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ARCHBISHOP VARDAN HUNANEAN'S TWO
UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF 1687
TO THE HOLY SEE ON
THE ARMENIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

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I. INTRODUCTION

On February 14, 1687, vardapet Oxendio Virziresco (Ōgsēntios Vrcrēsgul) (1654-1715), a Uniate Armenian missionary pursuing his pastoral activity among the Armenians in Transylvania, sojourned temporarily in Lemberg (Łwów, Lviv). The main aim of his stay in Lemberg was to prepare a report to his prelate, Armenian Uniate Archbishop of Lemberg, Vardan Hunanean (Yunanean) (1644-1715), on his missionary work conducted in the *â»íÇûðĕ* two years. Based on this report, Archbishop Hunanean sent two letters to the Holy See. Written in Latin, these letters were about the Armenians in Transylvania. One was addressed to Edoardo Cybo (1619-1705), Titular Archbishop of Seleucia (in partibus infidelium), General Secretary of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (HCPF, Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide), the Missionary Institution of the Holy See. The other letter was written to the Cardinals of the same Institute.

These two letters emerged from the Historical Archive of the HCPF in Rome a few years ago. Furthermore, the two documents can be found as well in the document series of the so-called Congresses on the Armenian missionary cases (Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Armeni) in the above-mentioned Archive. These Congresses were regarded as the informal sessions at the HCPF in Rome. These Sessions primarily focused on special missionary cases, like subsidiaries of the missionaries, declarations of the church-unions, confessions of faith, or nominations of missionary administrators, vicars, bishops, or prefects, etc. Generally, these Congresses took place during the interval of two official General Sessions (Congregatio Generalis, Congregazione Generale) in the presence of the higher leadership of the HCPF in Rome.¹

Archbishop Hunanean, the author of these documents, was born as an Armenian Apostolic priest's (k'ahanay) child in the village of Grzu, very close to the city of T'oxat' (Eudocia), on February 17, 1644.² The young Hunanean was admitted to the Ējmiacin Seminary in the late 1650s. He was ordained as a priest and deacon by Catholicos Yakob Ĵulayec'i IV (1655-1680) in 1664. In Ējmiacin (Vaľaršapat), that same year, Hunanean became acquainted with father Clemente Galano (1610-1664), an Italian Theatine missionary pursuing his pastoral activity in Greater Armenia.³ Father Galano's preaching made a very deep impression on the young Hunanean. Moreover, thanks to the letter of recommendation of Father Galano, Hunanean went to Rome to pursue his studies on Roman Catholic Theology at the Urbanian College (Collegium Urbanum, Collegio Urbano, Dpratun Urbanean), Seminary of the HCPF, in 1670. In Rome Hunanean made a

confession of faith, with all due solemnity, with the Roman Catholic Church in 1672. Two years later, the Holy See appointed him as an archiepiscopal coadjutor and Titular Bishop of Epiphania on October 27, 1674.⁴ The main purpose of his appointment as a Titular Bishop was to aid the Armenian Uniate Archbishop of Lemberg, Nikol Torosowicz (1604-1627), to carry out his church-union policy successfully among the Armenian communities in Poland. Soon after his appointment, differences arose, as Bishop Hunanean disagreed with the church-union policy of Archbishop Torosowicz. Eventually, Bishop Hunanean left Lemberg with the Holy See's approval. In this manner he went to the Near East and Greater Armenia on a mission to convert his Armenian compatriots to Catholicism.⁵

Archbishop Torosowicz died in Lemberg in March 21, 1681.⁶ The Holy See appointed Hunanean as an Armenian Uniate Archbishop of Lemberg. However, because of his activity as a missionary in the Near East and Greater Armenia, the Holy See could not contact the newly-appointed Archbishop of Lemberg at once. Thus, Hunanean was informed of his appointment in 1686. Finally, he arrived in Lemberg in October 1, 1686. That same day, Archbishop Hunanean wrote a report in Latin to the Holy Congregation for the HCPF in Rome about the conditions of the archbishopric in Lemberg.⁷ In this report, Hunanean dedicated a brief passage to the Armenians in Transylvania. He referred to a certain Oxendio Virziresco, Alumnus of the Urbanian College in Rome, who had been doing missionary work among the 'heretical' Armenians in Transylvania since 1685.⁸

The history of Transylvania Armenians who escaped from Moldavia and Poland between 1668 and 1672 is considered a barely-studied area of international church-history studies. Because of the active participation of the Armenians in revolts against the tough fiscal policy of Gheorghe Duca Prince of Moldavia (1668-1684), in 1668, and due to the Polish-Ottoman wars of 1672, the Armenians were forced to flee from Moldavia to Transylvania. They were headed by their spiritual leader, Minas Zilifdarean-Alëk'sanean T'oxat'ec'i (ca. 1610-1686), Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians in Moldavia.⁹

The Armenian refugees, in fact, consciously chose Transylvania because they had more or less exact information about the relatively tolerant religious policy of the Transylvanian Principality, which was led by the politically strong Protestant elite. Indeed, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox believers and Jews had been living in Transylvania in relative peace for more than a century. Nonetheless, in the mid-17th century, the Transylvanian Principality enacted laws to counteract the increasing expansion of the Counter-Reformation in the neighbouring Hungarian provinces. These actions were strongly supported by the Habsburg Court in Vienna. Consequently, the Roman Catholics were forbidden to have their own bishop-in-diocese. Furthermore, the Jesuit order representatives (as the fighters for the Counter-Reformation) were not allowed in Transylvania until the late 17th century. As a result of this, Roman Catholic cases in Transylvania had been arranged by a Roman Catholic Bishopric General Vicar appointed by the Protestant Princes of Transylvania personally since the early 17th century.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, the Apostolic Armenians in Transylvania did not remain untouched.

Indeed, permission to send Catholic missionaries to the Armenians in Transylvania was denied to the Holy See for nearly twenty years after their escape (1668-1685).

Nevertheless, during the reign of Emperor Leopold I (1657-1705), prior to the increasing political influence of the Catholic Habsburg Court in late 17th century, the Counter-Reformation had begun to strengthen in Transylvania too. In fact, Bertalan Szebellébi (1631-1707), the Roman Catholic Bishop's Vicar in Transylvania, and the Observant Franciscan fathers in Transylvania, did attempt to convert the Armenians to Catholicism. Their attempts, however, were systematically blocked by the harsh resistance of the Armenians, led by Bishop Minas and his clergy in the late 1670s.¹¹

The Armenian Uniate Archbishopric Office in Lemberg, ca. 1683 founded the Armenian Uniate Church in Transylvania, and sent missionaries among the Transylvania Apostolic Armenians with the aim of creating a church-union with the Roman Catholic church. The Armenian Archbishopric Office in Lemberg - prior to its church-union with Rome - had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Armenians living in Moldavia and Poland. Therefore, as the Transylvania Armenians had emigrated originally from Moldova and Poland, they could not escape the spiritual leadership of the Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg.¹² Accordingly, the Holy See agreed with the Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg and sent vardapet Oxendio Virziresco, an Armenian Uniate priest born in Moldavia and educated at the Seminary of Armenian College (Collegium Armenum, Collegio Armeno, Dpratur Hayoc') in Lemberg and at the Seminary of Urbanian College in Rome, on a mission among the Transylvania Armenians in 1685.¹³

Due to initial conflicts, and particularly the harsh resistance of the Armenian Apostolic clergy to Catholicism, Virziresco's pastoral activity proved to be very hard. The Transylvania Armenians, exhorted by the Armenian Apostolic priests, attempted to kill Virziresco twice, as he was considered a "heretical priest" loyal to "heretical Rome".¹⁴

At any rate, Virziresco himself had a very controversial relation with Minas T'oxat'ec'i, the Apostolic Bishop of the Transylvania Armenians. Virziresco was certain that the key to uniting the whole Armenian community in Transylvania with the Roman Catholic Church was to convince Bishop Minas to convert to Catholicism. Virziresco was not able to persuade Bishop himself to unite with Rome. However, he succeeded in convincing the Bishop Minas to escort him to Lemberg and start negotiating with Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini (1633-1700), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw (Poland) and Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg, upon a possible church-union in the late autumn of 1686.¹⁵

According to the generally accepted belief in international and Hungarian scholarship, directly before his death in 1686, Bishop Minas made a confession of faith with Rome in the presence of Cardinal Pallavicini, Titular Archbishop of Ephesus, and Archbishop Hunanean in Lemberg late 1686. After his alleged confession of faith with the Roman Catholic Church, on his way back to his people in Transylvania, Bishop Minas unexpectedly fell ill, and he passed away in the same year.¹⁶

The documents, found in the Historical Archive of the HCPF in Rome, written by Archbishop Hunanean, Virziresco and other Catholic missionaries delegated from Rome between 1686 and 1688, decidedly disprove the fact that Bishop Minas had made a confession of faith with Rome. Furthermore, the missionary reports preserved at the Vatican Secret Archives (Archivio Segreto Vaticano) do not confirm Bishop Minas's confession of faith with the Roman Catholic Church, either. These sources explicitly render accounts of Bishop Minas's negotiations with Archbishop Hunanean upon a possible confession of faith and church-union with Rome on behalf of the whole Armenian community in Transylvania. But, according to contemporary sources, these negotiations were unsuccessful.¹⁷ Moreover, Virziresco's long missionary reports written in Italian to the Holy See between 1686 and 1688 state that he was not on good terms with Bishop Minas both from the confessional and the dogmatical point of view. Thus, he wrote explicitly in his reports addressed to the Holy See that Bishop Minas died as a heretic Bishop and not a Uniate (Catholic) in 1686.¹⁸ These documents attest that Bishop Minas himself was unwilling to negotiate upon a confession of faith or a church-union with Rome. This also suggests that there were only religious disputes in Lemberg, and not a confession of faith or a church-union issue with Rome.

As a historical fact, Bishop Minas's confession of faith with Rome was propagated by Virziresco in the mid-1690s.¹⁹ Actually, it was in Virziresco's interest to spread this information, because he had a great ambition to be nominated and ordained as an Armenian Uniate (Catholic) Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania in the late 1680s. Therefore, contrary to the documents written by himself between 1686 and 1688, he claimed as of the mid-1690s that Bishop Minas died as a Uniate, and not an (Eastern) Apostolic Bishop, due to his negotiations in Lemberg. It seems that Virziresco created a theory of legitimation, justifying his exclusive right to become a Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania after Bishop Minas's death. As such, Virziresco definitely managed with his theory to lead astray his age as well as posterity.

Nevertheless, Archbishop Hunanean in his two letters sent to the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith on February 14, 1687, presented a very valuable account of his relations with Bishop Minas and Virziresco. In these letters the Archbishop mentioned Bishop Minas' death and Virziresco's fruitful pastoral activity under very difficult circumstances in the preceding two years. Furthermore, Hunanean referred to chaos or conflict among the Armenians in Transylvania, caused by Bishop Minas' sudden death. According to his letters, the Transylvania Armenians argued over Bishop Minas' succession. But Archbishop Hunanean does not give any exact information on Bishop Minas's confession of faith with Rome. 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 Ējmiacin wanted to appoint a new Bishop for them. This newly-appointed Armenian Apostolic Bishop was Theodore Wartanowicz (1652-1700), a Polish-Armenian priest, born in Lemberg, who wanted to enter Transylvania.²⁰ Therefore, Archbishop Hunanean strongly

recommended Virziresco to the Holy See to be appointed as an Apostolic Vicar or an Apostolic Administrator among the Armenians in Transylvania.²¹

1.

Archbishop Vardan Hunanean's Letter to Edoardo Cybo, General Secretary of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith
(*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*)²²

Regestum: Archbishop Hunanean has already arrived from Greater Armenia in Lemberg. He has taken over the management of his diocese. The Archbishop asks anew the General Secretary, Edoardo Cybo, to help him donate to his archiepiscopal pallium, subsidiaries and authorisations, because he has not hitherto received any official answers or letters from the Holy See on this matter. Furthermore, Hunanean informs the General Secretary that Minas T'oxat'ec'i, Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania, passed away. Consequently, the late Bishop's fellows and compatriots are arguing with each other on his succession. In addition, the Archbishop asks the General Secretary to take care of the late Bishop's succession, because, according to his 'steady' information, an Armenian Apostolic Bishop, (appointed by the Armenian Catholicos), namely Theodore Wartanowicz (Wardanowicz), intends to enter Transylvania and take over the late Bishop's office. Therefore, Archbishop Hunanean proposes that the General Secretary appoint Oxendio Virziresco, Alumnus of the Urbanian College in Rome, who has been working effectively as a simple Armenian Uniate missionary among the Armenians in Transylvania since 1685 as an Apostolic Vicar or Apostolic Administrator. Finally, the Archbishop reports upon a renitent Polish-Armenian Bishop, Johannes Bernatowicz, who, because of his apostasy, has caused many troubles in the Armenian communities and Armenian Uniate Church in Poland. Therefore, he asks the General Secretary to help him in resolving Bishop Bernatowicz' problem as quickly as possible.

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine Domine et Patrone
Colendissime!

Ac veni Leopolim,²³ scripsi ad Illustrissimam Dominationem Vestram qualiter statim ac ad me commorantem in Asia²⁴ pervenit mandatus redeundi ad meam ecclesiam, illico obtemperatis²⁵ mandatis et licetsi per periculosissima itinera perveni tamen, et benevole receptus tam ac Eminentissimo Nuntio,²⁶ quam etiam a populo possessionem recepi. In eadem epistola supplicavi Illustrissima Dominatione de pallio²⁷ archiepiscopali, atque de subsidio, nec non de facultatibus ad quod hucusque nullus habui responsui. Quapropter iterato enixe rogo, ut hanc gratiam mihi elargiri non dedignentur. Opere pretium duxi etiam hoc proponere Illustrissimae Dominationi Vestrae, tanquam spectans ad meum officium, quod episcopus²⁸ moldaviensis²⁹ armenorum nunc in Transylvania degentium mortus sit et populus inter se de successore altercatur. Unde

Illustrissima Dominatio Vestra id quoque proponat, ut quam primum successorem illius episcopati provideant, (quia uti auditur ille Theodorus Vartanowicz episcopus,³⁰ qui Roma fugerat, venturus est ad illum populum, qui magna turbationis fidei catholici fieret causa) praeoccupando locum opportune. Quod meam opinionem aptiorem domino Auxentio³¹ non video, qui fuit alumnus Collegii³² de Propaganda Fide,³³ 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. Nec silentio praetereo de novo malo (434/v.) exorto in ista dioecesi, nempe de episcopo nominato Bernatowicz,³⁴ qui suspensus per quattuor annos fuerat a divinis, propter multas irregularitates et susceptionem haeresis, tandem habuit gratiam ab Eminentissimo, ut uti simplex sacerdos possit celebrare missam absque habitu episcopali, qui incepit conturbare totum clerum et³⁵ populum, obloquendo fidem catholicam cum sibi faventibus et licentiosa sua vita scandalum praebendo. Unde si propter nostra peccata Deus permittat resumere habitum episcopalem vel titulum exterminatio omnium bene coeptorum fieret ista dioecesi. Huic malo obviandi modum existimo hunc, ut scribant Eminentissimi Domini ad Nuntium vel ad quem videbitur, obligando supradictum faciendi publice professionem catholicae fidei, et obediendi loci ordinario, ut simplex sacerdos, nec unquam resumendi insignia episcopalia aut titulum. Nisi hic fiat nullatenus habebit pacem clerus nec populus, nam enim multi inceperunt vacillare in fide. Ad hanc dum expecto responsum me commendo³⁶ favori et gratiae Illustrissimae Dominationis Vestrae, cuius gratiae remanebo semper.

Humillimus et obligatissimus servus.

Data Leopoli 14 Februarii 1687 Anno.

Vartanus Hunanian.³⁷ M. p.

Archiepiscopus Leopoliensis Armenorum. Natio Armenorum.

(Fol. 435/v.)

Ex Leopoli, Polonia.³⁸

Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Domino Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario,³⁹ Domino Patrono Colendissimo.

Romam.⁴⁰

Ad Sacram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide.

L. S. (Place of red-wax seal)

2.

Archbishop Vardan Hunanean's Letter to the Cardinals of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*)⁴¹

Regestum: In his previous correspondence sent to the Holy See authorities, Archbishop Hunanean has already informed the Cardinals of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome about his arrival in Lemberg. Furthermore, he has already taken over the management of his archiepiscopal office. The Archbishop asks the Cardinals to help him by donating his archiepiscopal *pallium* and authorisations from the Holy See. Moreover, the Archbishop gives an account on the death of Vardapet Minas T'oxat'ec'i, Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania. Archbishop Hunanean stresses that Virziresco, Alumnus of the Urbanian College, has been working fruitfully as a Uniate (Catholic) missionary among the Armenians in Transylvania under difficult conditions. Accordingly, Archbishop Hunanean advises the Cardinals to appoint Virziresco as an Apostolic Administrator or Apostolic Vicar among the Armenians in Transylvania because he has hitherto fulfilled his pastoral activity as a simple missionary without any official titles and authorisations granted by the Holy See.

Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi Domini Domini et Patroni
Colendissimi⁴²!

Statim ac veni Leopolim, certiores feci Eminentissimas Vestras de adventu meo ac ingressu in possessionem hujus ecclesiae ex benignitate Eminentissimi Vestri. Mihi concessae licet immento, simul petens humillime, ut sicuti promissum fuit praedecessori⁴³ meo habere pallium⁴⁴ eadem gratia possem et ego frui. Nunc autem non praetermitto exponere de obitu episcopi armeni moldaviensis nuncupati Minas vartabieth⁴⁵ thochatiensi,⁴⁶ qui cum populo armeno (causa insectationis⁴⁷ turcarum) simul se transtulerat in Siculiam provinciam⁴⁸ Transilvaniae, ubi nunc commoratur⁴⁹ dominus Auxentius⁵⁰ alumnus Collegii Propaganda Fide etiam moldaviensis, qui anno praeterito pervenerat illuc, qui multum ibi laborans et pro ecclesia Dei sufferens⁵¹ egregie et laudabiliter se gerit. Sed quia nullum habet ibi titulum, ideo magnas persecutiones patitur propter fidem catholicam. Unde si videbitur Eminentissimis Vestris, (uti video illum officio dignum), ut saltem habeat pro nunc vicariatam, aut administrationem illius episcopati, antequam⁵² Eminentissimae Vestrae aliquem idoneum ad hoc inveniant, vel ipsomet⁵³ dominum Auxentium, vel aliquem e gremio nostrae ecclesiae. Interim dum humillime expecto gratiam devotissime, exosculator sacras vestes Eminentissimi Domini Vestri, quoniam sempiternus.⁵⁴

Humillimus et obligatissimus servus.

Vartanus Hunanian.⁵⁵ M. p.

Archiepiscopus Leopoliensis Armenorum.

Datum Leopoli 14 Februarii 1687 Anno.

(Fol. 498/v.)

Eminentissimis ac Reverendissimis Domini Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Cardinalibus, Dominis meis Colendissimis.

Ex Polonia.⁵⁶

Romam.⁵⁷

Ad Sacram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide.

L. S. (Place of red-wax seal)

ENDNOTES

¹ *Litterae Missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania (1572-1717)*, István György Tóth (ed.), Roma-Budapest, 2002, (Bibliotheca Academiae Hungariae – Roma, Fontes 4.), pp. 62-63.

² «Վարդանն այս էր որդի Յուդանու քահանայի, ուստի Յուդանեան կոչեցաւ, ի Գողու գեղջէն մերձ Թոխաթու. էր ճարտար գրագիր, ուշիմ եւ հմուտ բառիցն Հայոց» (Ստեփանոս Ռօշքայ, *Ժամանակագրութիւն Կամ Տարեկանք Եկեղեցականք*, Հրատ. Համալսարան Սուլտան, Vienna, 1964, p. 183); Gregorio Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia e Nei Paesi Limitrofi, Parte Terza, (1686-1954)*, Roma, 1988, (Studia Ecclesiastica 17, Historica 10), pp. 1-2.

³ Before long, Father Clemente Galano became the founder and first prefect of the Armenian Seminary College in Lemberg in 1664 (Archivio Storico della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o de "Propaganda Fide", Rome, Italy (APF) Scrittura Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (SOCG), Vol. 121. Fol. 322r; APF SOCG. Vol. 228. Fol. 37r; Fol. 122r-v; Congregazioni Particolari (APF CP) Vol. 64. Fol. 41r-47v; APF CP. Vol. 133. Fol. 270r-310v; Scrittura Riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Armeni (APF SC FA), Vol. 2. Fol. 118r. Fol. 394r-v; Gregorio Petrowicz, *L'Unione degli Armeni in Polonia con la Santa Sede (1626-1686), Parte Prima*, Roma, 1950 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 135), pp. 165-172; Ռօշքայ, pp. 180-181, 195).

⁴ Hunanean was consecrated as a titular Bishop of Epihanian by Nikol Torosowicz, the Armenian Uniate Archbishop of Lemberg on May 1, 1675 in Rome (Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide (APF Acta SC), Vol. 39. Fol. 207r; APF SOCG. Vol. 454. Fol. 53r; "Propositionem alicuius Ecclesiae titularis pro sacerdote Vartano Unianiano coadiutore suo ab Archiepiscopo praefato deputato et successione fiat illius consecratio secreto iuxta ritum Armenum sui Graecum Unitum" (APF SC FA. Vol. 2. Fol. 199r-v); "Ut ad minus coadiutore cum futura successiore ecclesiae Archiepiscopalis Leopoldis in Regno Poloniae eundem Vartanum Unianianum promovere et aliquo titulo Archiepiscopali decorare dignetur et iuxta mentem praefatae [Sacrae] Congregationis munia Archiepiscopalia in eadem dioecesi exercere et necessitationibus spiritualibus illorum catholicorum ritus armeni succurre possit" (APF SC FA. Fol. 200r-v; APF SC FA. Vol. 2. Fol. 209r-221v; Fol. 226r. Fol. 227r-v, Fol. 231r; Fol. 238r-v; Fol. 300r-v; Fol. 335r-37v; Scrittura riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Moldavia (APF SC FM) Vol. 1. Fol. 287r; «Նիկողայոս արքեպիսկոպոսն Թոլլատուլեթեամբ Սուրբ Ժողովոյն, ընտրէ եւ ձեռնադրէ յաջորդ իւր զՏէր Վարդանն Յուդանեան, անուամբ եպիսկոպոս Եպիֆանիոյ. եւ առեալ զիշխանութիւն ի Սրբազան Փափէն» Ռօշքայ, p. 183.

⁵ APF SOCG Vol. 471. Fol. 314r; APF SC FA. Vol. 2. Fol. 442r; APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 382r; «Վարդանն Յուդանեան Եպիսկոպոսն շրջելով քարոզութեամբ յարեւելս գայ ի Թոխաթ երկիր իւր, անտի ի Հայս, ի Վիրս, ի Պարսկաստան, ի Միջագետս եւ ի Կիլիկիայ, յորս զբազումս յուղղափառութիւն անէ» Ռօշքայ, p. 185.

⁶ APF SC FA Vol. 2. Fol. 413r-417v, Fol. 420r; Fol. 427r-v; APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 100r; Fol. 287r; Fol. 353r; Fol. 361r-362v; Fol. 464r; Fol. 465r; Ռօշքայ, p. 184.

⁷ APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 462r-v; Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena*, p. 85.

⁸ "Hic obiter tantum relationem brevem de persona Oxendii Virziresci Armeni Alumni Collegii De Propaganda Fide exponam qualiter perveniens in Siciliam (sic! Transylvaniam), et invenerim ipsum optimum ministrum Catholicae Fidei dilatandem per ipsum namque factae sunt conversiones hereticorum numerosa, tot Ecclesia hereticorum recuperatam et prohibitio omnis exercitiis heretici, qua omnia ut oculatus testis adtestans, simul etiam illum eundem ministrum affectuose commendo Eminetissimae Vestrae, quibus semper remanebo" (APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 462v).

⁹ APF SC FA. Vol. 1. Fol. 525r-526v; Fol. 602r-610v; APF SC FM. Vol. 2. Fol. 345r-346r; Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár és Kézirattár (Loránd Eötvös State University's Library and Archive), Budapest, Hungary (ELTE EKK) Collectio Hevenesiana (CH) Cod. 21. Pag. 81; Suren K'olanjian, "Les Arméniens en Transylvanie. Xe-XVIIIe Siècles," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 5 (1967), pp. 359-62.

¹⁰ Ferenc Galla, *Ferences Misszionáriusok Magyarországon: A Királyságban és Erdélyben a 17-18. Században* (Franciscan missionaries in Hungary: in the Kingdom and Transylvania in the 17th and 18th centuries), Szerk, István Fazekas Budapest-Róma, 2005, (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, Vol. 2.), pp. 256-274; Antal Molnár, *Lehetetlen Küldetés? Jezsuiták Erdélyben és Magyarországon a 16-17. Században* (mission impossible? Jesuit Fathers in Transylvania and the Upper-Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries), Budapest, 2009, (L'Harmattan- TDI Könyvek, 8.) pp. 225-247.

¹¹ APF SC FM. Vol. 1. Fol. 155r-156r; Fol. 265r-267r; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 15. Pag. 248; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 16. Pag. 33; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 21. Pag. 8182; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 23. Liber V. Cap. 16 (without pagination); Tihamér 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.

¹² APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 380v-381r; APF SC FM. Vol. 2. Fol. 126r-127r; Fol. 134r-135v.

¹³ 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. 338v; Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione (APF LDSC) Vol. 70. Fol. 54v; APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 417r; Fol. 487r; Fol. 488r; Fol. 490r; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 15. Pag. 249; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 16. Pag. 33; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 21. Pag. 83; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 23. Liber V. Cap. 16 (without pagination); «Օգոստինոս Վրժիւրեան վարդապետն ի Հռոմայ, ուր ուսաւ զգիտութիւն, գայ ի Ճուրճով Մաճառաց եւ սկսանի զուղղափառութիւն ի մէջ ազգին իւրոյ յառաջ արկանել» Ռօշքայ, p. 185.

¹⁴ Oxendio Virziresco in his long report sent to the Holy See in autumn 1686 gave an account of his relationship with the Armenians in Transylvania. In his report, Virziresco related that he was accused by the Armenians of being a spy. In fact, Bishop Minas and his followers intercepted his letters addressed to Federico Veterani (1650-1695), a military general at the Habsburg Court's service in Vienna, and Deodatus Nersesowicz (1647-1709), Titular Bishop of Traianopolis, Interim-Coadjutor of the Uniate Archbishop's Office in Lemberg. Allegedly, Virziresco sent very secret accounts to them on the political and religious situation in Transylvania. For this reason, the Armenians wanted Virziresco to be expelled from Transylvania. Bishop Minas and his clergy laid a charge against him with Michel (Mihály) Apafi (1661-1690), Prince of Transylvania. The

accusation, however, gave no result, for reasons unknown to us. Virziresco continued his missionary work in Transylvania without any further difficulties. APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 468r-469v.

¹⁵ Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena*, p. 86.

¹⁶ APF SOCG. Vol. 537. Fol. 418r-v; Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy, Fondo Austria, Historia (ARSI FA) Vol. 155. Fol. 81v; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 16. Pag. 32; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 21. Pag. 82; ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 23. Liber V. Cap. 16 (without pagination); ELTE EKK. CH. Cod. 29. Pag. 346; ELTE EKK. Collectio Kaprinayana (CK) Cod. 11. Pag. 112; Andreas Ilia, *Ortus et Progressus Variarum in Dacia Gentium et Religioum*, Claudiopolis, 1730, pp. 64, 72; Christophorus Lukácsy, *Historia Armenorum Transsilvaniae a Primordiis Usque Nostram Memoriam e Fontibus Authenticis et Documentis Antea Ineditis Elaborata*, Viennae, 1859, p. 68; Lukács Bárány, “*Verzirescul Oxendius I*, (Oxendio Virziresco’s Biography)”, *Arménia*, 3 (1888), pp. 67, 71; Գրիգոր Վրդ. Գովրիկեան, *Եղիսապետություն. Դրանսիականի չայոց Մարտիրոսը*, Վիեննա, 1894, pp. 10, 14-17, 122-124; Ղևոնդ Ալիշան, *Կամենեց Տարեգրք չայոց Լեհաստանի եւ Ռուսիայի*, Վենետիկ, 1896, pp. 126-127; Gyula Merza, *Örmény Püspökség* (The Armenian Episcopacy in Transylvania), Kolozsvár, 1896, pp. 5, 9-10; Kristóf Szongott, *Szamosújvár Szabad Királyi Város Monográfiája* (monograph of the privileged town called Szamosújvár), Vol. 3, Szamosújvár, 1901, p. 256; Antal Hodinka, *A Munkácsi Görög-Katholikus Püspökség Története* (history of the Greek-Catholic Episcopacy in Munkács-Mukačevo), Budapest, 1909, pp. 2-3; János Karácsonyi, *Magyarország Egyháztörténete* (church-history of Hungary), Budapest, 1929, pp. 219-220; Zsolt Trócsányi, “Տրանսիլվանիայի չայերի Իրաւական Կացութիւնը Լեւոպոլիտան Հրովարտակի Երջանում (1690-1848),” *Չայ-Հունգարական Պատմական եւ Մշակութային Կապերի Պատմութիւնից*, Վլադիմիր Բարխուդարեան եւ Անտալ Վորոշ (խմբ.), Երեւան, 1983, p. 173.

¹⁷ APF SOCG. Vol. 532. Fol. 456r-457r; APF LDSC. Vol. 76. Fol. 90v-91r; APF SC FA. Vol. 4. Fol. 374r-375v; Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano, Vatican City (ASV) Archivio della Nunziatura in Vienna (ANV) Vol. 196. Fol. 219r-220r; *Ստեփանոս Ռոշքայ*, p. 186.

¹⁸ APF SC FA. Vol. 4. Fol. 13r-v; Collegio Urbano (APF CU) Vol. 3. Fol. 472r-v.

¹⁹ APF Acta SC. Vol. 70. Fol. 103r-105v; Fol. 166v; APF SOCG. Vol. 537. Fol. 416r-417r; Fol. 419r-v; APF LDSC. Vol. 89. Fol. 116r-117r; Fol. 224r-225r.

²⁰ APF Acta SC. Vol. 60. Fol. 78r-81v; Fol. 125r-128v; APF SOCG. Vol. 507. Fol. 87r-88v; Fol. 93r-94r; APF SOCG. Vol. 509. Fol. 112r; APF LDSC. Vol. 79. Fol. 7v-8r; Fol. 15r-v; APF LDSC. Vol. 80. Fol. 3v; Fol. 45r-v; APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 469v; APF SC FA. Vol. 4. Fol. 51r-v; Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Moscovia, Polonia e Rutenia (APF SC FMPR) Vol. 2. Fol. 325r-v. Fol. 335r.

²¹ APF SC FA. Vol. 3; Fol. 434r; Fol 498r.

²² This Latin document, originated from Lemberg, is dated February 14, 1687. It is found in APF Scritture riferite nei Congressi (SC) Fondo Armeni Vol. 3. Fol. 434r-v + 435v (Rome, Italy).

²³ Lemberg (Łwów, Ilyvó, Ilov, Lewonopol, Lemburg, Leopoli, L’vov). Now L’viv in the Ukraine.

²⁴ In this context, the Latin term Asia means Asia Minor and Greater Armenia.

²⁵ Correction in the text.

²⁶ Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini (1633-1700), Titular Archbishop of Ephesus, Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw (Poland).

²⁷ Latin. ‘Greek cloak’, Archbishops’ distinctive outfit in the Roman Catholic Church.

²⁸ Minas Zilifdarean-Alëk’sanean T’oxat’ec’i vardapet (ca. 1610-1686), Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians in Moldavia and Transylvania.

²⁹ Correction in the text.

³⁰ Toros Teodor Wartanowicz (Wardanowicz) (1652-1700), Armenian Apostolic Bishop of Transylvania appointed by the Armenian Catholicos after Bishop Minas’ death in 1686. He could never enter Transylvania.

³¹ Vardapet Oxendio Virziresco (1654-1715), alumnus of the Seminary of the Armenian College in Lemberg and the Urbanian College in Rome. Armenian Uniate missionary in Transylvania. As of 1690 he became the Armenian Uniate Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania.

³² Collegium Urbanum (Collegio Urbano, Dpratum Urbaneum), Pontificium Collegium Urbanum. Seminar of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome founded by Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) according to his bull entitled “Immortalis Dei Filius” (Eng. Immortal God’s Son) in Rome on 1st of August in 1627.

³³ The Missionary Institute of the Holy See, established in Rome on January 6, 1622 by Pope Gregory XV’s (1621-1623) bull entitled “Inscrutabili Divinae Providentiae” (Inscrutable Divine Providence).

³⁴ Bishop Johannes Bernatowicz, initially was an Armenian Uniate monk (vardapet), alumnus of the Armenian College in Lemberg. After Bishop Torosowicz’s death in 1681, Bernatowicz reconverted to the Armenian Apostolic faith. The Armenian Catholicos of Cilicia appointed him as a Bishop of the Apostolic Armenians in Poland.

³⁵ Addendum in the text.

³⁶ Correction in the text.

³⁷ Vardan Hunanean (1644-1715), Armenian Uniate Archbishop of Lemberg. alumnus of the Urbanian College.

³⁸ Poland.

³⁹ Edoardo (Odoardo) Cybo (1619–1705). General Secretary of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome. Titular Archbishop of Seleucia.

⁴⁰ Rome.

⁴¹ This Latin document dated February 14, 1687, is written in Lemberg (Łwów/Lviv).The document is at Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Armeni Vol. 3. Fol. 498r.-v, Rome, Italy.

⁴² Correction in the text.

⁴³ Nikol Torosowicz (1604-1681), first Uniate Armenian Archbishop of Lemberg in Poland between 1627 and 1681.

⁴⁴ Latin, ‘Greek cloak’. Archbishops’ distinctive feature in the Roman Catholic Church.

⁴⁵ Vardapet.

⁴⁶ Minas T’oxat’ec’i (ca. 1610-1686), Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians in Moldavia and Transylvania.

⁴⁷ Correction in the text.

⁴⁸ Szeklerland – the south-eastern province of Transylvania.

⁴⁹ Correction in the text.

⁵⁰ Vardapet Oxendio Virziresco (1654-1715), alumnus of the Armenian Seminary College in Lemberg and the Urbanian College in Rome. He was the Armenian Uniate missionary in Transylvania, who later on became the Armenian Uniate Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania from 1690.

⁵¹ Correction in the text.

⁵² Correction in the text.

⁵³ Correction in the text.

⁵⁴ Correction in the text.

⁵⁵ Vardan Hunanean (1644-1715), Armenian Uniate Archbishop of Lemberg, aslumnus of the Urbanian College.

⁵⁶ Poland.

⁵⁷ Rome.

**ՎԱՐԴԱՆ ԱՐՔ. ՅՈՒՆԱՆԵԱՆԻ ԹՐԱՆՍԻԼՎԱՆԻՈՅ ՀԱՅՈՑ ՄԱՍԻՆ ՀՌՈՍ ԳՐԱԾ
1687 ԹՈՒԱԿԻՐ ԵՐԿՈՒ ԱՆՏԻՊ ՆԱՄԱԿՆԵՐԸ
(Ամփոփում)**

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Թրանսիլվանիոյ Հայոց եկեղեցական պատմութիւնը քիչ ուսումնասիրուած նիւթ է Հայ եկեղեցական պատմագրութեան մէջ:

Թրանսիլվանիոյ Հայերը փախած էին Մոլտաւիայէն ու Լեհաստանէն՝ 1668-1672ին, իրենց առաջնորդ Մինաս Եպս. Թոխաթեցիի առաջնորդութեամբ, քանի որ հակադրուէր էին իշխան Կէորկէ Տուքայի հարկային օրէնքներուն:

Գաղթական այս Հայերը Հաստատուեցան Թրանսիլվանիա, քանի որ քաջատեղեակ էին տեղի կրօնական հանդուրժողութենէն: Սակայն, Հռոմի Ուրպանեան Ուսումնարանի շրջանաւարտ Օքսենտիոս Վիրգիլիբեքոն, որ միսիոնարական գործ կը կատարէր Թրանսիլվանիոյ ոչ-կաթոլիկ Հայոց մէջ 1685էն ի վեր, եւ օգնականն էր Լեմպերկի դաւանափոխ առաջնորդ Նիկոլ Թորոսիչի, ջանաց համոզել Մինաս եպիսկոպոսը որ կաթոլիկ դաւանանք ընդունի: Թէեւ Վիրգիլիբեքո չյաջողեցաւ տարահամոզել զինք, բայց կրցաւ անոր ընկերակցութեամբ մեկնիլ Լեմպերկ՝ հանդիպելու կարտինալ Օփիլդո Փալլաւիչիիի, որ Լեմպերկի Հայոց Առաջնորդ Արքեպիսկոպոսն էր: Իսկ Թրանսիլվանիոյ Հայերը ենթակայ էին Լեմպերկի առաջնորդարանին, որ Նիկոլ Թորոսիչ եպիսկոպոսի գլխաւորութեամբ ընդունած էր կաթոլիկ դաւանանքը, թէեւ Թրանսիլվանիոյ Հայերը հակադրուած կը մնային կաթոլիկութեան: Հանդիպումէն ետք Մինաս եպիսկոպոս Թրանսիլվանիա վերադարձի ճամբուն վրայ վախճանեցաւ:

Յօդուածին մէջ, Նատի կը ներկայացնէ երկու փաստաթուղթեր, որոնցմով կասկածի տակ կ'առնէ Վիրգիլիբեքոյի հաւաստիքը, թէ Մինաս եպիսկոպոս Թոխաթեցի ընդունած է կաթոլիկ դաւանանքը: Նատի կը պատճառաբանէ, որ Վիրգիլիբեքո կը ճգնէր դաւանափոխ ընել Թրանսիլվանիոյ Հայերը՝ իբրեւ միսիոնար: Եւ քանի որ Թոխաթեցի վախճանած էր առանց այդ մասին որեւէ խօսք ըսելու իր Հօտին, ապա Նատի կ'առարկէ որ Վիրգիլիբեքո անճիշդ տեղեկութիւն տարածած է այդ մասին, որ մինչեւ այսօր իբրեւ ճշմարտութիւն ընդունուած է պատմագրութեան մէջ: Նատի քննարկելով վերոյիշեալ փաստաթուղթերը կ'առարկէ որ անոնք չեն խօսիր Մինաս եպիսկոպոս Թոխաթեցիի դաւանափոխութեան մասին, հակառակ որ Հռոմ ուղղուած տեղեկագրեր էին անոնք: Ուստի, Նատի կը հետեցնէ որ դաւանափոխութեան լուրը յերկրանք մըն էր Վիրգիլիբեքոյի կողմէ: