

**Networks of the Armenian Diaspora: The National and International Connections of the
Armenian Catholic Ordinariate in Romania**

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I. Introduction

The aim of the thesis is to discuss the networks of the Armenian Diaspora¹ by the example of the international and national connections of the Armenian Catholic Ordinariate in Romania in the 20th century. As well, try to understand the political changes and their affection on Diaspora. The history of the Armenian Diaspora is one of the most important directions and branches of Armenian history, which needs ongoing deep study and research. It is obvious that the Armenian Diaspora itself is different and has gone through an independent and unique stage of development and formation. As for the causes and stages of development, they are also different, bearing the social, political, economic, and other influences of the time.

First, my purpose is to introduce the historical background of the Armenian Diaspora in Eastern Europe including the flow directions and the integration in the life of the host societies and reflect the Transylvanian Armenian community separately. The next step is the focus on the role and the activity of one of the most vital religious organizations that emerged in Romania at the beginning of the 20th century called the Armenian Catholic Governorate or Ordinariate.²

Today the development of IT and the methods of historical network research make it possible to facilitate historical research based on large and complex relations. This research attempts to observe the case of a complicated network of the Armenian Catholic Governorate

¹ In Armenian, the term "diaspora" is referred to as *Spyurk* which means *scattered* (see Ačařean, Hrač'ey: *Dictionary of Armenian Root Words*. Yerevan, 1926. p.287). The term has come to mean any phenomenon of dispersion from a place, the organization of an ethnic, national, or religious community in one or more countries, a population dispersed across multiple territories, the places of dispersion, any extraterritorial space where exchanges occur (Stephane DuFoix, *Diasporas*, Ed. I, California, 2008, p. 2). The phrase refers to the diaspora that was brought about by the massive emigration caused by the Armenian Genocide (Péter Pál Kránitz, *The New Homeland: Armenian Refugees in Hungary after the Armenian Genocide*, In: *Far Away from Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin*, ed. Bálint Kovács and Emese Pál, Budapest- Leipzig, 2013, p. 104)

William Safran in his *Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return* article reflecting on the Armenian Diaspora comes to the conclusion, that the condition of the Armenians in the diaspora is most like that of the Jews. Armenian ethnicity and the community's togetherness are built on shared religious and linguistic traditions, a common sense of national independence within a limited area, and a legacy of betrayal, persecution, and genocide (p. 84). Armenians have served as middlemen in the host countries in which they have lived. They have also contributed to the science, culture, and modernity of those societies by being high achievers, and well-known in trade and commerce.

² An Ordinariate which is known as a Personal Ordinariate, is the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church very similar to the diocese headed by an ordinary, who is not necessarily a bishop. The structure of the latter, the election of the leaders is defined by the Canon Law (See Book IV, Title VI, Chapter I, II (Cann. 1008-1052))

based on the archival sources of the Armenian Catholic Collective Archive in Gherla (Hungarian: Szamosújvár, Armenian: Hayakaghak). While working in the Fide Propaganda archive and Vatican Apostolic library was another incentive to understand the network between Transylvanian Armenians and Rome. From this point of view, I will highlight the connection with Oriental Missionaries at the beginning of the 20th century. The main materials are the correspondence that allows understanding of the chain of the network. Based on it, I will analyze the connections and relationships between different Transylvanian cities, Bucharest, Budapest, Vienna, etc.

The archival materials of the research are from Gherla, mainly correspondence of the ordinariate consisting of the register books and the letters of individuals³. A study of archival materials in Gherla shows that the Ordinariate acted intensively, having an incredible national and international network. The correspondence was kept not only among Armenian parishes but also included different religious organizations from Budapest, Bucharest, Rome, Venice, Vienna, or Romanian other cities, such as Satu Mare, Oradea, Blaj, Sibiu, Suceava, Bistrita, Arad, etc⁴. On the other hand, these letters are good sources of important information related not only to the issues of the institution but also to general religious questions of the Catholic Armenians. I will try to highlight some of them in my work for future understanding of the topic.

Khachig Tololyan asserts that there are three generalizations that can be made regarding communities and the worldwide diaspora they form. First, communal leaders have been extraordinarily significant to them for an abnormally long time, together with the diasporic institutions, organizations, and associations they head. These elites and institutions have long carried out humanitarian, cultural, and political actions. In the service of the nation-in-exile, this effort has blended selfless voluntarism with organized persuasion and socially compelled involvement. It has also needed material resources and community hierarchies. One of the arguments of Khachig Tololyan is that specifically "diasporic" social formations—which are not simply renamed ethnic groups—have organized, institutionally mobilized, and sustained connections that combine material and cultural exchange between diasporic communities as well as between the diaspora and the homeland.⁵ Based on it, I will try to highlight the role of the Governorate in this transnational process for being a vivid example of the said. The network

³ The main part of the individual letters is addressed or belonged to the governors of the Ordinariate.

⁴ The toponyms are introduced in a separate table (picture. 2)

⁵ Khachig Tololyan, *Armenian Diaspora Entry in Encyclopedia of Diasporas*, Cultures around the world, Vol. 1, Plenum publisher, London, 2004

chain is the integrity of variety, reflecting not only the national and international connections between different cities and organizations but also people, who are the birth of the diaspora, living and working far from their homeland. Here, of course, the cases of the governors of the Governorate can be discussed.

II. Historical Overview

II. 1. Armenians in Eastern Europe

The Armenian people's flow to Europe is described by different dates and directions. It is mentioned from the Middle Ages that a massive immigration happened due to the Armenian Genocide at the beginning of the twentieth century. George A. Bournoutian in his *A Concise History of the Armenian People* attributes the main movements of the Armenian people to the deteriorating conditions of historical Armenia and the fall of the Cilician kingdom.⁶ Those earlier-established European Armenian groups grew considerably and gained greater prominence. On the other hand, the collapse of the Soviet Union was the other incentive for the emigration process.⁷

In Europe, the first place where the Armenians appeared was Crime (in the 8th century), which became a node for the future developed diasporic communities. Later in the fourteenth century, the Armenian elements gradually moved to Poland and Moldova⁸. The latter affected the Armenian settlement in Transylvania as well, which is marked by 1672.

By the time they left in 1778, Armenians had resided in the Crimean Peninsula for more than 600 years, and the migration to the peninsula started from the Byzantine Empire.⁹ The Crimean Armenians were experts in farming and crafts. While speaking their language and having their quarters in towns, they transacted business with non-Armenians in regional tongues

⁶ George A Bournoutian, *A Concise History of the Armenian People (From Ancient Times to the Present)*, Ed. V, Mazda Publishers, Costa Mesa, California, 2006, p. 245

⁷ Torosyan T., Saradyan M., "Haykakan sp'yowr'qi hnaravorowt'yownnery' & azdecowt'yowny' Hayastani Hanrapetowt'yan social-qaghaqakan gorc'y'nt'acneri vra", [The opportunities of the Armenian Diaspora and the influence on the socio-political functions of Republic of Armenia], Center for Prospective Studies and Initiatives, Yerevan, 2017 p. 111-129

⁸ Judit Pál, "Armenians in Transylvania: From Settlement to Integration", In: *Far Away from Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin*, ed. Bálint Kovács and Emese Pál (Budapest: OSZK, BTM, 2013), p. 9

⁹ K. Maksoudian, "Armenian Communities in Eastern Europe" In: *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, Vol II, edited by R. G. Hovhannisyan, Macmillan Press, London, 1997, p. 58

like Italian, Greek, and especially Kipchak Turkish. The region was organized as a prelacy of the Armenian Church in the 14th century, and the bishop's seat was in Surkhat.¹⁰ At the end of the eighteenth century, the Armenians of Crimea migrated to Russia. It should be noted that they never Latinized, at the same time, refraining from intermarrying with other elements.

There were Armenian settlements in Bulgaria as well that date to the eighth century. The directions and reasons for the flow are different. One of them is related to the Byzantine Empire and emerged issues in the Balkans from one side, on the other hand, the newly emerged Paulician sect, among them mainly Armenians. Although the economic situation was not good enough, Armenians continued to move to Bulgaria from Armenia, the Ottoman, and Persian empires at the end of the eighteenth century, the other incentive for the movement was the Ottoman massacres of Armenians in Cilicia and Western Armenia. Since there was no conflict with Bulgarians, Armenians were not discriminated against, they preferred to settle in different cities of Bulgaria. Afterward, many Armenians were repatriated to Armenia or migrated to other places in the middle of the 20th century.¹¹

The other settlement of the Armenian elements in Eastern Europe was Poland. In the eleventh century, the Armenian colony was founded in Kamenets- Podolsk while at the same time, the other Armenian group from Ani was settled in Red Ruthenia, which later became a part of the territory.¹² According to Krzysztof Stopka, the history of Armenians in Galician society is an interaction between a majority that had plenty of options to maneuver between the opposing political parties and a society that was fighting the government for its political objectives.¹³ What refers the directions of the integration in the Galician society, then it took place on several levels. The legal emancipation of Armenians during the Josephine reforms, which granted them all the privileges enjoyed by the bourgeoisie, served as the foundation for this process. The removal of obstacles to socioeconomic advancement also produced a loyal feeling toward Austria. Galicia and Vienna now offered civil service jobs to Armenians. The employment prospects in the army, which encouraged closer affiliation with the state, were a more significant integration situation in the Habsburg monarchy.¹⁴ The other incentive for the process

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 55

¹¹ Ibid. p. 70-73

¹² George A Bournoutian, *A Concise History of the Armenian People (From Ancient Times to the Present)*, Ed. V, Mazda Publishers, Costa Mesa, California, 2006, p. 249

¹³ Krzysztof Stopka, Die Armenier im österreichischen Galizien: Ethnische Verwandlungen in der modernisierenden Gesellschaft, In: *Armenier im östlichen Europa*, ed. Tamara Ganjalyan, Bálint Kovács und Stefan Troebst, Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln Weimar Wien, 2017, p. 393

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 405

was the economic activity of the Armenians, which was another step to integrate into the elite. On the other side, in the eighteenth century, Armenians already acquired properties in Bukovina and Eastern Galicia, formally becoming landowners.

Lemberg was the main residence of the Armenian community in Poland, where with the help of Jesuits, the Armenian church was united with the Holy See at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Oriental trade between Armenian merchants and the Crimea, the Ottoman Empire, and Persia were well known. They served in the Royal Chancery as interpreters as well. Some of them were listed in the royal service as ambassadors or spies. In times of need, they also gave the king credit. All these factors led Polish rulers to defend the Armenian population.¹⁶

The history of Armenians living in Romania is coming from the fourteenth century and the main territories were Bukovina, Moldovia, and Wallachia. Armenians started to settle here, especially after the conquest of Constantinople and Kaffa in the 15th century. From Poland, new migration started to Hungary, Galicia, and other cities, because of the Polish aggression. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, new waves came, but the situation of the community was not good, and it was explained by the transition from a medieval to a modern society. On the other hand, while having extremely close cultural links to Soviet Armenia, the vitality of the Romanian community has been diminished by the closure of various institutions and the influx of immigrants since the 1950s.¹⁷ In his work *Armenier und Rumänen: eine historische Parallele*, Nicolae Iorga thinks that the Armenians and Romanians have similarities in many respects. Here he discusses the national formation, geographically determined destinies, external perception, and the history influenced by neighboring countries.¹⁸

Armenians were known as traders and were in close relations with both the host and neighboring peoples. They were well acquainted with their language and were influenced by it over time. They founded their cities and made an important contribution to the socio-political

¹⁵ K. Maksoudian, *Armenian Communities in Eastern Europe*, p. 70-73

¹⁶ Alexander Osipian, "The "Invitation" of the Armenians into the Galician Rus' in the Renaissance Historical Imagination: Sources and Their Interpretations in Late 16th–Early 17th Century Lemberg" In: *Armenier im östlichen Europa*, ed. Tamara Ganjalyan, Bálint Kovács und Stefan Troebst, Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln Weimar Wien, 2017, p.232

¹⁷ K. Maksoudian, *Armenian Communities in Eastern Europe*, p. 70-73

¹⁸ Nicolae Iorga, "Armenier und Rumänen: eine historische Parallele" In: *Armenier im östlichen Europa*, ed. Tamara Ganjalyan, Bálint Kovács und Stefan Troebst, Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln Weimar Wien, 2017, p. 91

and cultural development of Hungary in life, in the economy, and in the army. This was explained by the great experience accumulated by them over the centuries, the economic ties they acquired inside and outside the country, hard work, and the ability to quickly get accustomed to the new environment.¹⁹ The activity of Armenians led to serious problems for Hungarian and other artisans and many of them appealed to the government several times with a complaint sometimes meeting the requirements.

The reasons for settling here are different. Armenologist Edmond Schütz tries to make a general reference to the circumstances of the emigration of Armenians to Hungary and to understand it by discussing the historical events and economic and social upheavals that forced Armenians to emigrate from their homeland to distant regions. According to him, the first factor was the fragmentation of Armenia between the Byzantine Empire and the Persian Empire in the first millennium. The second reason he connects with the religious issues with the Paulician sect, and the role of the Armenians in it. The next theory that the Armenologist refers to is related to the Khazars. It is noted that the emigration of Armenians to the North Caucasus in peacetime or wartime conditions could contribute to the connection of Armenians with the Hungarians living in the neighborhood of the Khazarian Khanate or under their rule.²⁰

II. 2. Armenians in Transylvania

Referring to the settlement of the Armenian elements in Transylvania we should date it to the 17th century and more precisely to 1672, meanwhile commercial connections of the Armenian community with Transylvania started earlier.²¹ While historians and researchers usually do, it should be taken into consideration, that it is not correct to date the immigration by any

¹⁹ Arzowmanyán A., Transilvaniayi haykakan hamaynqy' ew nra masnakcowt'yowny' qaghaqneri kar'owcmany' ew zargacmany'(17-20-rd dd.),[The Transylvanian Armenian Community and its participation to the construction and the development of the cities] In: "Kant'egh gitakan hodvac'neri jhoghovac'ow" ["Kantegh" collection of scientific articles] Yerevan, 2014. p. 152

²⁰ Schütz, Edmund: *Hayeri artagaght'i glxavor owghghowt'yownnery' mijin darerowm & E'stergomi hay gaghowt'y'*, [The main directions of Armenian emigration in the Middle Ages and the Armenian colony of Esztergom] In: *From the history of Armenian-Hungarian historical and cultural ties*. A collection of articles, ed. V. Barkhudarian, Yerevan, 1983, p. 9

²¹ Judit Pál, "Armenians in Transylvania: From Settlement to Integration", In: *Far Away from Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin*, ed. Bálint Kovács and Emese Pál, OSZK, BTM, Budapest-Leipzig, 2013, p. 9

date, as it is a long and complicated process.²² Speaking about the number of settled Armenians in the territory (3000 families), Judit Pál mentions, that this number for some historians is exaggerated. The census for the Armenian families in 1715/1716 shows 323 families, about 15 widows, and 20 beggars.²³ So, the Armenian population was at best 3000 individuals, but not families.

In Transylvania, the establishment of the Armenian communities was a unique one that was accompanied by the influence of the region through political and constitutional changes and special privileges for Armenians. They settled in different parts of the territory, while the main Armenian colonies from where they moved to other places of the Carpathian Basin were Gherla, Dumbrăveni, Gheorgheni, and Frumoasa. According to Emese Pál, these cities were canonized as Armenian colonies in the 18th century because of the presence of the Armenian Catholic Church, and not due to the number of the Armenian population.²⁴ Gherla almost had the same significance for the Transylvanian Armenians as the city of Ani for the Armenians living in the homeland. The city is distinguished by its baroque style, while the Transylvanian Armenian architecture became a historical and cultural heritage in the twentieth century.²⁵

One of the important events in the history of Transylvanian Armenians relates to the creation of the church union, which was not an easy process. Highlighting the unification of the Armenian Church and its role in the subsequent creation of the Armenian Apostolic Ordinariate, we consider it necessary to make a brief reference to the history of the latter in this chapter.

Studies of the history of the Armenian Church show that the Armenian Church has always tried to keep its identity, not to give way to the influence of Roman and other churches, but in the seventeenth century, the process of church unification and catholicization among Transylvanian Armenians was a special case in the church history. The period of events coincides with the Catholic revival in Hungary and Transylvania when the process of re-Catholicization through the efforts of the Holy See was succeeded among the Orthodox Romanians and

²² Judit Pál, "Örmenyék Erdélyben a 18-19. Században", In: *Örmeny Diaszpóra a Kárpát-medencében*, ed. Sándor Óze and Bálint Kovács, PPKE, Piliscsaba, 2006, p.37

²³ Judit Pál, *Armenians in Transylvania: Their Contribution to the Urbanization and the Economic Development of the Province*, translated by Bogdan Aldea, Imprimeria "Ardealul", Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 96

²⁴ Emese Pál, The Sacral Art of Transylvanian-Armenians, In: *Far Away from Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin*, ed. Bálint Kovács and Emese Pál, Budapest-Leipzig, OSZK, BTM, 2013, p. 74

²⁵ Máté Tamáska, Armenian Townscapes in Transylvania, In: *Armenier im östlichen Europa*, ed. Bálint Kovács und Stefan Troebst, Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln Weimar Wien, 2018, p. 11

Ruthenes in Upper Hungary. Based on the following, Kornél Nagy considers this process not only an issue of Armenian Studies but a cardinal question of common missionary studies.²⁶

The issue of Catholicization among the Armenians was one of the important issues on the agenda, which had to be solved as it had failed during the time of Moldovan Bishop Minas who never wanted to convert to Catholicism. The Holy See, using all means, found it expedient to appoint Oxendio Virziresco to complete it, as he studied at the Urbanian College, the seminary of the Propaganda Fide in Rome²⁷. After the death of Bishop Minas, the mission of the latter was successful and the delegation formally accepted the church union in Lemberg, in 1689.²⁸ The Catholic Faith of Confession was passed to Archbishop Hunanean. This event contributed to the appointment of Oxendio as the first and last titular bishop and apostolic vicar of Transylvanian Armenians two years later. It means, that the vicariate was under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See being accountable to the Vatican.

Since previously Armenian Catholics were primarily referred to as Armenian Uniates, the term Armenian Catholic as a category distinguishing denominational affiliation first appeared in recorded records in connection with Transylvania.²⁹ Actually, The Emperor and King Charles IV (1711–1740) specifically required the Armenian Catholic Church of Transylvania to submit to the authority of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania (Alba Iulia) in matters of faith until an Apostolic Holy See bishop was appointed for them in their ordinance from 1726.³⁰

The period of Oxendio Virziresco as a titular bishop was full of conflicts and scandals with the Armenian priests because of different issues. The first reason was concerned with the differences between Latin and Armenian churches, secondly, Oxendio Virziresco considered himself a representative of the Roman Catholic Church, so the rituals could be done based on

²⁶ Kornél Nagy, "The Church- Union of the Armenians in Transylvania: A Portrait of Uniate Bishop Oxendio Virziresco", In: *Far Away From Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin*, ed. Bálint Kovács and Emese Pál, Budapest-Leipzig, OSZK, BTM, 2013, p. 18

²⁷ Kornél Nagy, "Armenians in Csíkszép- An Introduction" In: *Catalogue of the Armenian Library in Csíkszép/ Frumoasa, Books Printed Before 1851 and Manuscripts*, ed. Bálint Kovács, István Monok, Stefan Troebst, Eszterházy Károly University, Eger, 2018, p. XXII

²⁸ Ibid, p. XX

²⁹ Kornél Nagy, The Foundation of the Armenian (Ruthenian) College of Lviv (Lemberg) (1664–1681). *Eastern Theological Journal*, 2020, 35-77, p. 36

³⁰ Ibid, p. 36

the Latin rite, while the Armenian priests continued to organize everything based on the Armenian one.³¹

The 19th century was a turning point for the Armenians living in Transylvania. As we mentioned above, it was primarily due to assimilation and language loss. Referring to this process, Bálint Kovács identifies three important features, that helped these Armenians in Transylvania at the turn of the 20th century maintain their Armenian identity: the Armenian Church, the language of the liturgy, and the customs.³² Meanwhile, the First and Second World Wars of the 20th century determined the reshaping of the political map of the new world.

From the beginning, Armenians gradually integrated into the new society occupying an important role in the economy, especially as traders and tanners, at the same time being one of the first suppliers of meat in Central Europe.³³ They stand out for their great cultural heritage, which continues to be the center of admiration and attention to this day. The late 19th and early 20th centuries were notable for the Hungarian-Armenian press. A periodical of Hungarian Armenians in the Hungarian press system publications is seen as a provincial press, representing the Transylvanian Armenians as a national minority, spanning up to World War II. The publication of the magazine "Armenia" (1887-1907), which was published in the city of Gherla in Hungarian, was of historical importance.³⁴ Related to the Armenian periodicals published in Gherla and Cluj-Napoca, Bagi-Gevorgyan refers to the basic characteristics that distinguished the Hungarian-Armenian periodicals from the rest and give a reason to consider them purely Armenian periodicals, and not periodicals of other national minorities.³⁵

³¹ Kornél Nagy, "The Church- Union of the Armenians in Transylvania: A Portrait of Uniate Bishop Oxendio Virziresco", In: *Far Away From Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin*, ed. Bálint Kovács and Emese Pál, Budapest-Leipzig, OSZK, BTM, 2013, p. 21

³² Kovács, Bálint: A Transylvanian Perspective of the Armenian Genocide: Magardici Bodurian's Hungarian Novel *Vörös Hold* (Red Moon) (1931). In: István, Ötvös; Zsuzsanna, Keresztfalvi (szerk.) *The First International Conference on Nation under Genocide*. Budapest, 2018. p. 83

³³ Judit Pál, "Armenians in Transylvania: From Settlement to Integration", In: *Far Away From Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin*, ed. Bálint Kovács and Emese Pál Budapest-Leipzig, OSZK, BTM, 2013, p.12

³⁴ Simonyan A. *The Weekly Newspapers of Hungarian-Armenian Communities at the End of the 19th/Beginning of the 20th Century*, In: *Armenier im östlichen Europa*, ed. T. Ganjalyan, Bálint Kovács and Stefan Troebst, Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln Weimar Wien, 2017, p. 485-94

³⁵ Gevorgyan-Bagi, Hay-howngarakan grakan ar'nchowt'yownnery' & «Armenia» amsagiry', [Armenian-Hungarian Literary Relations and the "Armenia" Magazine], Yerevan, 1979

In the second half of the nineteenth century, two orphanages for boys and girls were founded in Gherla. Both orphanages were founded by the local Armenians. Their role grew especially in the 1920s when they became host institutions for the refugees of the genocide.³⁶

Starting from the second half of the 19th century, along with the assimilation of Armenians, we also meet them while carrying out other activities. Many of them held important positions in the government and were famous statesmen. Among them, we can mention László Lukács, who at first held the position of the Minister of Finance, and from 1912 he was the Prime Minister of Hungary. The Minister of Trade was the Armenian Béla Lukács, and the Minister of Culture was Györg Lukács. All three of them came from the same lineage. Armenians also had their contribution in the military area, a vivid example of which is 1848 the revolution and the soldiers who glorified their names in it: two generals, two colonels, and eight majors.³⁷ This event had a crucial role in the Hungarian-Armenian identity and during the meeting of the Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Association was introduced in the following way: “Every single Armenian associated with the battle of the Hungarian country during the golden years 1848–1849, when the existence and independence of the Hungarian nation were in doubt. It was at this time that the Armenians who live in our homeland became integrated into the Hungarian nation.”³⁸

Fleeing from the Armenian Genocide, we can speak of a new wave of migration, Armenians from the different communities of the Ottoman Empire settled in Transylvania. The Armenian orphanages in Gherla became home not only of the children but also of the Armenian Mechitarist monks fleeing from the Ottoman Empire.³⁹ Due to it, Armenians forgot their language and started to use Hungarian as their vernacular,⁴⁰ while the Armenian language was only spoken during the liturgies.

³⁶ Kovács Bálint: Reproduktion der Diaspora. Armenische Ansiedlungen im östlichen Europa nach dem Genozid am Beispiel Gherla/ Armenierstadt in Siebenbürgen. *Armenisch-deutsche Korrespondenz* 2015:3, 39-42.

³⁷ Gabor Bona, Hay zinvorakanneri masnakcowt'yowny' 1848-1849 t't'. Howngariayi azatagrakan Payqarin [The participation of the Armenian military in 1848-1849. Hungarian liberation struggle] In: *From the history of Armenian-Hungarian historical and cultural ties. A collection of articles*, ed. V. Barkhudarian, Yerevan, 1983, p. 357

³⁸ Judit Pál, *Changing Identities: The Armenians from Gherla and the Revolution of 1848 in Transylvania*, In: *Armenier im östlichen Europa*, ed. Tamara Ganjalyan, Bálint Kovács und Stefan Troebst, Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln Weimar Wien, 2017, p. 392

³⁹ Kovács Bálint: Reproduktion der Diaspora. Armenische Ansiedlungen im östlichen Europa nach dem Genozid am Beispiel Gherla/ Armenierstadt in Siebenbürgen. *Armenisch-deutsche Korrespondenz* 2015:3, (39-42.) p. 39

⁴⁰ Péter Pál Kránitz, *Magrdich Bodurian's Red Moon: A Transylvanian Narrative of the Armenian Genocide*, *Haigazian Armenological Review*, Vol. 38, Beirut, 2018

Hakob A. Matevosyan mentions the unification between post-genocide Armenian elements and newcomers, while the latter took leading positions in “shared” diasporic organizations.⁴¹ Similar to Transylvania in Hungary as well the “old” and “new” Armenians met and established joint organizations in Hungary: the Massi Association, the Association of Hungarian Armenians, The Armenian -Hungarian Trading Company, the Armenian Catholic Parish of Budapest, and the Lepsius Relief Association Hungary.⁴²

III. The Armenian Catholic Ordinariate in Romania

The death of Oxendio Virziresco in 1715 changed the whole situation in Transylvania, as the Armenians stayed without the bishop. For a long time, the Holy See faced the following issue of appointing different priests, but because of various reasons, the hopes were not justified. This led to the fact that the Armenians remained without a bishop until the second half of the eighteenth century, during which the Armenian Mechitarists played a major role. On the other hand, the four Armenian Catholic parishes of Gherla, Dumbraveni, Gheorgheni, and Frumuosa were attached to the Roman Catholic Diocese of Transylvania.

Speaking about the Mechitarists it is not possible not to refer to two important persons, who were born in Transylvania and were among the abbots of the Mechitarsit order in Vienna. They are Esztegár Vártán and Gergely Govrik. Esztegár Vártán has many scientific works, especially on the church history of Armenia. Gergely Govrik together with Kristóf Szongott edited the “Armenia” magazine, while he has special geographical and historical publications as well.⁴³

After WWI, by the treaty of Trianon in 1920, all of Transylvania was annexed to Romania which brought new challenges for the local Armenians. First, related to Hungarian-Ar-

⁴¹ H. Matevosyan, “Incompatible Identities: The Armenian Diasporic Communities in Hungary” In: *Armenians in Post-Socialist Europe*, Ed. Konrad Siekierski and Stefan Troebst, Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln Weimar Wien, 2016, p. 172

⁴² Kovács Bálint, Örmények Magyarországon a két világháború között: kapcsolatok és önszerveződés, In: *A hundred years of memory*, Ed. Kovács, Bálint; Botos, Máté L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2019, p. 126

⁴³ Bogos, Mária: A szépvízi örmény közösség. Armenian Minority Municipality, Budapest, 1997

menian political unity, Romanians tried to separate them. One of the steps for it was the prohibition of the Armenian Children to attend the confessional schools for the Hungarians and only attend the state schools.⁴⁴

The issue of the Armenian Catholic diocese in Transylvania emerged. Two suggested versions of the solution concerning it were the following: 1) the independence of the Armenian Catholic bishopric, 2) the creation of an Armenian church administrative unit under the subordinate of Bucharest, which means independence from the Roman Catholic Diocese of Alba Iulia.⁴⁵

The Ordinariate of Catholic Armenians was created on 5 June 1930 by the signed concordat between Vatican and Romania.⁴⁶ So, the Romanian Ordinariate for Catholics of the Armenian Rite is an Eastern Catholic ordinariate that is part of the Armenian Catholic Church under the jurisdiction of the Pope. According to the ecclesiastical law of the Roman Catholic Church, an ordinariate is "*juridically comparable to a diocese*." It is identical to the Apostolic Constitution establishing military ordinariates. It implies that legally speaking, a diocese and an ordinariate are similar. Since the power of the ordinary is also characterized as being vicarious and personal, this does not imply that an ordinariate and a diocese are equivalent.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the term is also defined as a "*personal*".

Due to the annexation of Transylvania, many of the region's Armenians had been Magyarized. The first leaders of the Ordinariate aimed to stop the process of Magyarization and keep the Armenianness (*haykakanowt'yown* in Armenian) of the people. Among them was Sahag Khogian, an appointed Mechitarist monk from Vienna, who even tried to teach and preach the Armenian language without succeeding. After that, he went to Bucharest, and from 1940, Zoltán Lengyel governed the ordinariate.

In 1947, the People's Republic of Romania was announced. Transylvanian Armenians thought that the Roman government could unite them with the Armenian Apostolic Church, which was in Bucharest, and declared themselves Roman Catholics. After 1948, the situation

⁴⁴ Bálint Kovács, "Armenians in Transylvania (From 17th Century Settlement to the 20th Century)", In: *The Armenian Catholic Collective Archive in Armenopolis: Repertory*, ed. Rita Bernád, Bálint Kovács (Budapest-Gyulafehérvár- Leipzig: 2011) p. 219

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 219

⁴⁶ Rita Bernád, "The Armenians in Transylvania and their Church Organization", In: *The Armenian Catholic Collective Archive in Armenopolis: Repertory*, ed. Rita Bernád, Bálint Kovács (Budapest-Gyulafehérvár- Leipzig: 2011) p. 235

⁴⁷ Christopher Hill, (2010) What is the Personal Ordinariate? Canonical and Liturgical Observations, *Ecclesiastical Law Journal*, Vol 12 (No 1), 202-208, p.203

of the Ordinariate was unclear, as a few legislations were passed that repealed the autonomy of the churches and increased state control over them.⁴⁸ One year later the Ordinariate was abolished by the Soviet Union and restored only in 1990. After that, Armenian four parishes (Gherla, Dumbrăveni, Gheorgheni, Frumoasa) operated within the framework of the archdiocese of Alba Iulia.⁴⁹

IV. Theoretical Concept: Historical Network Research

To show the national and international connections of the Armenian catholic Ordinariate, I have chosen historical network research as a method. According to Marten Düren, the concepts and methods of network analysis in historical research are used not only as metaphors but are applied in practice.⁵⁰ Recent studies in social studies demonstrate that formal approaches evolved from social network analysis may also be successfully applied to certain sets of historical data. A network of letters connecting senders and recipients serves as a source of data about both individual actors and collectives. Which is related to the sources, then historical research is restricted to the extraction of relational information from contradictory and incomplete sources. A source is defined as anything that offers important historical knowledge. To receive reliable information about the past, the historian works with a triad comprising heuristics, source criticism, and source interpretation, while historians in most cases don't receive proper training in socio-scientific methods.⁵¹

It is important to emphasize that since the late 1970s, historians have considered the significance of relationships in theoretical notions. Concepts such as *Histoire croisée* have been developed and applied alongside social network analysis methods and theories. According to

⁴⁸ Zoltán Mihály Nagy, Bishop Áron Márton's Arrest, Trial and Release, In: *Szovjet Típusú Kirakatperek Közép- és Kelet-Európában*, ed. Szabó Csaba, Bécs, 2015, p. 118

⁴⁹ Rita Bernád, "The Armenians in Transylvania and their Church Organization", In *The Armenian Catholic Collective Archive in Armenopolis: Repertory*, ed. Rita Bernád, Bálint Kovács (Budapest-Gyulafehérvár- Leipzig: 2011) p. 235

⁵⁰ Düren, Marten: *Historical Network Analysis*. In: *Encyclopedia of Social Networks*, Ed: Barnett, George A., Sage Publishing, 2011

⁵¹ Düren, Marten: *Historical Network Analysis*. 2011

some historians, social groups and communities can't be discussed separately, and their multiple relationships should be taken into an account. But these concepts have not been adopted by the practitioners of historical network analyses.⁵²

Referring to the definition of “social network analyses” or “network theory” it should be said that there are different observations. “Social network analyses” was introduced as a method, a paradigm, a theory, or an approach, a way to view things. For Claire Lemerrier, today's most accepted version among them is the last one which can be adopted by historians, as well. While “network” can be considered as a set of relationships.

Mark Granovetter was one of those who spoke about the “network ideas”, but he himself does not define the “network theory” of social life, because there is no way to remain faithful to the fundamental insights of sociology without paying attention to networks of social relationships.⁵³ It means, that we don't have a specific and unified theory but the point of the formal network analysis is not to get to the conclusion that networks exist or are important, but to take their existence as a hypothesis, to describe their patterns, to understand how they were created or what kind of consequences they have.⁵⁴

Düring, Marten mentions, that historical network research has faced up to the challenges posed by social network analyses. In the historical study, the latter has developed as a new and vibrant discipline; it is still in its embryonic stages, making it challenging to view. But social network analysis techniques and ideas have been used to examine historical data from several different perspectives, including the study of correspondences, social movements, family, and economic history.

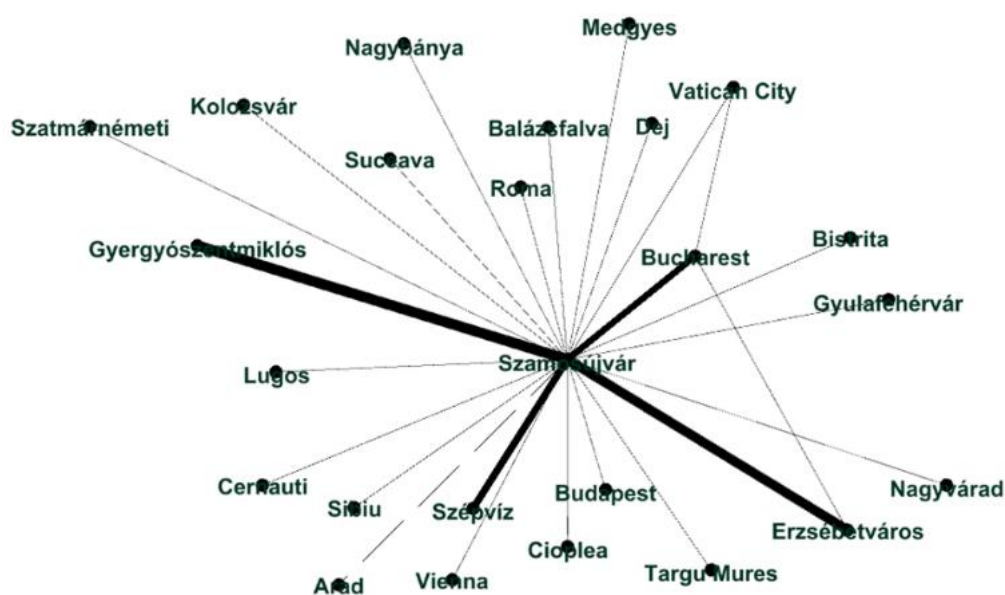
IV. Network of the Armenian Governorate

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Claire Lemerrier. Formal network methods in history: why and how?. Social Networks, Political Institutions, and Rural Societies, Brepols, 2015, pp.281-310,

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Having the archival materials of the Ordinariate handy - letters and register books - I have tried to make the connections of the latter visible to facilitate the study of my topic. First, it was necessary to sort the data according to the dates and the destinations to which the letters were sent, and then create the network. The main methods for visualization are graphs, as they are compact and present a lot of information quickly and fast. After importing the data into Gephi, I got the following graph (Picture 1). Here the Hungarian names of the cities are mentioned, while their different names are introduced in a separate table (Picture 2).



Picture 1

Latin	Hungarian	Romanian	German	Armenian
Armenopolis	Szamosújvár	Gherla	Armenierstadt	Hayakalak/ Kēř'la
Elisabethopolis	Ebesfalva / Erzsébetváros	Dumbrăveni	Elisabethstadt	Ibasfalau / Yelisabet'owpolis
	Gyergyószentmiklós	Gheorgheni	Niklasmarkt	Sēnd Migloš / Čurčov
	Csíkszépvíz	Frumoasa		
	Balázsfalva	Blaj		
	Kolozsvár	Cluj-Napoca		

Apulum	Gyulafehérvár	Alba Iulia	Karlsburg	
	Nagyvárad	Oradea	Großwardein	
	Szatmárnémeti	Satu Mare	Sathmar	
	Lugos	Lugoj	Lugosch	
	Csernovic	Cernăuți		

The names of the Armenian “colonies” and Romanian other cities

Picture 2

The first picture shows the huge national and international network of the Armenian Catholic Governorate in Romania, which I tried to arrange based on different individual letters and register books (SZÖKGYL (Gherla, RO), 345, box. 1, 3, 4). In the archive, two registered books were available related to the correspondence of the Armenian Catholic Ordinariate. According to one of them, the main circle of the network had been among Armenian four parishes sometimes including other cities as well (Bucharest, Cernauti, Cluj-Napoca). While in the case of the second register book, Transylvanian different cities met very frequently (Satu Mare, Blaj, Sibiu, Suceava, Bistrita, Arad, etc.).

This network is constructed based on the ties between different organizations and people, while the picture highlights it from the side of the cities. On the other hand, the edges between Gherla, Bucharest, Frumoasa, Dumbrăveni, and Gheorgheni are thickened to show that more letters were sent in those directions compared with the others. This table provides the necessary data regarding the destinations, dates, and quantity of the letters (picture 3). It is mainly based on the first register book, while in the case of the second register book, the network expands, including other cities as well (picture 4).

Destination	Dates							Number of Letters
	1937	1938	1939	1948	1949	1950	1951	
Gyulafehérvár	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
Erzsébetváros	18	16	1	18	4	12	11	80
Gyergyószentmiklós	16	14	3	16	12	8	13	82
Balázsfalva	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kolozsvár	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Szamosújvár	29	33	2	-	-	-	-	64
Frumoasa	17	16	1	12	8	9	6	69
Bucharest	-	3	-	28	17	4	6	58
Cernauti	11	9	-	-	-	-	-	20

Picture 3

Referring to the individual letters, it should be mentioned, that some letters include the stamps of the parishes and the signatures of clergymen while they are missing in other letters. Some letters include the corrupt versions of the names of senders, for instance, D.aJ.Kr.!, L.J.Chr.! etc. The letters were sent from 1927 up to the end of WWII and the general image of the correspondence is the following: they were written by Zoltán Lengyel, Sahag Kogian, and Alexa Ferenc or were sent immediately to them. Alexa Ferenc sent and received letters from Alba Iulia, while the cases of Lengyel Zoltán and Sahag Kogian are different showing the connection with the Catholic world as well.

While conducting research in the Vatican Apostolic Library, I knew that among the Armenian manuscripts kept there, the ten manuscripts brought from Transylvania (Vat.Arm. 23-32) have their own special place. General research revealed that these manuscripts were transferred to the Vatican during the Oriental Mission commissioned by Pope Pius XI, thanks to Korolevskij, who gained them in Cluj at the beginning of the 20th century.⁵⁵ In one of his letters, he reports that on the way to Bucharest, he stops at the Armenians of Cluj and from there he gains those manuscripts, which are from Amsterdam and Constantinople.⁵⁶ They were sold by Alexa Ferenc, the catholic parish priest from Dumbraveni.

Sahag Kogian was the first governor of the Governorate, who started his activity in 1931. At the beginning of his activity, the mother tongue of his disciples, Hungarian, was unknown to Sahag. However, he spoke Armenian, Russian, and Turkish in addition to five other European languages. Thus, the fundamental prerequisite for the spiritual interaction between the devout and the senior pastor—a shared language—was absent from the start, which particularly alarmed the residents of Gherla.⁵⁷

1931	1934	1935	1936	1937
Szamosújvár	Szamosújvár	Szamosújvár	Szamosújvár	Szamosújvár
Erzsébetváros	Erzsébetváros	Erzsébetváros	Erzsébetváros	Erzsébetváros

⁵⁵ A. Shirinian, *Vaticani Armeni*, In: *Guida Ai Fondi Manoscritti, Numismatici, A Stampa Della Biblioteca Vaticana*, ed. Francesco DAiuto e Paolo Vian, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2011, p. 566.

⁵⁶ Cyrille Korolevskij, *Kniga Bytija Moego (Le livre de ma vie) Memories Autobiographiques*, Tome III (1900-1926), ed. Giuseppe M. Croce, Archives Secretes Vativanes, Cite du Vatican, 2007, p.535

⁵⁷ Bogos, Mária: *A szépízi örmény közösség.[The Armenian Community of Frumoasa]* Budapest, 1997

Gyergyószent-miklós	Gyergyószent-miklós	Gyergyószent-miklós	Gyergyószent-miklós	Gyergyószent-miklós
Szatmárnémeti	Szépvíz	Szépvíz	Szépvíz	Szépvíz
Szépvíz	Cernauti	Cernauti	Cernauti	Cernauti
Gyulafehérvár	Balázsfalva	Gyulafehérvár	Balázsfalva	
Cernauti	Kolozsvár	Sibiu	Sibiu	
Medgyes	Suceava			
Arad	Baimare			
Bucharest	Gyulafehérvár			
Oradea				
Balázsfalva				
Kolozsvár				
Wien				
Dej				
Cioplea				
Lugoj				

Picture 4

In the same year, he was in Frumoasa, and in the História Domus of the Roman Catholic Armenian rite parish is written: *“In 1931, a 200-year-old dream was realized. Armenians from Transylvania once more found common ground. What Armenians had been pounding on for decades finally materialized. The decision of divine providence landed on the proper spot in the form of Dr. Sahag Koghian, a Mechitarist priest from Vienna. We hired a head pastor who is just 35 years old, is well-educated, and has a wide range of viewpoints. His expression exudes goodness, profound spirituality, and compassion for people. Willpower mocks his attitude. He most recently served as the Philippopolis Mechitarist high school's director in Bulgaria. He won the top prize for his work in this capacity”*.⁵⁸

⁵⁸Bogos, Mária: A szépvízi örmény közösség. Budapest, 1997

The Holy See named Sahag Kogian's assistant Zoltán Lengyel as the apostolic governor on July 25, 1939. Zoltán Lengyel was born in Gheorgheni. By that time, he was just 32 years old. In 1930, he went to Vienna to study the Armenian Ritual.

It is evident, that from the beginning of the formation, the Ordinariate had always been in the connection with different cities, but the dates suggest that the correspondence was very intensive at some point, sometimes stopped or initially covered less scope. The first book contains correspondence from 1937 to 1951, while the second one involves correspondence from 1931 to 37. It is interesting, that the signatures of receivers are mainly missing, but the letters of 1940-45 are addressed to Alexa Ferenc.⁵⁹

Based on the found materials, the centrality of this network is Gherla from where approximately ninety and more letters were sent without considering the register books and letters sent to Gherla. It shows that the types of edges in this network are directed but not weighted. On the other hand, the self-loop type also meets here, as letters were sent within the city.

The study of materials shows, that the Ordinariate acted intensively having a huge network. Correspondence was kept not only among Armenian parishes but included different religious organizations from Budapest, Bucharest, Rome, Venice, Vatican, Vienna, or Romanian other cities, such as Satu Mare, Oradea, Blaj, Sibiu, Suceava, Bistrita, Arad, etc. In these letters, different kind of information is possible to find, such as financial, administrative, regulations, orders, church feasts, and so on. Bellow, some of them are discussed.

According to a letter, after a five-year intermission, the Grigor Illuminator's feast is celebrated again and for the liturgy, necessary clothing and accessories are demanded. The letter is written by Alexa Ferenc. In addition to the following, four locations in Transylvania observed Saint Gregory the Illuminator's Day: Gherla, Dumbrăveni, Gheorgheni, and Frumoasa. Bishop Majláth published the life of Saint Gregory the Illuminator in 1906 as a Transylvanian supplement to the Breviary for Latin-rite priests whose parishes had many Armenian Catholics so that these priests could perform the daily psalm and celebrate mass for their Armenian followers on the important holy holiday in honor of Saint Gregory the Illuminator.

According to another letter, Zoltán Lengyel, who was the head of the Governorate in Gherla since 1940, informs in his letter that large taxes and duties have been imposed on the

⁵⁹ SZÖKGYL (Gherla, RO), 345, Document of the Armenian Catholic Apostolic Governorate, 1930-1991. box 4

clergy, which must be removed.⁶⁰ In another letter, Galeaban (probably the surname is not correct as it was not understandable to read) wrote to the head, again referring to taxes, asking for financial support for the school.⁶¹

Letters were sent from Italy as well, including the capital and the Vatican. For instance, a letter from Rome was sent to Bucharest, directly to Sahag Kogian in 1933. The letter also includes the stamp of the Sacra Congregazione Orientale, and the information of it is the following: it indicates and informed about the sent letters redacted in Latin and French by the Commission of Revime Dele Orientals. It is asked to read the canons and send feedback within six months.⁶²

In 1939, from Rome a letter was sent to Gherla, directed to Zoltán Lengyel. The latter is marked by the stamp of Propaganda Fide. The following express the gratitude of Francus Carminati, the general secretary of the organization, towards Z. Lengyel, as the latter and the Armenian Catholics living in Romania, promoted the work of Propaganda Fide in missionary ideas. Another letter sent to Sahag Kogian in 1935 is from Venice. It is written and signed by Ghevond Taeyan and asked to pray for Srapion Uluhocheyan and his activity, as the latter was elected as an abbot of the congregation.⁶³ Already the second letter again directed to Sahag Kogian is from the above-mentioned abbot who inform him about his first church liturgy and express his devotion to the congregation.⁶⁴

In the case of the letters of Dumbrăveni and Alba Iulia, it should be noted that they mainly contain information about the church counts, dead people (such as Zomora Dániel, the grand priest of the cathedral, Márton Áron, Kaszonyi Alajos), and their burials.⁶⁵ Here I would like to emphasize the character of Márton Áron, the bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Alba Iulia. He was among those who stand against communism and Nazism and the abolishment of the Greek Catholic church. However, with his politics, he tried to negotiate with the Romanian state for pastoral care and the application of the measures of the Holy See on legal grounds.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ SZÖKGYL (Gherla, RO), 345, Document of the Armenian Catholic Apostolic Governorate, 1930-1991. box 1

⁶¹ SZÖKGYL (Gherla, RO), 345, Document of the Armenian Catholic Apostolic Governorate, 1930-1991. box 1

⁶² SZÖKGYL (Gherla, RO), 345, Document of the Armenian Catholic Apostolic Governorate, 1930-1991. box 4

⁶³ SZÖKGYL (Gherla, RO), 345, Document of the Armenian Catholic Apostolic Governorate, 1930-1991. Box 1

⁶⁴ SZÖKGYL (Gherla, RO), 345, Document of the Armenian Catholic Apostolic Governorate, 1930-1991. Box 1

⁶⁵ SZÖKGYL (Gherla, RO), 345, Document of the Armenian Catholic Apostolic Governorate, 1930-1991. box 3

⁶⁶ Zoltán Mihály Nagy, Bishop Áron Márton's Arrest, Trial and Release, In: Szovjet Típusú Kirakatperek Közép- és Kelet-Európában, ed. Szabó Csaba, Bács, 2015, p. 116

These letters regarding the deaths of the above-mentioned persons are written in Hungarian, Italian and Romanian languages, and the main sender here is Jahui Bartholomeus. Letters were written from 1933 to 1947. Zomora Dániel, about whose burial there was a letter, sent letters to Sahag Kogian and Zoltán Lengyel from Alba Iulia to Bucharest in 1936 and 1939.

Gherla has been in an active correspondence with the main parishes which is expressed by the orders relating to religious issues, and announcements. For example, in a letter sent in 1940, the participation of all communities in the first training course on 25 January was demanded based on the decision of the Internal ministry. In this case, the letter was directed to Frumoasa, to Ioan Bodurian. The latter is an Armenian catholic priest, who escaped from the Ottoman empire and settled in Frumoasa, wrote a novel related to the atrocities and massacres of the Armenian people, called *Vörös Hold* (Red Moon) which was published in 1931.⁶⁷

V. Conclusion

The history of the Armenian Diaspora was a long process, and the formation was contributed by many factors. Since the Middle Ages, Armenians have settled in various geographical regions, including Eastern Europe. Studying the history of Armenians who settled in Eastern European countries, we can say that Armenians had to face up challenges, meanwhile trying to become a part of the local society.

The Armenian-Hungarian relationship has a long history, while the history of the Armenians settled in Transylvania occupies a special position in the long-term process. Historical research on the history of Transylvanian Armenians is a new and ongoing process, while some of the rich archival material remains unexplored. Over time, being able to adapt to the new territory and culture, the Armenians were able to acquire a number of advantages and occupy an important role in the economy of the host society, meanwhile trying to keep the features typical of Armenian culture. Among the important trials of the time were the religious problems, as well as the danger of assimilation, which became inevitable from the end of the eighteenth

⁶⁷ Kovács, Bálint: A Transylvanian Perspective of the Armenian Genocide: Magardici Bodurian's Hungarian Novel *Vörös Hold* (Red Moon) (1931). In: István, Ötvös; Zsuzsanna, Keresztfalvi (szerk.) *The First International Conference on Nation under Genocide*. Budapest, 2018.

century. And the Armenian Genocide of the twentieth century caused the establishment of new Armenian elements in the region.

One of the important parts of the Transylvanian Armenians' history is the Church's history and the union with Roman Catholic Church. A chain of historical events led to the foundation of the Armenian Catholic Ordinariate in Romania, and the national and international connections of the latter are the focus of this research. Archival materials and other studies show that these connections are large and refer to different socio-political, and religious issues.

VI. List of Archival Materials

SZÖKGYL – Armenian Catholic Collective Archive (Gherla)

[Szamosújvári Örmény Katolikus Gyűjtőlevéltár, Szamosújvár]

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- SZÖKGYL (Gherla, RO), 345, Document of the Armenian Catholic Apostolic Governorate, 1930-1991. Box. 3
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