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THE DOCUMENT *FIDELIS RELATIO* (1693) AND THE ARMENIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA (A MEMOIRE ABOUT THE ARMENIAN CHURCH IN TRANSYLVANIA)

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The last decades of the 17th century are regarded as one of the most exciting periods in the history of Hungary and Transylvania.¹ The war of liberation against Ottoman occupation, the integration of the relatively independent multi-religious Principality of Transylvania into the Habsburg Empire - led by a politically strong protestant (Calvinist) *élite* - and the colonisation of the uncultivated lands abandoned during the Ottoman rule seriously challenged the Habsburg Court in Vienna.

This period (1686-1711) presented serious challenges to the Hungarian Catholic Church too. Prior to this period, a 'counter-reformation' process in the eastern and northern regions (including Transylvania) of the Hungarian Kingdom, led by the Jesuits, was under way. The process had resulted in uniting the orthodox Romanians in Transylvania with the Roman Catholic Church. The bishops, who were strongly supported by the missionaries delegated from Rome in order to re-organise Catholic religious life, re-appeared at the seats of the dioceses in Hungary and Transylvania previously abandoned due to the Ottoman occupation.

These political changes impacted the development of historiography, in which Hungarian Jesuit fathers had the lion's share. They started systematically collecting historical material about the churches and peoples living in Hungary and Transylvania. Through their activity in collecting the material, the Hungarian Jesuits, led by Gábor Hevenesi (1654-1715), in fact, intended to develop modern Hungarian historiography during the period of the Counter-Reformation.² For this purpose, they made uncountable copies of such documents, in order to bequeath them to posterity.³ The history of the Armenians in Transylvania must, in fact, be analysed in this complicated historical context.

Generally, archives in Hungary have preserved very few documents on the history of the Armenians and their church in Transylvania. The *Fidelis relatio*, written in Latin with a strong Roman Catholic leaning, is an exception in this regard. This source emerged in 2007 from the so-called Hevenesi's Collection (*Collectio Hevenesiana*) at the Library of the Eötvös Loránd State University, Budapest, Hungary.⁴ However, *Fidelis relatio* is not the original manuscript, as it was copied and elaborated by Hungarian Jesuit fathers at the very end of the 17th century.⁵

The author of *Fidelis relatio* is unknown. Presumably, his birth coincides with the activity of the Jesuit fathers in Transylvania. At the same time, the document is closely related to the pastoral activity of Oxendio Virziresco (*Awk'sēnt Vrzarean*) (1654-1715), the Armenian Uniate bishop in Transylvania. Moreover, it could be supposed that Bishop Virziresco himself narrated the Armenians' history in Transylvania to an unknown Jesuit father, or some Hungarian Catholic clergyman in 1693, as the document clearly reflects the Uniate bishop's viewpoint about the Armenians' church history in Transylvania.

Fidelis relatio is divided into six chapters. It narrates the full church-history of the Armenians, from their escape from religious persecution in Moldova and Poland between 1668 and 1672, to the scandalous case of faith's perfidiousness in Bistrița (*Beszterce, Bistritz*) in 1692. The value of the document lies in the fact that it helps to complete the obscure picture of the pastoral activity led by Bishop Virziresco among the Armenians, based on sources kept at the archives in Rome, the Vatican City and Transylvania. Indeed, *Fidelis relatio* should be regarded as the earliest source on the Armenians in Transylvania that summarises their history from the church union perspective.

The Armenians led by the Armenian Apostolic Bishop of Suțeava, Minas Zilifdarean T'oxat'eci (?-1686), escaped from Moldova and Poland between 1668 and 1672.⁶ The Armenian refugees chose Transylvania on purpose, as they had exact information about the religiously tolerant policy pursued by the Transylvanian Principality, which was led by the politically strong Protestant *élite*. Indeed, Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox believers and Jews had been living in relative peace for more than a century in Transylvania. However, Transylvanian Principality laws, which were created as a reaction to the increasing expansion of the Counter-Reformation in other Hungarian provinces, did not permit Catholics to have their own bishop-in-diocese till the very end of the 17th century.⁷

The Apostolic Armenians settled down, dispersed throughout Transylvania, forming economically strong colonies in towns and villages, like Frumoasa (*Csikszépvíz*), Gheorgheni (*Gyergyószentmiklós*), Gurghiu (*Görgényzentimre*), Petelea (*Petele*), Suseni (*Marosfalu*), Batos (*Bátos*) and Bistrița (*Beszterce*).⁸ Furthermore, Mihály Apafi I (1661-1690), the Prince of Transylvania, granted them free trade privileges.⁹ As mentioned before, prior to the increasing political influence of the Catholic Habsburgs, the Counter-Reformation had begun to strengthen in Transylvania. Not surprisingly, the Apostolic Armenians in Transylvania did not remain untouched.

In 1684, prior to the afore-mentioned political and religious changes in Transylvania, missionaries – aiming at creating a church-union with the Apostolic Armenians – were sent by the Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg (*Łwów, L'vov*). The Archbishop's wish to unite the Apostolic Armenians with Rome was due to the fact that Lemberg – before its church-union – had had jurisdiction over the Armenians living in Moldova and Poland.¹⁰ It seems that the Armenians in Transylvania did not come under the spiritual leadership of Lemberg, because they had emigrated from the regions, namely Moldova and Poland, which were under the jurisdiction of the Uniate Archbishop. The Holy See, agree¹ with the Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg and sent out Bishop Virziresco, an Armenian

Uniate priest born in Moldova and educated at the Urbanian College (*Collegio Urbano*) in Rome, on a mission among the Armenians in Transylvania in 1685.¹¹

Due to initial difficulties, and particularly the resistance of the Armenian Apostolic priests, Bishop Virziresco's pastoral activity proved to be hard. He worked for four years to fulfil his mission. Bishop Virziresco had a mixed relation with Minas T'oxat'ec'i, the Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians residing in Transylvania. He was certain that the key to uniting the Armenians with Rome was to convince Bishop Minas of the rightness of conversion to Catholicism. Virziresco was not able to persuade Bishop Minas to unite with Rome. However, he succeeded in convincing Bishop T'oxat'ec'i to come with him to Lemberg and start negotiating with the Apostolic Nuncio of Poland and the Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg on a possible church-union in the autumn of the year 1686.¹²

According to the generally accepted version of history, right before his death, Bishop Minas T'oxat'ec'i made a confession of faith in Rome in the presence of Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini (?-1700), Apostolic Nuncio of Poland, and Vardan Hunanean (1644-1715), Armenian Uniate Archbishop of Lemberg, at the end of year 1686 in Lemberg.¹³ Nonetheless, the sources (namely some missionary letters, reports and accounts), which are found in the historical archives of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) in Rome, written by Archbishop Hunanean, clearly refute the assertion that Bishop Minas could have made a confession of faith in Rome.¹⁴ Furthermore, the sources at the Vatican Secret Archives (*Archivio Segreto Vaticano*) do not confirm Bishop Minas's confession of faith either. These sources only render accounts of Minas's negotiations with Archbishop Hunanean upon a confession of faith and a possible church-union. These negotiations, however, proved to be unsuccessful.¹⁵ Moreover, Bishop Virziresco's long missionary reports between 1686 and 1688 confirm that he was not on good terms with Bishop Minas both from the confessional and the dogmatic point of view.¹⁶ These may attest that Bishop T'oxat'ec'i was unwilling to negotiate upon a confession of faith or a church-union with Rome. These also suggest that there were only religious disputes in Lemberg, and not an issue of confession of faith or church-union with Rome.

It seems Bishop Minas's confession of faith in Rome in Lemberg as a historical fact was propagated by the missionary himself in the 1690s. Indeed, it was in Bishop 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. Consequently, he stated that Bishop Minas died as a Uniate – and not an (Eastern) Apostolic – Bishop as a result of his negotiations in Lemberg. It seems, Bishop Virziresco fabricated a theory of legitimation, justifying his exclusive right to become Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania after Bishop Minas's death. In this manner, he managed to lead his age as well as posterity astray with his theory.¹⁷

Bishop Minas's death undoubtedly facilitated Bishop Virziresco's missionary objective in Transylvania, which was eventually crowned with success. An Armenian delegation from Transylvania, led by two Apostolic priests, *Awagerēc'* Elia Mendrul (1630-1701) and *Vardapet* Vardan Martinus Potoczky (1640-1702),

arrived in Lemberg in order to negotiate about the church-union with the Armenian Uniate Archbishop on behalf of the Transylvanian community.¹⁸ As a result of these negotiations, church-union was declared in Lemberg in February 1689, when the Armenians in Transylvania made a confession of faith in Rome in the presence of the Uniate Archbishop Hunanean.¹⁹ However, as the general session of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith discussed the Armenians' church-union on April 8, 1689, it is advisable to accept this date officially as the date of union.²⁰

Nonetheless, several problems emerged due to the church-union. First of all, the church-union itself was exclusively confined to the acknowledgement of the Roman Papal primacy. Secondly, the church-union did not touch several details of social status and payment of the Uniate clergy and their marital status, usage of language in holy liturgies, usage of the unleavened bread at Eucharist, the *Filioque procedit*-prayer (*ew bxi yOrduoy*), the *Trisagium*-hymn (*Trisagion*), the Purgatory and dogmas of the Ecumenical Synod in Chalcedon, 451 A.D. These problems were resolved in detail during the accession process of other Eastern churches' union in Poland, Hungary and Transylvania.²¹

The success of the church-union meant a great step towards Bishop Virziresco's candidacy for Uniate bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania. After long canonical debates in Rome, Bishop Virziresco was appointed as a Titular – *in partibus infidelium*²² – Bishop by the Holy See on October 3, 1690.²³ Obviously, Rome took the Hungarian Catholic Church's interest into consideration, because the latter was keen to restore the dysfunctional Roman Catholic diocese in Transylvania. Consequently, the Hungarian Catholic Church tolerated just one Catholic Bishop-in-diocese in Transylvania, and not more.²⁴

Bishop Virziresco, owing to his higher education at the Urbanian College, Rome, was faithful to pure Latinisation. He believed Uniate priests should have the same duties as Latin rite clergy. The Uniate clergy in Transylvania, however, was strongly attached to old Armenian liturgical customs despite the church-union. In their view, the church-union was only focused upon acknowledging Roman Papal primacy and nothing else. The problem of interpreting church-union caused diverse tensions within the Armenians²⁵ and led to *Vardapet Vardan's* apostasy in Bistrița in 1692. *Fidelis relatio* sheds some light to this problem too.²⁶

Realising the strengthening of Catholicism supported by the Habsburg Court, the Hungarian Protestant political *élite* in Transylvania disapproved of the Catholic missionaries' activity. They feared that the missionaries delegated by the Holy See, with their re-evangelising activity among the Apostolic Armenians and the Orthodox Romanians, would tilt the religious balance – which had functioned quite well for a century – to the detriment of the Protestants.²⁷ This is why they tried to divide the Uniate Romanians and to reconvert them to Orthodoxy. Besides, this is why, later on they supported, both directly and indirectly, *Vardapet Vardan* against Bishop Virziresco.²⁸ This *élite* did all they could to prevent the missionaries from fulfilling their pastoral ends. The *élite* promised the Armenians to extend their commercial privileges, provided their church-union were cancelled. Moreover, the *élite* became sensitive to the fact that the Armenians were disappointed with the church-union and Bishop Virziresco's stubborn religious

policy. The majority of the Armenians hoped that through their church-union they would receive new and further privileges from the Prince of Transylvania or the Habsburg Court. This is why, hundreds of Armenians rejected the church-union and returned to Moldova.²⁹

As mentioned above, in 1692, in the largest Armenian community of Transylvania, Bistrița, an Armenian priest *Vardapet Vardan*, who was a member of the delegation that had made the confession of faith in Rome in Lemberg on behalf of the Armenian community in Transylvania, started preaching against the church-union and harshly criticised Catholic customs. Furthermore, he attacked Bishop Virziresco, claiming that his Catholic religious policy entirely overshadowed Armenian customs concerning the Eucharist and usage of the Ancient Armenian language (*grabar*) in liturgies. In a sense, Bishop Virziresco was accused of preferring to use Latin in liturgies instead of Armenian.³⁰ Furthermore, he was accused of behaving similarly to Nikol Torosowicz (1604–1681), former Archbishop of Lemberg. *Vardapet Vardan's* preaching proved to be successful. In Bistrița, many Armenian families rejected their Uniate Catholic religion.³¹

Bishop Virziresco, however, accused *Vardapet Vardan* and his followers of apostasy, Monophysite heresy and schismatism. Bishop Virziresco threatened them with the Holy Inquisition (*Sanctum Officium*) in Rome. In his letters and reports addressed to the Holy See, he appealed for help to solve this confessional problem.³² Although the Pope's Court in its replies diplomatically supported Bishop Virziresco, Rome was too far away from Transylvania to aid him. Bishop Virziresco appealed to the Habsburg Court and the Catholic nobility in Hungary, but they were deeply involved in the liberation war against the Ottoman Empire and had no time to spare for *Vardapet Vardan's* apostasy. Bishop Virziresco turned to the support of the Jesuit fathers, but they did not want to meddle overtly in this case, because they feared they could be expelled from Transylvania, through the creation of new laws.³³

Eventually, Bishop Virziresco was obliged to appeal to the Protestant political *élite* of Transylvania in 1692. The Principality's governor and chancellor promised to address this matter.³⁴ Thus, at their behest, two fact-finding committees were appointed to examine *Vardapet Vardan's* apostasy and Bishop Virziresco's religious policy. These committees were very biased against the Uniate Bishop, as the majority of the members consisted of protestant nobles who were against the Catholic presence in Transylvania. The committees reported that practically nothing had happened in the Armenian communities in Transylvania and that the tensions were caused by Bishop Virziresco's stubborn and fanatic Catholic policy.³⁵ Moreover, the committees warned him to exercise only religious and not secular authority over the Armenians in Transylvania, as they noted that Bishop Virziresco tried to pursue secular authority too.³⁶

Due to *Vardapet Vardan's* apostasy case, the Armenians in Transylvania were divided into Uniate believers, apostates and those who refused the church-union and left Transylvania. Eventually, Michael Apafi II (1690–1717), Prince of Transylvania transferred *Vardapet Vardan* and his followers – sixty Armenian families – from Bistrița to his domain, in Dumbraveni (*Ebesfalva, Erzsébetváros, Elisabethopolis*) and formed a new colony. The prince gave them broad trade and

religious privileges. According to the document *Fidelis relatio*, this problem was not solved for some time. Bishop Virziresco had to wait for years to succeed in the Catholicisation of all the Armenians in Transylvania.

Document

Unknown author: *Fidelis relatio*. A Memoire on the Armenians' Church in Transylvania.

Date and Place: 10th of October 1693, Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár, Claudiopolis, Clausenburg), Romania.

Document: ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 21. P. 81-84. (Budapest, Hungary)

Contents: I.- *The arrival of the Armenians and their Apostolic Bishop, Minas T'oxat'ec'i, fleeing from Moldova and Poland to Transylvania*; II.- *The ecclesiastical and economic conditions granted by the authorities to Armenians to establish themselves in Transylvania*; III.- *Bishop Oxendio Virziresco delegated by the Holy See, his pastoral activity and the Armenians' church-union with Rome in Transylvania*; IV.- *Privileges granted to the Armenians in Transylvania before the church-union with Rome*; V.- *The Armenians' faith of faithlessness and Vardapet Vardan Martinus Potoczky's apostasy case in the city of Bistrița*; VI.- *Investigation of Vardapet Vardan's apostasy case instituted by the authorities in Transylvania and its conclusion.*

(P. 81) Fidelis relatio

I. Armenae dioecesis schismatica de Moldavia in Transilvaniam una cum clero, ac Episcopo suo fugibundae.

II. Eius in utrumque forum certis conditionibus admissae.

III. Unitae postea in fides cum Sancta Matre Ecclesia Romana.

IV. Eiusdem ideo moderno tempore modis variis afflictas.

V. Quorundam ex dicta dioecesi iam unitorum ob actualem protectionem iunioris Domini Michaelis Appafi in Ebesfalo apostasiae.

VI. Demum litis huiusque continuationis a biennio inter modernum catholicum episcopum Armenum, et inter illos Ebesfalvenses apostatas coram omnibus Transilvaniae statibus propter dictam apostasiam.

I.

Dioecesis haec Armena, multis ante saeculis in Moldavia³⁷ fundata usque captum Kameneum³⁸ Poloniae,³⁹ distributa in 12 parochiales ecclesias pacefice vixit ibidem sub principibus Moldaviae. Sed capta illa urbe bellicisque inde auctis procellis, pulsa suis locis vagabunda per triennium in montanis, confinibus Siculiae⁴⁰ et Bistrizii,⁴¹ Mahometanam⁴² potentiam, et Moldaviae intolerabiles exactiones effugiendi gratia⁴³ latitabat, spe revertendi ad propria. Verum tamen invalescentibus undis malorum, erabunda sine pastore more pecudum coacta est emigrare

quoquo versus potuit quidam in Poloniam, quidam in Transalpinam,⁴⁴ maior pars tamen intrarunt Siculiam in Giorgio⁴⁵ et Czik,⁴⁶ paucis solum Bistrizium ingressis. Epsicopus autem, praemisso clero suo post populum, adhuc Moldaviam, ob bona episcopalia conservanda non deferens, manebat in residentia sua penes sociaviam (quae residentia nunc ad modum fortalitti munita, Poloni⁴⁷ militivae⁴⁸ actu receptaculum est) inde tamen a Kosacis spoliatus omnibus bonis, emigravit et ipse ad populum in Giorgio. Nomen ipsius erat Minas.⁴⁹

II.

Ergo haec dioecesis taliter translata, indigens in alieno dominio et spiritali, et temporali sustentatione, utriusque fori officiales supplex adivit, quatenus ii, eius calamitatibus sublevandis moti, et Ecclesiae pro spiritali assignarent solamine, et in foro mercaturam pro temporali questu ipsis permetterent. Reverendissimus Pater Vicarius Sebelebi,⁵⁰ etiam tunc in officio existens, capellas duas, unam in Giorgio, alteram in Czik ipsis Armenis concedere ad tempus volens, fidem quam profiterentur, exquivit, qui palliantes proprium schisma termino catholici, ergo ut catholici impetrarunt dictas capellas, datis litteris sub his tribus conditionibus.

1. Ut sint Catholici veri Romani. 2. Ut sit potestas in concedente repetendi easdem capellas, veluti non donatas, sed ad tempus solum concessas et. 3.⁵¹ ut in reditu suo ad propria, si eosque aliquid ornamenti eidem cappellis curaverint, ne secum auferant, sed ibidem remaneat.

Taliter schismatici in Catholicis Ecclesiis suum schisma exercebant, nec ideo (P. 82) putarem erravit Pater Vicarius Sebelebi,⁵² et qui fuerunt tunc patres cum ignari linguae Armenae, quia Armenos punctatim de fide examinarent, sint decepti varii protestationibus et vel maxime externis ritibus suis, ut est cultus sanctorum, signum crucis. Mercaturam liberam ipsis etiam concesserunt status Transilvaniae, sed ita, ut annuatim contribuant florenos ungaricales centum pro communi sublevamine statuum, post tres annos autem cepit regnum ab ipsis pro anno imperiales centum exigere praeter tricesimam,⁵³ quam quilibet iuxta suas merces exsolvunt.

Demum in utroque foro taliter admissi, solum in dictis tribus locis habitabant, sed grassante peste in Transilvania iterum dispersa est, tandem eadem peste cessante interum, sed in pluribus locis substitit, scilicet in Giorgio,⁵⁴ Czik,⁵⁵ Remete,⁵⁶ Petele,⁵⁷ in Gurghin,⁵⁸ in Felfalo,⁵⁹ in Batos⁶⁰ et Bistrizii, et ita in schismate suo perseveravit usque ad 1684.

III.

Anno 1676 cuiusdam Armenorum ex Botusan⁶¹ Moldaviae iudicis filius (nomen parentis Lucas Virzirescus,⁶² filii vero Oxendius Virzirescus⁶³ est) alias commodi mercatoris; plus litteris, quam mercibus tractandis deditus, licet Armenicis instructus, Latinis quoque litteris erudiendi studio accensus

relictis parentibus, Collegium Leopoli Pontificium⁶⁴ intrat, sed post annum a patre suo vi ereptus, iterum in Giorgio reducitur, qui quia schismaticus erat adhuc, schisma Armenorum non revelavit, tentatum tamen⁶⁵ ut uxorem duceret, fugit iterum a parentibus, et per Poloniam ad persuasionem tunc Illustrissimi Domini Martelli,⁶⁶ penes Sacram Maiestatem Poloniae Nuncii Apostolici, Romam it, ibique eiurata haeresi in sancto officio, recipitur in Collegium Urbanum⁶⁷ de Propaganda Fide,⁶⁸ ubi annis aliquot, iudicio superiorum in Latinis instructus, remittitur missionarius ad suos compatrios Armenos, simul et connationales convertendos et uniendos cum Sancta Matre Ecclesia Romana.

Hic ergo redux Romam in Giorgio, conscius palliati schismatis, aperit illud et capellas recipit auctoritate Reverendissimi Vicarii Sebelebi, inde ex propriis parentibus conversionem animarum incipiens, denique intra annos 6 a 1684 usque ad 1690 in tantum laboravit in vinea Domini, ut omnes Armeni tota scilicet dioecesis dispersa in locis puncto 2 scriptis, unionem cum Sancta Matre Ecclesia Romana solemnissime celebraverint, et per legatos suos duos sacerdotes et 7 saeculares praecipuos coram Archiepiscopo Leopolitano Armeno,⁶⁹ iussu Eminentissimi Domini Cardinalis Cantelmi,⁷⁰ tunc penes Sacram Maiestatem Poloniae Nuncii⁷¹ Apostolici solemniter abiuratione haeresis confirmaverint, atque a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Sanctae Memoriae Papa Innocentio XI⁷² benedictionem per proprias litteras postulaverint, sicuti et gratiarum auctoritas ad Eminentissimos Dominos Cardinales Congregationis de Propaganda Fide divexerint.

Hoc fuit opus, non Oxendii illius Virziresci, insufficientis instrumenti et inutilis servi, sed omnipotentis (P. 83) Dei patris postea precum Sanctae Matris Nostrae Ecclesiae Romanae meritorum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, et Clementissimi Imperii Leopoldi Primi.⁷³ Quanta vero passus sit ille Oxendius missionarius intra illos 6 annos, quousque haec unio sit facta, silentium profundissimum illa sepeliat, ne aliqua mercede solutus hic in terris, in caelis vacuus reperiatur, doleo, doleo, doleo, quod ab Ecclesia Romana ipsi de mandato superiorum sit impositus episcopatus eiusdem dioecesis, praedeccessoris sui Minas (qui coram Eminentissimo Domino Cardinale Pallavicino⁷⁴ haeresim abiurans, mortuus est); ne fortassis iugum illud pro mercede annumeretur et in revelatione Christi Domini taxetur tanquam aes sonans et cymbalum tinniens.⁷⁵

IV.

Quamdiu haec natio Armena non se solemiter unierat⁷⁶ Ecclesia Romana a statibus non aggravabatur contributionibus portionum sed solum dabat conventionales florenos centum per annum, sed post unionem statim⁷⁷ quingentis florenis, item anno praeterito bis mille florenis, hoc anno iterum totidem florenis oppressa est, loca ubi habitant, particulares exactiones, praeter domorum conductorum precium, exigunt: iam toties exclusionem minantur; merces, quas alias etiam exercuerunt hic in Regno,

inducere a particularibus nationibus prohibentur, immo et ablatae sunt totaliter a venditoribus. Patroni nulli pro illa: et siqui aliquando ex iustitia sublevare vellent, honorariis aggravant mercedibus, aliquibus in locis nec sacra celebrare licet: etiam sacerdotes unitos multi percusserunt, et mulctam ab eis acceperunt, taceo alios populares. Quae omnia non nisi post factam unionem experitur haec natio: quare plurimi abierunt et si protectio Suae Maiestatis non imponet remedium, etiam ii, qui adhuc manserunt, ob nimias afflictiones abibunt.

V.

Anno 1690 quidam Armenus Potozki Vartanus⁷⁸ Martinus⁷⁹ et sacerdos Armenus unitus, et Nestor,⁸⁰ cum aliquibus 20 circiter familiis obtinent a Principe Transilvaniae Michaeli Apafi,⁸¹ ut quasi praedictis sublevandi miseriae pagum suum Ebesfalo⁸² habitaturi, protectionem quoque in reliquiis agnoscerent; quare iidem insolentes tali protectione, eundem sacerdotem, ne ulterius continuet in unione facta alliciunt, ita ut ille in sacrum calicem in unionis factae cum instillaret modicum aequae teneretur, non instillaret; hinc ignota illa protectione, censuris Ecclesiae, cum aliter non potuit, usus est Oxendius Virzirescus, tunc vicarius apostolicus⁸³ demum pertinacia illorum, a Principe protectorum; visa coram parochis et sede sacra citantur, sed non comparent, ita ut aperte se, ob principis protectionem apostatare⁸⁴ dicerent; sicuti tales effecti, locum illum Ebesfalo ingressi 1691 iam immunes protecti sint a moderno Domino Michaeli Iuniore Apafi,⁸⁵ usque nunc, reliquis tamen in unione perseverantibus in dictis locis sub moderni Catholici Episcopi Armeni disciplina. (P. 84)

VI.

Anno 1692⁸⁶ Oxendius Virzirescus consecratus Episcopus Leopoli⁸⁷ ab Archiepiscopo Leopolitano iuxta bullas pontificias, et iussum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide redit in Transilviam: captaque possessione huius dioecesis advertit immunitatem illorum protectorum in Ebesfalo esse perniciosissimum pro reliquis exemplum, implorat contra illos Excellentissimi Domini Generalis Veterani⁸⁸ auxilium, sed iuniore Apafi⁸⁹ se interponente, lite agere contra illos cogitur coram toto Transilvaniae regno. Episcopus autem Oxendius Virzirescus, sciens nationis suae inconstantiam, litteras cautionales ab omnibus, etiam ab eisdem apostatis ante apostasiam illorum, et sui consecrationem accepit tales, ut siquis in posterum vellet Episcopi sui auctoritatem subterfugere, sexcentis ducatis mulctaretur praeter alias penas Ecclesias. Hinc lite voluit contra illos procedere, bis autem erat inter tres status, et Statum Catholicum:⁹⁰ an hic solus, an omnes status simul deberet revidere causam Episcopi cum apostatis illis; tandem convenerunt status omnes, et decreverunt, ut primo doceat Episcopus coram omnibus statibus, an Ebesfaluenses fuerint, nec ne uniti cum Ecclesia Romana ante

apostasiam? Si ita inveniretur, tunc causam tractet Status Catholicus: sin vero omnes status iudicabunt et post tale decretum Claudiopoli⁹¹ anno praeterito in comitiis deliberatum, statim etiam deputatae sunt 12 personae, quae in decreto illo specificatae sunt, et invenientes⁹² eos unitos fuisse⁹³ cum Ecclesia Romana detulerunt hoc ad intimum consilium statuum; ubi interprete Domino Cancellario Nicolao Bethlen,⁹⁴ dubium ortum est, an scilicet unio illa in fide consistat, aut in aliquo alio? Iterum itaque demandatum est, ut 2o. iterum expediantur nobiles⁹⁵ scribe ad omnes Armenos et exquirant, in fide ne an in alio puncto, sint uniti cum Ecclesia? Sed cum illi nobiles in fide omnino unionem, et non in alio invenissent et autenticassent, ac ad manus Excellentissimi Gubernatoris⁹⁶ tradidissent; nunc quamvis promittatur finalis deliberatio huius causae, nihil tamen praestatur. Quare illis impunibus, periclitatur unio toto ob tales protectiones et protractiones causae hucusque nec huius causae imponetur finis a statibus, nisi mandato Suae Maestatis. Finis.

Claudiopoli. 1693 10 Octobris.⁹⁷

ABBREVIATIONS

- APF = Archivio storico della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o de „Propaganda Fide”, Roma, Rome, Italy.
 APF ASCPF. = Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.
 APF CP. = Congregazioni Particolari.
 APF CU. = Collegio Urbano.
 APF LDSC. = 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 SC FMPR. = Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Moscovia, Polonia, e Rutheni.
 APF SC FUT. = Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Fondo Ungheria e Transilvania.
 APF SOCG. = Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali.
 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 G. = Historia, Res Transylvanica.
 GYÖKPKK = Gyergyószentmiklósi Örmény Katolikus Plébánia Kézirattára [The Archive and Library of the Armenian Catholic Parish in Gheorgheni], Gheorgheni, (Gyergyószentmiklós), Romania.
 PL = Primási Levéltár [The Primate's Archive], Esztergom, Hungary.
 PL AEV = Archivium Ecclesiasticum Vetus.
 PL AEV SPSZ. = Sub Primatae Széchényi (1685–1695).

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Transylvania was an integral part of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Middle Ages. Due to the Ottoman occupation beginning in the early 16th century, the Hungarian Kingdom was divided into three parts until the end of the 17th century: Habsburg Hungary (in other words Upper-Hungary) in the North-western regions; Ottoman Hungary in the centre; and finally the Transylvanian Principality in the East, which functioned as a satellite state with widespread autonomy paying annual taxes to the Ottoman Empire. Transylvania was governed by princes till the very end of the 17th century. They were elected by the Diet of Transylvania but were confirmed (by an *ahdname-i hümayun*) by the Sultans in Constantinople (Istanbul). Therefore, Transylvania, as a satellite state, was a semi-independent political entity in Central East Europe. Since the peace treaties in Paris following World War I (1920), Transylvania has been part of Romania. For further details see *Litterae Missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania (1572-1717)*, vol. 1, Ed. István György Tóth, Roma-Budapest, 2002, pp. 52-53, 56-58, 91-92, 95-97; István György Tóth, “Political Culture in Hungary: One Kingdom in Two World Empires (16th–17th Centuries)” in *Political Culture in Central Europe (10th–20th Century)*, Vol. 1, Middle Ages and Early Modern Era, Halina Manikowska, Jaroslav Pánek, Martin Holý (eds.), Prague, 2005, pp. 333–347.
- ² György Hölvényi, “Hevenes Gábor Útmutatásai a Történeti Forrásanyag Gyűjtéséhez (Gábor Hevenes's Instructions on Collection of the Historical Documents in Hungary),” in *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyve* (Annual of the ELTE University Library) VI, Budapest, 1972, pp. 147-152; László Nagy Szelestei, “A Jezsuiták Forrásgyűjtésének Kezdetei Magyarországon (The Beginning of the Jesuits' Source-Collecting Activity in Hungary),” in *Magyar Könyvszemle* (Hungarian Book Review), 103 (1987), pp. 161-172; Kornél Nagy, “The Catholicisation of the Armenians in Transylvania (1685-1715),” in *Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes* (= AIEA), Newsletter No. 45 Décembre/December (2008), pp. 67-68.
- ³ 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.
- ⁴ The ELTE University itself was initially founded by Cardinal Péter Pázmány (1570-1637), Archbishop of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary, and the Hungarian Jesuits in Nagyszombat (Tirnava, now in Slovakia) 1635. Following the Jesuit order's dissolution under the orders of Pope Clement XIV (1705-1774) in 1774, the University was obliged to move out to Pest (later on Budapest) at the end of the 18th century. See: Borbála Benda-Balázs Dicső-Erdődi, “Erdődy György Peregrinációja (1631-1635) (The Peregrination of György Erdődy, 1631-1635),” in *Századok* (Centuries), 143 (2009), p. 919.
- ⁵ Molnár, pp. 213-215.
- ⁶ APF SC FM. Vol. 1. Fol. 168r-169r, Fol. 233r-236v, Fol. 257r-259v, Fol. 358r-v, Fol. 525r-526v, Fol. 602r-610v; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 16. p. 33; Minas Bžškeanc', *Čanap' arhodut' iwn i Lehastan*, Venetik, 1830, pp. 193-209.
- ⁷ Molnár, pp. 218-222.
- ⁸ Christophorus Lukácsy, *Historia Armenorum Transsilvaniae a Primordiis Usque Nostram Memoriam e Fontibus Authenticis et Documentis Antea Ineditis Elaborata*, Viennae, 1859, pp. 17-18; Yakobos Dašean, *C'uc'ak Hayerēn Dzeragrac Matenadaranin Mxitareanc' i Vienna*, Vienna, 1895, p. 116; Grigor Govrikan, *Elizabēt'opol. Dransilwanioy Hayoc' Metropolisē*, Vienna, 1896, pp. 8-12; Gregorio Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia e Nei Paesi Limitrofi. Parte Terza*, Roma, 1988, p. 81; Molnár, p. 223.

- ⁹ Govrikean, pp. 14-15; Ašot Abrahamyan, *Hamaṛot Urvagic Hay Galt'avayrer* *Patmut'yan*, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1964, pp. 142-145; K'olanjian, p. 361.
- ¹⁰ APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 380/v-381r; APF SC FM. Vol. 2. Fol. 126r-127r, Fol. 134r-135/v.
- ¹¹ APF ASCPF. Vol. 57. Fol. 114r; APF SOCG. Vol. 493. Fol. 30r-31/v, Fol. 376r-378/v; APF SOCG. Vol. 497. Fol. 335/r-v; APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 417r, Fol. 462/r-v, Fol. 464r, Fol. 465r, Fol. 488r, Fol. 490r; APF SC FM. Vol. 1. Fol. 41r-46/v; Tihamér Aladár Vanyó, *Püspöki Jelentések a Magyar Szent Korona Országainak Egyházmegyéiről. 1600-1815* (Bishopric Reports on the Countries of the Hungarian Holy Crown. 1600-1815), Pannonhalma, 1933, p. 113; *Step'anos Rošk'ay Žamanakagrut'iwñ Tarekank' Ekelec'akank'*, Ašx. Hamazasp Oskean, Vienna, 1964, p. 186.
- ¹² APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 468r-469/v.
- ¹³ ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 16, p. 32; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 21, p. 82; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 29, p. 346; Andreas Iliia, *Ortus et Progressus Variarum in Dacia Gentium et Religionum*, Claudiopoli, p. 67; Lukácsy, p. 68; Lewond Ališan, *Kamenic'. Taregirk' Hayoc' Lehastani ew Rumenioy*, Venetik, 1896, p. 17; Antal Hodinka, *A Munkácsi Görög Katolikus Püspökség Története* (History of the Greek-Catholic Bishopric in Munkács), Budapest, 1909, pp. 2-3; Suren K'olanjian, "Les Arméniens en Transylvanie en X^e-XVIII^e siècle," in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 4 (1967), pp. 362-363; Zsolt Trócsányi, "Transilvaniayi Hayeri Iravakan Kac'ut'iwñé Leopoldyan Hrovartaki Šrjanum (1690-1848)," in Vladimir Barxudaryan yev Antal Vörös, *Hay-Hungarakan Patmakan yev Mšakuyt'ayin Kaperi Patmut'yunic'*, Yerevan, 1983, p. 173; Petrowicz, p. 78; Molnár, pp. 222-223.
- ¹⁴ APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 434/r-v, Fol. 498r; APF SC FA. Vol. 4. Fol. 374r-375/v; Rošk'ay, p. 186.
- ¹⁵ APF SOCG. Vol. 532. Fol. 456r-457r; ASV ANV. Vol. 196. Fol. 219r-220r.
- ¹⁶ APF SC FA. Vol. 3. Fol. 468r.
- ¹⁷ "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 interdicensogli l'esercitio ecclesiastico, non solo nelle chiese dette, ma nelle case ancora." APF SC FA. Vol. 4. 13/r-v; "Il vescovo heretico Minas è morto, perciò prego a mandare qualcun quanto posto, per occupare quel posto poichè adesso è il tempo opportuno interim come obbedientissimo e devotissimo figlio della Chiesa Romana [Cattolica] e della Sacra Congregazione resto anchè di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima." APF CU. Vol. 3. Fol. 472/r-v; Kornél Nagy, "Az Erdélyi Örmény Egyházi Unió Vitás Kérdései (1685-1715) (The Controversial Questions of the Armenians' Church-Union in Transylvania, 1685-1715)," in *Történelmi Szemle* (Historical Review), 1 (2009), pp. 100-112.
- ¹⁸ APF ASCPF. Vol. 59. Fol. 165r-169r; APF SOCG. Vol. 504. Fol. 103r; APF SOCG. Vol. 506. Fol. 66r; APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 644r. Fol. 645r; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 15. p. 251; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 16. p. 34; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 21. p. 82; ELTE EKK G. Vol. 522. Fol. 96r., Fol. 137/r-v; GYÖKPKK. No. 1/1.
- ¹⁹ APF SOCG. Vol. 532. Fol. 282r; APF CP. Vol. 647/r-v, Fol. 648/r-v, Fol. 651r.
- ²⁰ APF ASCPF. Vol. 60. Fol. 14/v-19/v; APF LDSC. Vol. 79. Fol. 134/v-135r.
- ²¹ ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 24. p. 83-86, 199-202, 259-260, 267-272; *Symbolae ad Illustrandam Historiam Ecclesia Orientalis in Terris Coronae S. Stephani*, vol. 1, Ed. Nicolaus Nilles, Oeniponte, 1885, pp. 263-269.
- ²² This is a specific term used at the Roman Catholic Church in the ecclesiastical Latin language in the 17th and 18th centuries. The term *in partibus infidelium* roughly means a

- bishop sent out on a mission by the Holy See among the infidels in order to convert them to Catholicism.
- ²³ APF SOCG. Vol. 512. Fol. 180r; APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 612r-617/v, Fol. 628r-629/v, Fol. 630r-631r, Fol. 636r; APF SC FA. Vol. 4. Fol. 140r, Fol. 146/r-v, Fol. 224r; APF LDSC. Vol. 79. Fol. 134/v-135r; APF LDSC. Vol. 80. Fol. 64/v-65r; PLE AEV SPSZ. No. 273/2; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 15. p. 252; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 16. p. 34; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 21, p. 83; ELTE EKK CH. Vol. 29, p. 346; ELTE EKK G. Vol. 522. Fol. 173/r-v; Lukácsy, p. 70; Ališan, p. 128; Rošk'ay, pp. 186-187; Petrowicz, pp. 94-97.
- ²⁴ APF SOCG. Vol. 510. Fol. 94r+101/v; Antal Jakab, *Az Erdélyi Római Katolikus Püspöki Szék Betöltésének Vitája a XVII. Században* (The Controversy on the Roman Catholic Bishopric Seat's Vacancy in Transylvania in the 17th Century), Kolozsvár, 1944, pp. 13-17; János Temesváry, *Erdély Választott Püspökei* (The Elected Roman Catholic Bishops in Transylvania), Vol. 2, Szamosújvár, 1913-1914, pp. 52-57, 108-109; István György Tóth, "Az Első Székelyföldi Katolikus Népszámlálás (Szalainai Isván Bosnyák Ferences Jelentése 1638-ból)" (The First Roman Catholic Conscription in Szeklerland, Transylvania. The Franciscan István Szalainai, of Bosnia's Report from 1638), in *Történelmi Szemle*, 60 (1998) No. 1, pp. 68-69; Ferenc Galla, *Ferences Misszionáriusok Magyarországon: a Királyságban és Erdélyben* (Franciscan Missionaries in Hungary: in the Kingdom and Transylvania), Szerk. István Fazekas, Budapest-Róma, 2005, pp. 189-256, 264-272.
- ²⁵ APF ASCPF. Vol. 61. Fol. 84r-87/v; APF SOCG. Vol. 510. Fol. 97r-98r; APF SC FA. Vol. 4. Fol. 219r, Fol. 233r, Fol. 265r; APF SC FM. Vol. 2. Fol. 386/r-v+388/v; *Litterae Episcoporum Historiam Ucrainiae Illustrantes*, Vol. 4, (1681-1710), ed. Athanasius Welikyj, Romae, 1976, pp. 79-80.
- ²⁶ APF SOCG. Vol. 512. Fol. 181r; ELTE EKK CH. 21, p. 84.
- ²⁷ APF SC FUT. Vol. 4. Fol. 86; Hodinka, pp. 253-255; Greta Monica Miron, *Biserica Greco-catholică din Transilvania. Cler și Enoriași (1697-1782)* (The Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania. Clergy and Laymen), Cluj-Napoca, 2004, pp. 57-74.
- ²⁸ APF SC FA. Vol. 4. Fol. 267/r-v.
- ²⁹ *Ibidem*. Fol. 261r-262r, Fol. 263r.
- ³⁰ *Ibidem*. Fol. 266/r-v.
- ³¹ APF SC FA. Vol. 4. Fol. 265/v.
- ³² *Ibidem*. Fol. 268/r-v.
- ³³ PLE AEV SPSZ. No. 273/2.2; ELTE EKK G. Vol. 522. Fol. 96r.
- ³⁴ PLE AEV SPSZ. No. 274/8.3.
- ³⁵ *Ibidem*. No. 274/4.1.
- ³⁶ PLE AEV SPSZ. No. 274/8.4; ELTE EKK CH. 21. p. 77-80.
- ³⁷ Moldavian Principality.
- ³⁸ Kamenec-Podolsk (*Kameniec-Podolski, Kamenec'*), capital of the province Podolia, in Poland, in this period, now in Ukraine.
- ³⁹ Poland.
- ⁴⁰ Szeklerland, found in the eastern Province of Transylvania, now in Romania.
- ⁴¹ Bistrița (*Beszterce, Bistritz, Pist'ric'*), a German-Saxon city in Transylvania, now in Romania.
- ⁴² Ottoman Turks.
- ⁴³ Correction in the text.
- ⁴⁴ Principality of Wallachia.
- ⁴⁵ Gheorgheni (*Gyergyó*), north-eastern part of Szeklerland, Transylvania, now in Romania.
- ⁴⁶ Ciuc (*Csik*), eastern part of Szeklerland, Transylvania, now in Romania.
- ⁴⁷ Correction in the text.

⁴⁸ Correction in the text.
⁴⁹ Minas Zilifdarean T'oxat'ec'i (?-1686), Armenian Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians in Moldova, later in Transylvania.
⁵⁰ Bertalan Szebelébi (1631-1708), the Roman Catholic Vicar of the Bishopric Office in Transylvania.
⁵¹ Interpolation in the text.
⁵² Addendum in the text.
⁵³ *Tricesima* verbally means the 'Thirtieth part of the incomes', a set of taxes paid annually in Transylvania.
⁵⁴ Gheorgheni (*Gyergyószentmiklós, Niklasmarkt, Šurfov*), city in Transylvania, now in Romania.
⁵⁵ Frumoasa (*Csikszépviz, Sipkic*), village in Transylvania, now in Romania.
⁵⁶ Remetea (*Gyergyóremete, Rēmēdē*), village in Transylvania, now in Romania.
⁵⁷ Petelea (*Petele, Birk, Bēdēlē*), village in Transylvania, now in Romania.
⁵⁸ Gurghiu (*Görgényszentimre, Görgen, Šurjin*), city in Transylvania, now in Romania.
⁵⁹ Suseni (*Marosfalfalu, Pränzdorf, Felfalō*), village in Transylvania, now in Romania.
⁶⁰ Batos (*Bátos, Botsch, Padōš*), German-Saxon village in Transylvania, now in Romania.
⁶¹ Botoșani (*Botusán. Boč'an*), city in the Moldavian Principality, now in Romania.
⁶² Luca Virziresco (*Łukas Vrzarean*) (1614-1661), rich Armenian merchant in Moldova. The Attorney of the Armenian community in Botoșani. Bishop Oxendio Virziresco's father.
⁶³ Oxendio Virziresco (1654-1715), Armenian Uniate missionary and bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania.
⁶⁴ Armenian College (*Collegium Armenum, Collegio Armeno, Dpratun Hayoc*), Seminary for the Uniate Armenian Clergy, founded by the Italian Theatine fathers in 1664, Lemberg, at the behest of the Holy See.
⁶⁵ Interpolation in the text.
⁶⁶ Cardinal Francesco Martelli (?-1708), Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw between 1673 and 1681. Titular Archbishop of Corinthus.
⁶⁷ Urbanian College (*Collegium Urbanum, Collegio Urbano, Dpratun Urbanean*), Seminar of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, founded in 1627, Rome.
⁶⁸ Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fede, Hawatacman Taraceloy Surb Miabanut'iwon*), the Missionary Institute of the Holy See, founded in 1622, Rome.
⁶⁹ Vardan Hunanean (1644-1715), Armenian Uniate Archbishop of Lemberg between 1686 and 1715. Titular Bishop of Epiphania between 1675-1686.
⁷⁰ Cardinal Giacomo Cantelmi (?-1703), Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw between 1688 and 1690. Titular Archbishop of Caesarea.
⁷¹ Correction in the text.
⁷² Pope Innocent XI (1611-1689).
⁷³ Leopold I of Habsburg (1657-1705), Emperor of the Holy German-Roman Empire and King of Hungary.
⁷⁴ Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini (?-1700), Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw between 1681 and 1688. Titular Archbishop of Ephesus.
⁷⁵ Reference in the text to Apostle Saint Paul's Corinthians. I. 13. 1: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."
⁷⁶ Addendum in the text.
⁷⁷ Correction in the text.
⁷⁸ Addendum in the text.

⁷⁹ Vardan Martinus Potoczky (1640-1702), Vardapet, Armenian Uniate priest and monk, lived in Transylvania.
⁸⁰ Nestor Xōčay Serikean (1630-1699), rich Armenian merchant, lived in Bistrița, Transylvania.
⁸¹ Mihály (Michael) Apafi I (1661-1690), Prince of Transylvania.
⁸² Dumbraveni (*Ebesfalva, Ebbeschdorf, Pešp'alöv*, later from 1733: *Elisabethopolis*), city in Transylvania, now in Romania.
⁸³ Addendum in the text.
⁸⁴ Correction in the text.
⁸⁵ Mihály (Michael) Apafi II (1690-1713), Prince of Transylvania.
⁸⁶ Oxendio Virziresco was, in fact, consecrated as a Bishop by Archbishop Vardan Hunanean on 30th of July, 1691, in Lemberg (Rošk'ay, p. 187).
⁸⁷ Lemberg (*Lviv, L'vov, Łwów, Lemburga, Leopoldis, Ilov, Lewonopol, Ilyvō*), city (capital of the province Galicia) in Poland in this period, now in the Ukraine.
⁸⁸ Comte Federico (Frederick, Friedrich) Veterani (1650-1695), an Italian-born General at the service of the Habsburg's Court. He was employed for the Habsburg's Court as a Military Commander-in-Chief in Transylvania.
⁸⁹ Correction in the text.
⁹⁰ Higher Court of the Roman Catholics in Transylvania, founded in 1640, Cluj-Napoca.
⁹¹ Cluj-Napoca (*Kolozsvár, Clausenburg, Claudiopolis*), city in Transylvania, now in Romania.
⁹² Correction in the text.
⁹³ Correction in the text.
⁹⁴ Comte Miklós (Nicholas) Bethlen (1642-1716), Chancellor of Transylvania.
⁹⁵ Interpolation in the text.
⁹⁶ Comte György (George) Bánffy (1660-1708), Governor of Transylvania.
⁹⁷ Addendum in the text.

1693ի FIDELIS RELATIO ՓԱՍՏԱԹՈՒՂԹԸ ԵՒ ԹՐԱՆՍԻԼՎԱՆԻՈՅ ՀԱՅՆԵՐԸ
 (ՅՈՒՇԵԱԳԻՐ ՄԸ ԹՐԱՆՍԻԼՎԱՆԻՈՅ ՀԱՅ ԵԿԵՆԵՑԻԻ ՊԱՍՄՈՒԹԵԱՆ)
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ՓԷ. դարը նկատուած է Հռոմեացիացի եւ Թրանսիլվանիոյ պատմութեան ամէնէն յատկանշական շրջաններէն մին: Այդ դարուն մղուեցաւ Օսմանեան գրաւումին դէմ ազատագրական պայքարը եւ Թրանսիլվանիոյ կիսանկախ բազմահամայնք իշխանապետութիւնը համարկուեցաւ Հռոմեացիոյ:

Հրատարակուող յուշագիրը կ'անդրադառնայ այդ համարկումի գլխաւոր դերակատար կալիքական աւագանիին դերին, ինչպէս նաեւ կաթոլիկ եկեղեցւոյ հետ յառաջացած տագնապին մասին, մանաւանդ որ կաթոլիկ եկեղեցին կը փորձէր վերականգնել իր տեղն ու դերը Թրանսիլվանիոյ մէջ:

Այս ենթախորքին վրայ յուշագիրը կը ներկայացնէ հայ առաքելական եկեղեցւոյ ճակատագրուած վիճակը՝ իբրեւ կռուականձոր՝ երկու ազգեցութիւններու:

Փաստաթուղթէն կը պարզուի որ սխալ է տարածուած այն վերագրումը թէ Թրանսիլվանիոյ հայ առաքելական եկեղեցւոյ առաջնորդ Մինաս Եպս. Թոխաթեցին ընդունած է Հռոմի հաւատամքը եւ թէ ան վախճանած է իբրեւ միաբնակ կրօնաւոր: Իրականութեան մէջ, Թոխաթեցի եպիսկոպոս բանակցութիւններ վարած էր կաթոլիկ եկեղեցիին հետ: Եւ հակառակ անոր որ այդ եկեղեցւոյ պատուիրակ-բանագնաց վեր-

գիրեսքօ եպիսկոպոս չէր կրցած տարհամոզել Թոխաթեցին՝ ընդունիլ կաթողիկոսութիւնը, յամենայնդէպս կրցած էր համոզել վերջինս գալու Լեմպերկ՝ բանակցութեան: Հուսկ, Թոխաթեցիի մահէն ետք արդէն տարածուած էր այդ անճիշդ լուրը, որով կարելի էր հետեւցնել որ եթէ առաքելական եկեղեցւոյ առաջնորդը ընդունած էր կաթողիկոսութիւնը, ապա իր հօտը եւս պարտ էր ընդունիլ զայն:

Փաստաթուղթը կը մանրամասնէ այս քաջքշուկը, ապա կ'անդրադառնայ նաեւ Թոխաթեցի Եպս-ի մահէն ետք հայ առաքելական հօտին վիճակուած կացութեան: Թէ՛ ինչպէս անիկա պառակտուեցաւ կալվինական աւագանիին քաջալերանքով, թէ՛ ինչպէս անոր մէկ մասը վերադարձաւ հայ առաքելական եկեղեցւոյ գիրկը եւ թէ՛ ինչպէս այս խումբը հեռացաւ ու բնակութիւն հաստատեց այլուր՝ առաւել նօսրացնելով հայ համայնքը: