspöki Szék Betöltésének Problémája a XVII Században* (The problem of Roman Catholic Episcopacy's vacancy in Transylvania in the 17th Century), Kolozsvár, 1944, (Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, 172), pp. 13-17; János Temesváry, *Erdély Választott Püspökei* (The appointed Roman Catholic bishops in Transylvania), Szamosújvár, 1913-1914, pp. 52-57, 108-109; István György Tóth, "Az Első Székelyföldi Népszámlálás (Szalainai István Bosnyák Ferences Jelentése 1638)" (The first Roman Catholic conscription in Szeklerland, Transylvania. The Franciscan István Szalainai, of Bosnia's report from 1638), *Történelmi Szemle*, 40 (1998), pp. 68-69; Ferenc Galla, *Ferences Misszionáriusok Magyarországon: A Királyságban és Erdélyben a 17-18 Században* (Franciscan missionaries in Hungary: In the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania in the 17-18th centuries), Szerk, István Fazekas, Budapest-Róma, 2005, pp. 189-256, 264-272.

²¹ "Quia in dicto conventu Czikiensi sunt quidam patres ex hac provincia immo natione armeni et wallachi, qua occasione possemus armenos, qui plurimi sunt in provincia, ad unionem attrahere" (APF SC FM. Vol. 1, Fol. 155r-156r; APF FVC. Vol. 21, Fol. 3r-22r; APF SC FM. Vol. 1, Fol. 265r-267r; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 16, p. 33; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 15, p. 248; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 21, pp. 81-82; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 23, Liber V. Cap. 16 (no pagination); Tihámér Aladár Vanyó, *Püspöki Jelentések a Magyar Szent Korona Országainak Egyházmegyéiről, 1600-1850* (Bishopric Reports on the Countries of the Hungarian Holy Crown. 1600-1815), Pannonhalma, 1933 (Olaszországi Magyar Oklevéltár, II), p. 113; Teresa Ferro, *I Missionari Cattolici in Moldavia*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, pp. 87-88, 97-98.

²² APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 380v-381r; APF SC FM. Vol. 2, Fol. 126r-127r, Fol. 134r-135v.

²³ APF Acta SC. Vol. 51, Fol. 154r-v, Fol. 232r, Fol. 255v; APF Acta SC. Vol. 57, Fol. 81r, Fol. 114r; APF SOCG. Vol. 490, Fol. 110r; APF SOCG. Vol. 492, Fol. 313r; APF SOCG. Vol. 493, Fol. 30r-31v, Fol. 376r-378v; APF SOCG. Vol. 497, Fol. 335r-v, Fol. 338r-v; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 70, Fol. 54v; APF SC Fondo Armeni, Vol. 3, Fol. 417r, Fol. 462r-v, Fol. 465r, Fol. 487r, Fol. 488r, Fol. 490r; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 15, p. 249; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 16, p. 33; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 21, p. 83; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod.

23, Liber V. Cap. 16 (no pagination); *Ուղիւնք*, pp. 185-186; Kolandjian, pp. 362-363; Ferenc Galla, *Pápai Kinevezések, Megbízások és Felhatalmazások Erdély, a Magyar Királyság és Hódoltság Területére* (Roman Pope's appointments, commissions and authorisations into Transylvania, the Hungarian Kingdom and Ottoman-Hungary), (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae. Class. II. T. 3), Szerk, Péter Tusor-Krisztina Tóth, Budapest-Róma, 2010, pp. 139, 141, 142.

²⁴ Due to the activity of the Catholic missionaries delegated from Rome, Nikol Torosowicz, Armenian Apostolic Archbishop in Lemberg, converted to Catholicism in 1626. After his conversion to the Roman Catholic Faith, Archbishop Torosowicz initiated a very strict church-union policy against the Armenian Apostolic clergy in Poland and Moldavia. His opposite number in the church was persecuted, imprisoned, tortured, killed with the aid of the secular authorities in Poland. The remnants of his opposition in the church escaped from Poland to Moldavia, Ottoman Empire and Transylvania (APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 468r); Gregorio Petrowicz, *L'Unione degli Armeni di Polonia con la Santa Sede, Parte Secunda (1626-1681)* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 135), Roma, 1950, pp. 14, 22, 56, 61, 79-80, 91-102, 105, 109, 113-115, 123-124, 151, 195-197, 216-217.

²⁵ APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 468r.

²⁶ APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 468r.

²⁷ APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 468/v.

²⁸ APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 469r; Petrowicz, *La Chiesa*, pp. 1, 86.

²⁹ "Essendo pervenuto a notizia che sia morto il vescovo [Minas] degl'Armeni dimorante in Transilvania, e che quella gente si trovi tra se discordi intorno il successore" (APF Lettere SC Vol. 76, Fol. 90/v-91r); Further on: APF SC FA. Vol. 4, Fol. 374r-375/v.

³⁰ "Opere pretium duxi etiam hoc proponere Illustrissimae Dominationi Vestrae, tanquam spectans ad meum officium, quod episcopus moldaviensis armenorum nunc in Transilvania degentium mortus sit et populus inter se de successore altercatur" (APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 434r); "Nunc autem non praetermitto exponere de obitu episcopi armeni moldaviensis nuncupati Minas Vartabieth Thochatiensi, qui cum populo armeno (causa insectationis turcarum) simul se transtulerat in Siculiam provinciam Transilvaniae, ubi nunc commoratur dominus Auxentius [Virzirescus] alumnus Collegii Propaganda Fide etiam moldaviensis, qui anno praeterito pervenerat illuc, qui multum ibi laborans et pro ecclesia Dei sufferens egregie et laudabiliter se gerit" (APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 498r).

³¹ "Unde Illustrissima Dominatio Vestra id quoque proponat, ut quam primum successorem illius episcopati provideant, (quia uti auditur ille Theodorus Vartanowicz episcopus, qui Roma fugerat, venturus est ad illum populum, qui magna turbationis fidei catholici fieret causa) praeoccupando locum opportune" (APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 434r); "Che questo vescovo Minas, vedendosi così mei mal trattato da una parte, e dall'altra essendo vecchio, mandò nel mese di giugno, un sacerdote per chiamar' da Ezmiazin un altro vescovo polacco armeno Thoros Vartanowicz. Onde sarebbe meglio, che un vescovo cattolico si preoccupasse [di] quella diocesi che [ha] adesso il tempo; io resisto a quel Vartanowicz heretichissimo, in sino a tanto che haverò la risposta dalla Sacra Congregazione" (APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 469/v).

³² "Quoad meam opinionem aptiorem domino Auxentionon video, qui fuit alumnus Collegii de Propaganda Fide, cuius zelum catholicae fidei ipsemet ego sum expertus transiens per illas partes, licet sint et in gremio nostrae ecclesiae alii sacerdotes, et si placebit pro nunc saltem vicarium, aut administratorem illius loci eundem facere dignentur, donec maturo consilio Eminentissimi Domini resolutionem sumpserint" (APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 434r); "Unde si videbitur Eminentissimis Vestris, (uti video illum officio dignum), ut saltem habeat pro nunc vicariatam, aut administrationem illius episcopati, antequam

Eminentissimae Vestrae aliquem idoneum ad hoc inveniant, vel ipsumet dominum Auxentium, vel aliquem e gremio nostrae ecclesiae" (APF SC FA. Vol. 3, Fol. 498r).

³³ APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3, Fol. 469/v.

³⁴ Uniate Bishop Rošk'ay was initially Bishop Minas's student before his conversion to Catholicism in 1690. "Մինաս վարդապետն թոխաթեցի, Զիլխտար օղլու կոչեցեալն, եպիսկոպոս Պորտանու, (յորմէ եւ զչորս աստիճանս առի յամի Տեառն 1680), ի դառնալն ընդ լերինս Մանարաց, ի միզարդելութենէ, զոր ի բազում ամաց կրերն, տանջեալ, վախճանի, թաղի ի գերեզմանատանն Օլախաց, ուր ի վերայ գերեզմանի նորա բազում անգամ ի կիրակամտից լոյս իջանի, զոր ականատեսք եւ արժանահաւատ արք տեղուոյն պատմեցին մեզ" (Ոսկեան, p. 186).

³⁵ APF SOCG. Vol. 532, Fol. 456r-457r; ASV ANV. Vol. 196, Fol. 219r-220r.

³⁶ APF CU. Vol. 3, Fol. 472/r-v.

³⁷ "Sparsi per Transilvania, ho ripigliato da essi tre chiese, scacciando da esse il vescovo loro Minas vartabied (hora morto) con sette sacerdoti schismatici, et in più interdicendigli l'esercizio ecclesiastico, non solo nelle chiese dette, ma nelle case ancora" (APF SC FA. Vol. 4, Fol. 13/r-v).

³⁸ Addendum in the text.

³⁹ Correction in the text.

⁴⁰ Correction in the text.

⁴¹ Correction in the text.

⁴² Addendum in the text.

⁴³ Addendum in the text.

⁴⁴ Correction in the text.

⁴⁵ Correction in the text.

⁴⁶ Correction in the text.

⁴⁷ Addendum in the text.

⁴⁸ Addendum in the text.

⁴⁹ Correction in the text.

⁵⁰ Correction in the text.

⁵¹ Correction in the text.

⁵² Correction in the text.

⁵³ Bertalan Szebellébi (1631-1707), alumnus of Seminar called Pázmáneum in Vienna. Roman Catholic Bishopric's General Vicar in Transylvania between 1678 and 1707.

⁵⁴ Addendum in the text.

⁵⁵ Correction in the text.

⁵⁶ Addendum in the text.

⁵⁷ Correction in the text.

⁵⁸ Addendum in the text.

⁵⁹ Vito Pilutio da Vignatello (+1687). Prefect of Minorite (Conventual Franciscan) missions in Transylvania and Moldavia. He fulfilled his mission in Moldavia between 1653 and 1687. Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) ordained him as a titular archbishop (*in partibus infidelium*) of Marcianopolis in 1665. He was also appointed as an Apostolic Vicar of Moldavia by the Holy See. Presumably, Father Vito converted Oxendio Virziresco to Catholicism in Moldavia.

⁶⁰ Correction in the text.

⁶¹ Rome.

⁶² Correction in the text.

⁶³ Correction in the text.

⁶⁴ Bishop Johannes Bernatowicz (+ ca. 1690). He was, a priest of Armenian descent, educated at Armenian College in Lemberg, Poland. Initially, Bernatowicz was faithful to

the Roman Catholic Church, but he reconverted to Armenian Apostolic Church after Nikol Torosowicz's death in 1681. Isaac I, Armenian Catholicos of Cilicia (1674-1686) appointed and ordained him as a Bishop of the Armenians in Poland in 1681.

⁶⁵ Correction in the text.

⁶⁶ Addendum in the text.

⁶⁷ Correction in the text.

⁶⁸ Minas Zilifhtar-Oghlu Aleksanian Tokhatetsi (ca. 1610-1686), Apostolic Armenian Bishop in Moldavia and Transylvania.

⁶⁹ Correction in the text.

⁷⁰ Addendum in the text.

⁷¹ Addendum in the text.

⁷² Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, *Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fede*, *Havatazman Tartselo Surb Miabamutium*), the Missionary Institute of the Holy See, founded on 6th of January in 1622, in Rome.

⁷³ Oxendio Virziresco (1654-1715), Armenian Uniate missionary and Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania, alumnus of Urbanian College.

⁷⁴ Urbanian College. Seminar of Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith known as Collegium Urbanum (*Collegio Urbano*, *Dpratur Urbanean*). The Seminary was founded by Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) in 1627, in Rome.

ԱՐԴԵՐՔ ԹՐԱՆՍԻԼՎԱՆԻՈՅ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԱՌԱՋԵՆՈՐԴ ՄԻՆԱՍ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏ
ԹՈՒՍԱԹԵՑԻՆ ԸՆԴՈՒՆԵՑ ԿԱԹՈՒԼԻԿ ԴԱՌԱՆԱՆԷՐԸ
(Ամփոփում)

ՔՈՐԱԿԼ ՆԱՏԻ

Հեղինակը Լեհաստանի, Հունգարիոյ եւ շրջակայքի քաղաքական-կրօնական պայ-
քարներու պատմութեան ենթաստորոգրին վրայ վերստին կը քննէ Թրանսիլվանիոյ Հայոց
դաւանափոխութեան խնդիրը՝ 1686ին:

Ըստ ընդունուած վարկածին, Թրանսիլվանիոյ Հայոց առաջնորդ Մինաս Վարդա-
պետ Թոթաթեցի, իր մահէն առաջ կը մեկնի Լեմպերկ-Լիով եւ բանակցութիւններ վա-
րելով Կարտինայ Օփիգիո Փալաւիչիւնի եւ Լեմպերկի Կաթողիկէ Հայոց Առաջնորդ
Վարդան Արք. Հունանեանի հետ կ'ընդունի դաւանափոխ ըլլալ: Սակայն, Թրանսիլ-
վանիա իր տունդարձին ճամբուն վրայ, այնհեր եւ հիւանդ այս կրօնաւորը կը մահա-
նայ:

Բողուածին հեղինակը քննարկելէ ետք շրջանի Հայոց պատմութեան սկզբնաղ-
բիւրները, կը մատնանշէ որ մեծ մասամբ անոնք կրկնութիւններ են եւ կ'աւելցնէ որ
անոնցմէ ոչ մէկուն մէջ յստակօրէն կը հաւաստուի Մինաս Վարդապետի դաւանափո-
խութիւնը: Ընդհակառակը, նոյնիսկ իր մահուան մասին գրուած եւ Հռոմ յղուած տե-
ղեկագրին մէջ կ'ըսուի թէ ան հերետիկոս մահացաւ: Այս եւ նման կողմնակի այլ փաս-
տերէ եւ վկայութիւններէ մեկնելով, հեղինակը կը վիճարկէ Մինաս Վարդապետի դա-
ւանափոխութիւնը եւ կ'ենթադրէ որ Մինաս վարդապետ Լեմպերկ մեկնած էր դաւա-
նաբանական վիճարանութեան քան թէ դաւանափոխութեան: Սակայն, իր մահը առիթ
տուած է որ շրջուի իրականութիւնը: