

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH AND THE PAPACY DURING THE LAST CENTURY OF CILICIAN ARMENIA (1275-1375)

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The Kingdom of Armenia in the Thirteenth Century

Independent from Rome and Byzantium since the Council of Chalcedon (451), the Armenian Church came into closer relations with Rome after 1198, when the last Kingdom of Armenia was created by King Leo I in Cilicia, far away from the historical homeland and close to the Latin States of Syria (see Figure 1). In the middle of the thirteenth century, thanks to the clever

Mongol policy of Het'um I, this Kingdom became the most powerful State in the Christian Near East, so that the Armenians were able to resist Rome and its efforts aiming at the total submission of the Armenian Church. Thus, in 1263, during the meeting of Acre between the legates of Pope Urban IV and catholicos Constantine I, as the former was again insisting on this point, his interlocutor Mxit'ar Skewraçi answered crudely: "Whence does the Roman Church have

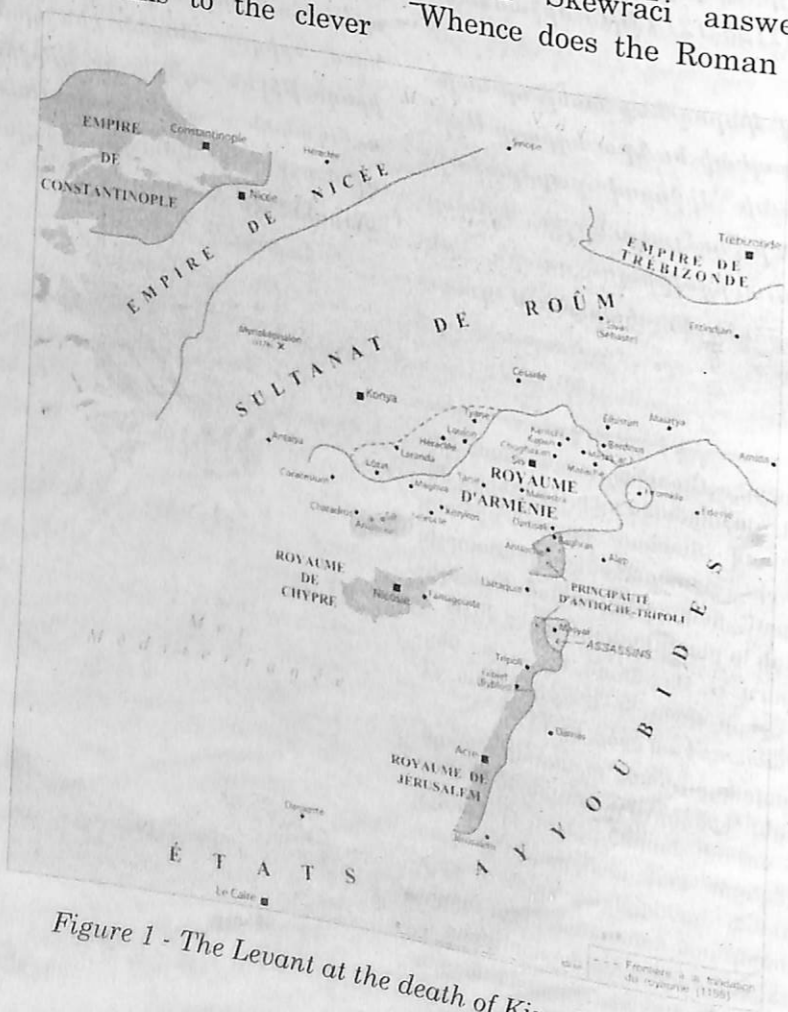


Figure 1 - The Levant at the death of King Leo I (1219)

such a power, to consider herself as a judge of the other Apostolic Sees without being herself subordinated to their judgement?"¹

During that period, the Egyptian Mamluks were becoming more and more aggressive. The first invasion of Cilicia took place in 1266, but in 1274 King Leo II and catholicos James I still felt strong enough to ignore the invitation to the Council of Lyon. The situation changed progressively after the second invasion, in 1275, which proved that the Mongol alliance was definitely becoming increasingly insecure: little by little, Armenian policy was to shift towards Europe, where embassies began to follow one after the other, asking for military cooperation. Furthermore, the influence of the Latin Church was growing, partly thanks to the efforts of the Franciscan missions. Even the secretary of Leo II, Vahram Rabun, was suspected to have hidden Chalcedonian sympathies.²

A Franciscan King of Armenia, Het'um II (1289-1307)

The death of Leo II in 1289 destroyed the last barriers against Latin penetration of the Armenian Church. His son and successor Het'um II was an open supporter of the "Union," a sweet-

ened word meaning the submission of the Armenian Church to Rome, and he immediately dismissed catholicos Constantine II, who did not agree to that policy. At the same time, the Franciscan Pope Nicholas IV sent various letters to the authorities of the Kingdom, preaching the Union and congratulating the king for his opinions towards Rome.³ A "divine surprise" was awaiting him: soon after, probably through the influence of Vahram Rabun, his tutor, and of the famous Friar Minor John of Montecorvino, whom he had met, Het'um II became himself a Franciscan, under the name of "Brother John."⁴

In less than three decades, the balance of power had completely changed since the Acre meeting, and from henceforth the papacy will never miss the opportunity to impose the submission of the Armenian Church as a preliminary to any hope of help.

In Summer 1292, the Mamluks stormed the patriarchal seat of Hromklay, and the catholicosate had to move to the capital, Sis, thus losing any kind of independence with respect to the king.⁵ The next titular, Gregory VII An-

¹ *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Documents arméniens*, ed. É. Dulaurier and Ch Kohler, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1869-1906), 1:697; K'ristonya Hayastan, *Hanragitaran* [Christian Armenia, Encyclopaedia] (Erevan, 2002), 739; Claude Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant (XI^e-XIV^e siècle)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012), 1:564.

² Vincent Mistrih, "Trois biographies de Georges de Skevra," *Studia Orientalia Christiania, Collectanea*, 14 (1970-71), 253-372 (329); *Christian Armenia*, 951.

³ *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI (1276-1304)*, ed. Ferdinand Delorme and Aloysius Täutu (Vatican City: Typis Poliglottis Vaticanis, 1954), 148-58; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:565-6.

⁴ Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, 5 vols. (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1906-1927), 1:337; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:188-9.

⁵ Artašes Mat'evosyan, ed., *Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaraner: žg dar* [Colophons of Armenian manuscripts, Thirteenth Century] (Erevan: Academia, 1984), 683, 688, 691, 700, 702, 711, 730-1; 1984), 683, 688, 691, 700, 702, 711, 730-1; Matak'ia Örmanean, *Azgapatum* [National History],

awarzec'i, was also a unionist, like Het'um II.⁶ During the last decade of the century, Nicholas IV tried to mobilize some help for his fellow Franciscan king, who in turn sent embassies to the courts of England, France and Aragon; all these efforts remained fruitless.

The Internal "Schism" among the Armenians

The dismissal of Constantine II in 1289 was violently condemned by a contemporary, the archbishop of Siwnik' Step'annos Ōrbēlean:⁷ according to him, the king imprisoned the catholicos in the castle of Lambron because he feared that he would go to Greater Armenia and be consecrated there, thus provoking a scission in the Armenian Church. In practice, this scission already existed: the gap was deepening between the rulers in Cilicia, who were more and more inclined to accept some dogmatic modifications in the hope of hypothetical help, and a large part of the clergy, mostly in Greater Armenia, who were strongly opposed to any kind of concession. This antagonism appeared explicitly in 1292 when, as occurred once every century, the Resurrection was celebrated on different days in the Latin and in the Armenian Churches: April 6th for the former, April 13th for the latter. King Het'um wanted to impose the Latin

date, but he had to face the strong opposition of the majority of the clergy, who called it a "false Easter" and remained faithful to the Armenian date.⁸



Figure 2 - Esayi Nč'ec'i and his students Armenain Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Ms. 365, p. 2

This movement was very active under the leadership of famous intellectuals like George of Skewr'ay in Cilicia, Step'annos Ōrbēlean, Movsēs Erzncac'i, and Esayi Nč'ec'i (see Figure 2) in Greater Armenia. Thus appeared some anti-Latin strongholds: monasteries such as Skewr'ay in Cilicia, Awag Vank' in Upper Armenia, Halbat and Sanahin in Lor'i, Tat'ew and Glajor in Siwnik', the last being ruled by Esayi (see Figure 3). The attempts of Gregory

⁸ Abēl Ōllugean, *Movsēs Vrd. Erzncac'i. Matenagrakan Hetazōtut'iwnner* [Doctor Movses Erzncac'i, Literary Researches] (Ējmiacin: Mayr At'or, 2001), 172-4, 241-51.

VII to convince these opponents, through legates and letters directed particularly to Step'annos Ōrbēlean and Esayi, remained totally fruitless.⁹

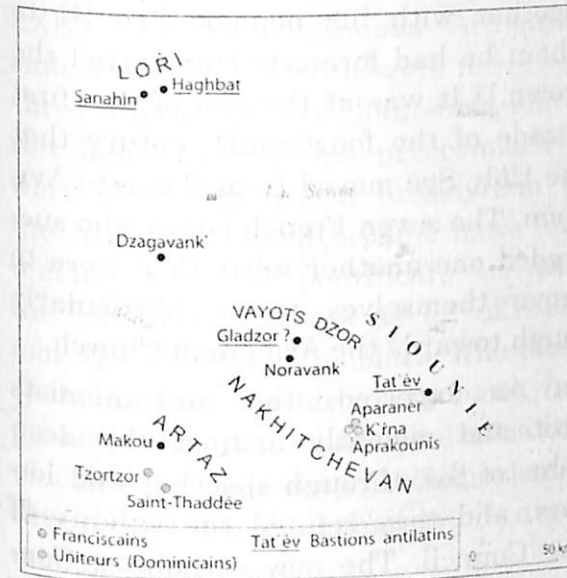


Figure 3 - Latin penetration in Nakhichevan

The Passages

The fall of Acre in 1291, marking the end of Frankish Syria, provoked a great emotional response in Europe, where plans for a new Crusade, called "passages," began to flourish.¹⁰ Many of them included, as strongholds, the two last Christian states in the Levant, Catholic Lusignan Cyprus and "heretical" Cilician Armenia (see Figure 4). For the Armenians, such projects were likely to open the way for military help against the Mamluks, and so they paid particular attention to them. They even played a key role in the development of some, such as in the famous *Liber Recuperationis Terre Sancte*, written by

⁹ *Christian Armenia*, 760; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:567-8.

¹⁰ Aziz Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1938).

the Franciscan Fidenzio of Padua and completed at the time of the fall of Acre.¹¹

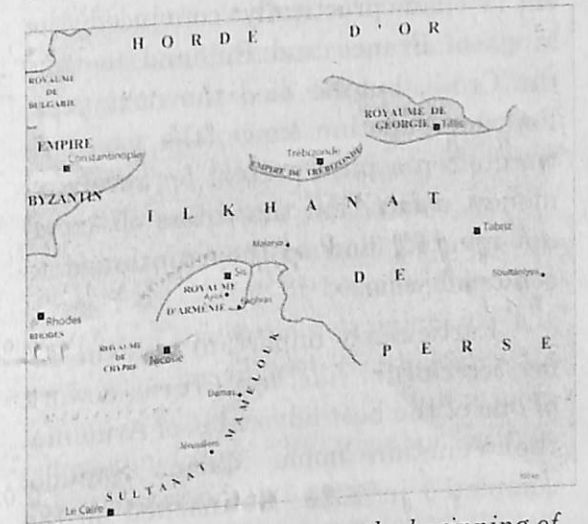


Figure 4 - The Near East at the beginning of the fourteenth century

An important wave of "passages" appeared at the beginning of the next century, inaugurated in 1305 by one of the most elaborated, the *Liber de fine* by the Franciscan Ramon Lull, who had spent some time in Cilicia in 1301.¹² In 1306 Clement V was elected pope, and he immediately informed the authorities in Armenia of his interest in these projects.¹³ He extended the system of promising religious indulgences to anyone who would offer help to the Kingdom, and threatened to excommunicate anyone giving help to the "Saracens." It was on his commission that the famous prince Het'um of Kořikos, alias Hayton, first cousin of the late King Leo II, dictated in French his famous *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient*, in-

¹¹ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, 2:9-60; Atiya, *The Crusade*, 36-43.

¹² Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, 1:361-92; Atiya, *The Crusade*, 74-94.

¹³ *Acta Clementis V (1303-1314)*, ed. Ferdinand Delorme and Aloysius Tăutu (Vatican City: Typis poliglottis Vaticanis, 1955), 15.

vol. 2 (Constantinople, Tēr-Nersēsian, 1914), 1732; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:175.

⁶ Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, 1737-1804; *Christian Armenia*, 233; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:491, 567-9.

⁷ *Histoire de la Siounie par Stéphanos Orbélian*, trad. Marie-Félicité Brosset (St. Petersburg: Académie impériale, 1864), 243-7; *Christian Armenia*, 209, 931, 317, 122, 527, 885, 994, 214.

cluding a history of the Mongols and a "passage;"¹⁴ he offered his work to the pope in 1307. In 1313, the same Clement V had practically convinced the kings of France and England to take the Cross, but he died the next year. For the Capetian kings, the passages were often a pure pretext for receiving money, a fact that the rulers of Armenia ignored, and so they continued to send embassies.

Particularly important was the *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis*, a work of one of the best advocates of Armenia, the Venetian noble Marino Sanudo, completed in 1321. He insisted on the necessity of offering help to the hard-pressed Kingdom, trying in 1326 to organize an expedition, and writing again to the king of France in 1332; in spite of all his efforts, he did not have any success.¹⁵ In fact, none of these passages ever came to fruition.

The Councils of Sis and Adana (1307, 1316)

The unionist catholicos Gregory VII certainly influenced the Franciscan King Het'um II, to whom he proposed the organization of a Council in Sis. It took place in March 1307 and adopted all the propositions of Gregory VII, who had just died. The concessions made to the Latin Church were enormous, such as the recognition of Chalcedon and the date of December 25th for the Nativity; in short, a total submission to Rome. This was made possible because of the choice of the participants: very few

¹⁴ *Documents arméniens*, 2:147-219, 283-339.

¹⁵ Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Atiya, *The Crusade*, 114-27.

from Greater Armenia, and not a single representative of the opposition.¹⁶

Shortly after the Council, Het'um was assassinated by a Mongol emir, together with his nephew Leo III to whom he had formerly transferred the crown.¹⁷ It was at the end of this first decade of the fourteenth century that the Holy See moved from Rome to Avignon. The seven French popes who succeeded one another until 1378 were to prove themselves to be particularly tough towards the Armenian Church.

As expected, the anti-unionists protested violently against the decisions of Sis, through speeches and letters, and they refuted the validity of the Council. The new catholicos, Constantine III, and King Ōšin, brother of Het'um, were both supporters of the Union; they first used repression against the opponents, then tried to cool them, with no success. In such conditions, the Union was impossible to realize, and so it was decided to summon another council. But "Adana 1316" turned out to be nothing else than a repetition of "Sis 1307:" same unionist decisions, same protests and same impossibility of putting into practice.¹⁸

¹⁶ Clemens Galanus, *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana* (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1690), 1:451-71; Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, 1784-1804; *Christian Armenia*, 920; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:570-2.

¹⁷ Avedis Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480. A Source for Middle Eastern History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), 54.

¹⁸ Galanus, *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae*, 471-507; Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, 1816-25; *Christian Armenia*, 503, 15; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:572.

Pope John XXII (1316-1334) and the United Brethren

After a Catholic profession of faith sent by King Ōšin, the new pope, John XXII, received continuous Armenian embassies,¹⁹ but his answers never ensured anything other than some material help. In fact, his preoccupations were elsewhere: Latin proselytism in the Armenian world became more systematic during his pontificate. He used the Mendicant Orders as an efficient tool: these brilliant scholars, who often spoke various Eastern languages, impressed the Armenian prelates and monks with their deep theological education and their sophisticated arguments.

John XXII began with the Franciscans, who had been working in the Armenian world since the middle of the thirteenth century and had already been pretty successful, for instance in converting Het'um II and founding various convents, particularly in Cilicia, in Sebastia, and in Upper Armenia.²⁰ The pope sent some Friars Minor as missionaries in order to convince local Armenian archbishops to accept submission to the papacy. The goal was achieved in Crimea and especially in the north-west of Iran, where the monastery of St. Thaddeus became the basis for the propagation of Catholicism (see Figure 3). Of course, Esayi Nč'ec'i and the anti-unionists accused the converted prelates of betraying the Armenian Church.²¹

¹⁹ Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, 1826-7; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:207-8.

²⁰ Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:562-3.

²¹ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, 2:72-3, 3:370-3; *Acta Johannis XXII (1317-1334)*, ed. Alo-

Even more efficient were the Dominicans, for whom, in 1318, the pope created in the capital of Mongol Iran an archbishopric, having authority over six bishoprics in the country, particularly in Maragha where, in 1328, bishop Bartholomew of Bologna, a Friar Preacher, welcomed a former student of Esayi from the neighbouring K'rnay, in Nakhichevan (see Figure 3). This John K'rneč'i was soon to become the most efficient of the Armenian unionists. The next year he invited Bartholomew to K'rnay, where they quickly built a monastery, and in 1330, together with a dozen of Armenian prelates, they founded the Order of the United Brethren, a kind of Armenian branch of the Dominicans, intended to serve as a powerful tool for the propagation of Catholicism inside the Armenian Church.²²

A couple of years later a passage was circulated called *Directorium ad Passagium faciendum*, the work of an anonymous Dominican. Full of hatred against the Greeks, the text is also a ferocious and racist indictment, qualifying the Armenians as "the worst among the heretics," liars full of duplicity, unable to correct their "errors" just as "the Ethiopian cannot change his skin." The success of this pamphlet reflects the frame of mind of the West towards the Kingdom of Armenia.²³

ysius Täutu (Rome: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1952), 93-4; Ōtlugean, *Movsēs Vrd. Erzncac'i*, 50; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:574-6.

²² Galanus, *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae*, 508-31; Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, 1844-52; *Christian Armenia*, 169, 1058, 1038; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:577-9.

²³ *Documents arméniens*, 2:267-517; Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* 3:403-7; Atiya, *The Crusade*, 96-110; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:580-1.

Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342) and the Hundred and Seventeen Errors

The Franciscans appeared very moderate compared to the Preachers. Indeed, it was an Armenian Friar Minor, Daniel of Tabriz, who brought to Avignon, in 1341, various letters of King Leo IV and catholicos James II, together with a profession of faith from the latter.²⁴ The pope gave a very stern answer, denouncing as usual the "excusable errors" of the Armenians. As a matter of fact, his pontificate signifies the climax of the tensions with the Armenian Church. While the kings of France and England were preparing a joint expedition, the pope cancelled the project in a letter sent to Philip VI of France in 1336.

During the papacy of Benedict XII a complete catalogue of all the "errors" of the Armenians appeared. The text is preserved in two manuscript copies, one in Paris and one in the Vatican.²⁵ The first, apparently still unpublished, includes 116 chapters, while the second, more extensive text, is the famous list of a hundred and seventeen errors, commonly attributed to Nersēs Palienc', one of the most fanatical of the United Brethren.²⁶ Although he may have participated in the redaction at the beginning, the final version is certainly not from his pen; it contains too many serious mistakes that a fine

24 Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, 4:336-62.
25 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3365, fols. 97-108; Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 62, fols. 100-20.

26 *Acta Benedicti XII (1334-1342)*, ed. Aloysius Tăutu (Vatican City: Typis poliglottis Vaticanis, 1958), 119-55; Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, 1864; *Christian Armenia*, 793; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:581-3.

scholar like Nersēs would never have made. For example, one reads in the thirty-seventh error that the catholicosate of Alt'amar dates to the Emperor Heraclius,²⁷ while this dissident seat was founded a few centuries later, in 1113. Furthermore, the same thirty-seventh and also the eighty-eighth error mention a "catholicos Columbarum"²⁸ (in English "catholicos of the Doves" and in Armenian "Aławniac' catholicos"), which is in fact purely a mistake in pronunciation: it actually concerns the "catholicos of Ałuank'," in Armenian called the "Ałuanic' catholicos"! (see Figure 5)

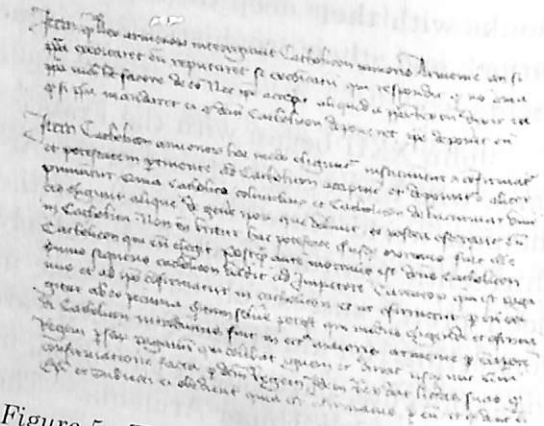


Figure 5 - The 88th and 88th "errors" Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 62, fol. 116

Apparently, the only argument in favour of Nersēs as the author is the fact that the violent answer of Daniel of Tabriz is directed to him.²⁹ The Franciscan assumed the Armenian Church's defence, calling the Dominican a "rabid dog": an explicit example of the difference in tolerance between the two Orders. Daniel wrote one-by-one the answers to all the "errors," and gave a

27 *Acta Benedicti XII*, ed. Tăutu, 132.
28 *Ibid.*, 132, 148.
29 *Documents arméniens*, 2:559-650.

copy to the pope before turning back to the East.

The new catholicos, Mxit'ar, called a Council in Sis, which was charged with preparing an official answer to the "Hundred and seventeen errors."³⁰ The date is debated: most probably 1345. Around thirty prelates attended, the great majority from Cilicia. The lengthy conclusions were inspired by Daniel's text, the answers being more systematic. Globally, they were very moderate: they did not put in question the papacy's supremacy and remained essentially consistent with the decisions of 1307 and 1316. In such conditions, the papal accusations seem all the more absurd.

Pope Clement VI (1342-1352) and the Summa de Questionibus Armenorum

May 1342 saw the accession of Clement VI in Avignon and, a few months later, in October, a Latin lord, Guy of Lusignan, was crowned king of Armenia.³¹ In such conditions, Latin-Armenian relations could only improve, but in November 1344 the murder of the king by Armenian barons put an end to this process. His successor, Constantine I, sent the conclusions of the Council to the pope, through four ambassadors, among whom was Daniel.³² They apparently did not convince Clement VI, who, like his predecessors, seemed to have many doubts regarding the sincerity of the conversion of the Armenians. This suspicion was obviously entertained by some United Breth-

30 BnF, lat. 3365, fols. 17-97; Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, 1868-1904; *Acta Benedicti XII*, ed. Tăutu, 160-229; *Christian Armenia*, 730, 921.
31 Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 2:repr. 114.
32 Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, 4:343-4.

ren like Nersēs Palienc'. The pope wrote in 1350 that, "the king, the catholicos and the people are still very far from the catholic truth."³³ In such conditions, no concrete help to Armenia was to be expected, apart, eventually, from some material help.

During the pontificate of Clement VI a new text appeared, which included many anti-Armenian accusations: the *Summa de Questionibus Armenorum*, written by Richard FitzRalph.³⁴ This Anglo-Irish theologian had spent a long time in Avignon, where he had long discussions on the Armenian Church, particularly with some United Brethren such as, unsurprisingly, Nersēs Palienc', whose name figures among the dedicatees. In the text, one does not find any trace of the "Hundred and seventeen errors" - another argument against the attribution to Nersēs. The Armenians are attacked on the usual points of their discrepancy with the Latin Church.

Although the *Summa* could probably not have been diffused without the authorization of Clement VI, the pope does not seem to have had any direct participation in it. In fact, his pontificate was a kind of relatively quiet pause between two more offensive ones.

The Last Tensions (1352-1375)

The next pope, Innocent VI, took a radically anti-Armenian measure in 1356, when he proclaimed the Order of

33 *Acta Clementis VI (1342-1352)*, ed. Aloysius Tăutu (Vatican City: Typis poliglottis Vaticanis, 1960), 276.
34 Richard Fitzralph, *Summa Domini Armacani in questionibus Armenorum* (Paris, 1511); Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:586.

the United Brethren official.³⁵ At that time, with the Hundred Years' War preoccupying France and England and the constantly negative attitude of the papacy, the Armenians had lost any illusions regarding Europe and its eventual help: consequently, they had no more reason to make fruitless concessions, and they practically stopped sending embassies to Avignon. In such conditions, one can probably trust the eighteenth-century catholicos Simēon Erewanc'i, who wrote that catholicos Mesrop I called a new council in Sis in 1361, condemning the pro-Latin policy of the Armenian authorities since the end of the thirteenth century.³⁶

The last years of the Kingdom, until the fall of Sis at the hands of the Egyptian Mamluks (April 1375), are pretty confused. The king was again a Latin, Leo V Lusignan, nephew of Guy; as for the catholicos, Constantine V, he was accused by the Franciscan confessor of Leo, John Dardel, of having favoured the Mamluks out of hatred of the Latin Church, while the Armenian anti-unionist, John Orotneç'i, attacked him for his pro-Latin policy.³⁷

Conclusions

Evidently, any kind of attempt at dialogue between the Armenian Church and the papacy during the last century of the Kingdom could not end in anything other than failure, because the

goals of both parties were opposite. For the papacy, the weakening of the Kingdom was a golden opportunity to achieve the century-old dream of Rome: the total submission of the Armenian Church. On the other side, deprived of any potential ally in the East, except Lusignan Cyprus, the Armenians were ready to make significant concessions to the Latin Church in order to receive some military and diplomatic help from Europe. In fact, they did make huge concessions, but all this was from the very beginning a fool's deal: Europe had never intended to provide any help to distant and "heretic" Armenia. Various Armenian artists crudely expressed in their works their disgust at the Latin Church, such as the painter Awag who, in 1337, portrayed a Catholic priest, qualified as "Arios" and "Nestorios," being thrown into Hell (see Figure 6).³⁸ The only result of this Armenian policy was the disastrous gap it created both in the Armenian Church and within Armenian society. At one end stood an Esayi Nč'ec'i, who did not want to accept a single concession to the Latin Church, and at the other a Nersēs Palienç', obsessed by total submission to the Roman Church. This situation of quasi civil war could only accelerate the fall of the Kingdom. The news was received in Europe with total indifference.

³⁵ *Acta Innocentii IV (1343-1354)*, ed. Aloysius Tăutu (Vatican City: Typis poliglottis Vaticanis, 1962), 128-30.

³⁶ Kat'oghikos Simeon of Erevan, *Jambŕ*, trans. George Bournoutian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 2009), 81; *Christian Armenia*, 921.

³⁷ *Documents arméniens*, 2:58, 79-80, 87; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:587.

³⁸ Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 2:repr.148.



Figure 6 - Erevan, Matenadaran, ms. 212, fol. 79v

ABSTRACT

Adjacent to Frankish Syria, a new Kingdom of Armenia was created in Cilicia in 1198, and for more than half a century the Armenians treated the papacy as an equal. The situation changed progressively with the weakening of the Mongol alliance and the growing threat of the Egyptian Mamluks, after their first invasion in 1266. Little by little, the Armenian authorities turned to Europe as their last hope, while the papacy imposed the submission of the Armenian Church as a pre-

liminary to any kind of help. Most of the rulers in Cilicia were ready to follow such a political line and accept the Catholic missions sent by Avignon, but a large part of the clergy, mostly in Greater Armenia, remained strongly opposed to any kind of concession. This antagonism contributed to the weakening of the state: no help ever came from the West and in 1375 the Mamluks seized the capital, putting an end to this last Kingdom of Armenia.