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Missions and Missionaries among the Csángó Hungarians in Moldova in the 17th Century

Most of the detailed and reliable sources on the life of the Csángó Hungarians in the 17th century are found today in the archives of The Holy Congregation of Propaganda Fide (Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide) in Rome. After the 1622 foundation of the Congregation (a College of Cardinals controlling missions around the world), information multiplied on the life and religious life of the Csángó Hungarians of Moldavia and the use of their mother tongue. The missionaries among them included few Hungarians: most of them were Italian, Bosnian, or Polish, with the question of ethnicity being entirely alien to their ideas shaped by notions of the Counter-Reformation.¹ Their reports on the number of the Csángós, the language use, the language of the sermons and the confessions, and the Csángó customs and beliefs are the best sources we have from those times – though they require critical reading.²

Moldavia was an important missionary field for the Congregation of Propaganda.³ It was a Christian satellite state of the sultan, in which most of the vojvodes and the majority of the population observed the Greek Orthodox religion but the country also had a significant, mainly Hungarian and, to a lesser extent, Saxon, Catholic population. Polish and Hungarian Jesuits, Italian Conventual and Bosnian Observant Franciscan friars provided them cure of souls who often ended up desperately fighting among themselves for the churches and missions. There was a large Catholic population in Moldavia, Hungarians mainly, but they had neither a permanently resident bishop nor enough priests for every Catholic parish.⁴

Although Moldavia was a vassal state of the sultan, the Islam was not a menace to the Catholic population. The Lutheran and Calvinist reformations had an impact

¹ Prosperi, Adriano, *L'Europa cristiana e il mondo: alle origini dell'idea di missione. Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*. 1992. pp. 189–220. *Histoire du christianisme* 8. Le temps des confessions. Ed. Marc Venard. Paris 1992. pp. 561–593.

² More details in: *Litterae missionariorum de Hungaria*. Ed. István György Tóth. Roma–Budapest 2002. I–II., especially the Introduction and pp. 27–68., and *Relationes missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania 1627–1707*. Ed. István György Tóth. Roma–Budapest 1994. pp. 6–17.

³ Tóth, István György: *Ahogy Róma látott minket. Magyarország és Erdély a Propaganda jelentéseiben a 17. században* [As Roma Perceived Us. Hungary and Transylvania in the Reports of the Propaganda in the 17th Century]. In: *Századok*, 136 (2002) 3. pp. 547–581.

⁴ More details in *Moldvai csángó-magyar okmánytár [Archives of the Csángó-Hungarian of Moldavia]*, I–II. Benda Kálmán (Ed.), compilation by Kálmán Benda, Gabriella Jászay, Győző Kenéz, István György Tóth, Bp. 1989. Second, revised one-volume edition: Bp. 2003. Critical discussion of the literature of the issue in the introductory study by Kálmán Benda, with bibliography, especially pp. 12–20.

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on the Catholic Hungarians of Moldavia in the 16th century but both were relegated into the background by the 17th century.⁵ It was assimilation into the dominant population, the Greek Orthodox Romanians, that threatened the Catholic Hungarians of Moldavia in the 16th century and later, in the mid-19th century, as well. It was this threat that Rome tried to fight by having missionaries sent to Moldavia.

Missionaries of various orders and several nationalities arrived in Moldavia.⁶ They were mostly Italians and Polish, but Greeks, Bulgarians, Bosnians, Armenians, and Hungarians also were among them. Naturally, this meant that while the few Franciscan Hungarians from Transylvania and the Jesuits from Habsburg-Hungary understood their Csángó Hungarian believers, this caused a substantial problem for the Greeks or the Italians. Actually, it happened that they heard the confessions with the help of interpreters, which was hardly reconcilable with the law of the seal of the confession.⁷

The élite character of the order influenced the missions of the Jesuits all around the world and, therefore, in Moldavia as well. Much fewer Jesuit than Franciscan missionaries worked in the world but they were much better qualified than their Franciscan brothers – which resulted in a condescending attitude on the part of the Jesuits.

The first Jesuit missions were launched in Moldavia prior to the foundation of the Congregation, in the late 16th century. Giulio Mancinelli, one of the organizers of early Jesuit missions in the Balkans and the founder and head of their mission in Constantinople, visited Moldavia in 1586. In 1588, Polish Jesuits Stanislaus Varsevicius, Justus Rabb, and Johann König-Schonovianus evangelised in Jászvásár (Iasi).⁸ Pál Beke, the most important missionary in Moldavia in the 17th century, served at the Jesuit mission of Kolozsmonostor (Cluj-Manastur) after having concluded his university studies in Graz. He went to Moldavia in 1644 and, from there, he even made it as far as Csöböröcsök, a Hungarian village in Tatarland.⁹ Supported by the vojvode of Moldavia, he organized a school in Jászvásár. The Jesuits had ambitious plans with their mission in Moldavia. The Hungarian Jesuit, Pál Beke, missionary in Transylvania and Moldavia, began his report in

⁵ Craciun, Maria, *Orthodox Piety and the Rejection of Protestant Ideas in XVIth century Moldavia*. In: *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe*. Ed. Maria Craciun-Ovidiu Ghitta. Cluj 1995, pp. 70–91.

⁶ The best Hungarian overview of the religious orders conducting the missions: Török, József, *Szerzetes- és lovagrendek Magyarországon [Monastic Orders and Orders of Knighthood in Hungary]*. Bp. 1990. passim.

⁷ Tóth István György: *Diákok (licenciátusok) a moldvai csángó magyar művelődésben a 17. században [Students (licenciates) in the Csángó Hungarian Culture in 17th Century Moldavia]*. In: *Az értelmiség Magyarországon a XVI–XVII. században*. Zombori István (Ed.) Szeged 1988. pp. 139–148.

⁸ Peris, Lucian, *Le missioni Gesuite in Transilvania e Moldavia nel Seicento*. Cluj-Napoca 1998. pp. 93–119.

⁹ Benda, Kálmán: *Csöböröcsök. Egy tatárországi magyar falu története a 16–18. században [Csöböröcsök. The History of a Hungarian Village in Tatarland in the 16th–18th Centuries]*. *Századok* 1985. (119) 4. pp. 895–916.

1644 in a way characteristic of his orders endeavours: he wrote about Moldavia, from where it was easy to reach Tatarland, which was bordering on the Chinese Empire.¹⁰

The Jesuits sent few but qualified priests to Moldavia, and laid a great emphasis on education and winning the élite. At the beginning of their mission, they requested an audition before the vojvode and sought to establish the best possible relations with the boyars of the vojvode's court. They were responsible for teaching the children of the boyars at the Jesuit school of Jászvásár, which was the top educational institution in Moldavia at the time. Yet, the work of the few, though learned and enthusiastic Jesuit missionaries cannot be compared to that of the Franciscan friars who evangelised among the Hungarian population of Moldavia.

Bosnian Franciscans carried out missionary work of great importance among the Csángó Hungarians of Moldavia in the mid-17th century. They began their work, so far from their Bosnian homeland, in the 1640s.¹¹

The Congregation appointed Bosnian Franciscan Marco Bandini missionary bishop of Moldavia in 1643.¹² He had already proved his missionary abilities as prefect of the order's mission in the surroundings of Temesvár (Timisoara), and had also learned the language of the Romanians living in Temes (Timi) county. At the suggestion of The Holy Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Pope Urban VIII nominated Bandini archbishop of the Bulgarian Marcianopolis. His life – parts of which have been discussed in detail by Croatian, Romanian, German, and Hungarian historians – is a proof that one can understand the true significance of the 17th-century missionaries by stepping out of the framework of historiographies that think in terms of national histories. These missionaries evangelised in all territories of the Northern Balkans that had surrendered to the Ottomans and become either their vilayets or vassals. Bandini studied in Italia, was a Franciscan father superior in Bosnia, episcopal vicar in Slavonia, missionary in Hungary, in the world of diverse ethnicity of the Temesköz, titular archbishop in Bulgaria, and the bishop of the Catholic Csángó Hungarians in Moldavia. Therefore, one can discover the importance of his missionary activity only by regarding these territories as one unit.

¹⁰ *Archives of the Csángó-Hungarian of Moldavia ...* 270., Barbu, Violeta, *Rezidentele leziuite din prima jumătate secolului al XVII-lea în vestul Transilvaniei strategii misionare*. Verbum (Bucarest) 1995–1996. 7. pp. 279–283.

¹¹ Tóth, István György: Szent Ferenc követői vagy a szultán katonái? Bosnyák ferencesek a hódoltsági misszióban [Followers of Saint Francis or Soldiers of the Sultan? Bosnian Franciscans in the Mission in Territories under Ottoman Occupation]. *Századok* 134 (2000) 4. pp. 747–799.

¹² Veress, Andrei, *Scrisorile misionarului Bandini din Moldova (1644–1650)*. *Academia Romana, memoriile sectiunii istorice*. III/VI. 13. Bucuresti 1926. pp. 333–397. Tóth, István György, *A missziós faházból az érseki trónra. Marco Bandini bosnyák ferences miszionárius levelei a hódoltságról [From Missionary Timber House to the Archbishop's Throne. The Franciscan Missionary, Bosnian Marco Bandini's Letters on the Occupation]*. In: *Ezredforduló-, századforduló-, hetvenedik évforduló*. Ünnepi tanulmányok Zimányi Vera tiszteletére. J. Újváry, Zsuzsa (Ed.). Piliscsaba 2001. pp. 164–227.

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Marco Bandini was head of the Bosnian Franciscan mission near Temesvár from 1626 to 1631.¹³ He learned Romanian during these years and, upon his return there in 1639, he confessed nine Romanian-speaking believers in Székács village. He reaped the advantages of his knowledge of Romanian when he became apostolic administrator of Moldavia.

Marco Bandini left for Moldavia in September 1644. The vojvode, however, greeted him with considerable hostility. Bandini, an Observant Franciscan and apostolic administrator, clashed both with the Italian Conventual Franciscan friars, evangelising in Moldavia, and Polish Dominican Jan Zamoyski who, although lived far, in Poland, held the title of Bishop of Bákó (Argeş-Bacau) and considered Moldavia his own diocese. Bandini also came into conflict with the Greek Dominican and future Bishop of Csanád, Giacinto Macripodari, who also laid claim to the office of the Bishop of Moldavia. In his evangelising activities, Bandini leaned on a Hungarian Jesuit missionary, Father Pál Beke. Beke accompanied him and interpreted for him when he visited the churches. With the help of the Hungarian Jesuit, Bandini prepared a valuable report, which became the most important source on the life of the Csángós in Moldavia in the 17th century. Bandini died at his apostolic administrator's seat, in the Moldavian Bákó on 27 January 1650.

Marco Bandini was not alone when he left for Moldavia, that faraway and unknown missionary province: several Bosnian and Bulgarian Observant Franciscans followed him there. Observant Franciscan Fra Elia, who was said to be Bosnian, arrived in Moldavia from Constantinople in 1645. Tommaso a Camergrado, another Bosnian Franciscan, was vicar of Moldavia and prefect of the monastery of Bákó in 1653. Mariano a Sarajevo also evangelised in Moldavia between 1651 and 1655. He arrived in Transylvania in 1630 but then he left the new mission rather quickly and returned to Bosnia. However, after the establishment of the Transylvanian Franciscan custody in the 1640s, we find Fra Mariano in Transylvania again, carrying out missionary work. He went to Moldavia from there in 1645. Later he was elected head of the Transylvanian custody and, at the call of Archbishop Bandini, left for Moldavia where he became vicar-general.

From among the Franciscans working with Bandini, Observant Franciscan Pietro Parchevich, descendant of an illustrious Bosnian-Bulgarian family, played a most significant role later on. Bandini chose the former student of the Italian Illyrian College of Loreto as his secretary in the Bulgarian Csiprovác in 1644. Following the death of Bandini, Pope Innocent X appointed Parchevich vicar apostolic of Moldavia (he was also Archbishop of Marciapolis) and, in 1656, Pope Alexander VII granted him the archiepiscopal title of the late Bandini. However,

¹³ Juhász, Kálmán, *Műveltségi állapotok a Temesközben a török világban* [Cultural Situation in Temesköz in the Ottoman World]. Cluj 1935. (*Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* 76.) pp. 10–19. Idem, *Das Tschanad–Temesvarer Bistum waehrend der Türkenherrschaft 1552–1699*. Dülmen in Westfalen 1938. pp. 208–240. Fodor, Pál, *A temesvári vilajet a török hódoltságban* [Vilajet Temesvár under Ottoman Occupation]. In: *In memoriam Barta Gábor*. Lengvári István (Ed.). Pécs 1996. pp. 195–208.

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Archbishop Parchevich spent more time in the courts of foreign sovereigns, performing diplomatic missions as the envoy of the Habsburgs, than in his dangerous and poor diocese.¹⁴

Bosnian Franciscans could not strike roots in Moldavia. In the country, apart from the few merchants and others who happened to get there, there was no sizable Catholic population of Southern Slav mother tongue, there was no Catholic nobility to patronise the Bosnian Franciscans as in Transylvania, and no Bosnian merchants lived there who would have provided a solid basis for the mission as in Belgrade or Temesvár. Consequently, Bosnian Franciscan missionaries were at a disadvantage as compared with their Hungarian, Polish, and Italian brothers. After the death of their respected leader, Archbishop Marco Bandini in 1650, they were constrained to leave Moldavia and withdrew into Transylvania.

Two other nationalities played a very active role in the missions among the Csángó Hungarians in Moldavia in those times. Although the majority of the Greeks and the Bulgarians turned Orthodox later on, there were many Catholics among them in the 17th century, and their missionaries took a prominent part in the religious life of Moldavia.¹⁵

Bernardino Quirino was a Greek Franciscan from Crete. He joined the Franciscan order in Constantinople and studied in Italy. As Bishop of Argyes and then Bákó, he was the bishop of the Catholics of Moldavia at the end of the 16th century. He was probably killed by the invading Tatars in 1604. He turned to Pope Clement VIII with a detailed report in 1599. Besides the life of the Catholics in Moldavia, he reported on the Lutheran and Calvinist ministers from Transylvania, from whom he had confiscated “heretical”, that is, Protestant books in Hungarian and illegal Bible translations, all of which he burned afterwards. Niccoló Quirini, rescuer of the monastery of Csíksomlyó, was in all probability Bishop Quirini’s nephew. In order that the monastery would not remain unoccupied after the death of the Hungarian Franciscans, the Catholic nobles of Transylvania called in a Franciscan missionary of Cretan origin from the monastery of Tirgoviste in Havasalföld (Wallachia) in 1624.¹⁶ Fra Niccoló arrived in Havasalföld probably with the Franciscan missions in the Balkans, which started out from Constantinople. Since the chronicles of the order call him Miklós Querinus, it is justified to assume that he was a relative, probably the nephew of Bishop Bernardino Quirini, who was also of Cretan origin and arrived in Moldavia from Constantinople.

¹⁴ Pejacsevich, Julian, Peter Freiherr von Parchevich, Erzbischof von Martianopel. *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* LIX (1880), pp. 589–590.

¹⁵ Tóth, István György: Ez a faragatlan nép annak hisz, amit lát ... Katolikus misszionáriusok a török Temesváron [This Rough People Believe in What They Can See... Catholic Missionaries in Ottoman Temesvár]. In: *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére*. Ed. Fodor Pál–Pálffy Géza–Tóth István György Bp. 2002. pp. 373–414.

¹⁶ *Magyar Ferences Levéltár*, Budapest, *Stefanita rendtartomány iratai*, 1. doboz, Inquisitionales litterae circa dilapidationem bonorum conventus. 1624. Cf. Galla, Ferenc, *Harminkilenc kiadatlan Pázmány-levél [Thirty Nine Unpublished Letters by Pázmány]*. Vác 1936. p. 114.

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Niccoló Quirini remained in Csíksomlyó, guarding the monastery and its equipment, until 1626. Then Hungarian Franciscans arrived and he could return to Havasalföld. However, in 1625 he had turned the assets of his monastery, Trigoviste, stored in Csíksomlyó, over to Andrea Bogoslavich, a Dalmatian Franciscan missionary who led a rather adventurous life. In 1623 Bogoslavich prepared the first report on the Catholics of Moldavia for The Holy Congregation of Propaganda Fide.

Girolamo Arsengo (†1610), the next Bishop of Bákó, was also a Catholic Greek from the island of Chios. Before arriving in Moldavia he had evangelised in Poland, Moldavia, and Havasalföld as a Conventual Franciscan.

The Bulgarian Franciscans played an important role in the history of Moldavia. Gabriel Manchich Thomasi had served for six years among Bosnian Franciscans at the mission in Krassóvár (Carasova) in the Temesköz (Temeskuz) in the late 1640s before becoming one of the most ambitious and learned and, at the same time, most troublesome member of the Northern Balkan missions. He evangelised in Transylvania, Havasalföld, and Moldavia in the 1650s and 1660s, he was appointed prefect of the Franciscan mission in Havasalföld and Moldavia, and then obtained the title "vicar apostolic of Transylvania, Havasalföld, and Moldavia". At the time of the Habsburg-Transylvanian-Turkish war between 1658 and 1664, he often appeared in the court of the Polish king, the vojvodes of Moldavia and Havasalföld, and the princes of Transylvania. He wrote part of his reports in code writing, he was a genuine secret agent. However, the detailed report he promised to write about the Catholics of Moldavia was never realised.

Bulgarian Franciscan Pietro Diodato played a major role in Hungarian and Transylvanian history and among the Catholic Hungarians of Moldavia, the Csángós as well. Diodato, the most prominent head of the Bulgarian Catholic Church in the 17th century, was commissioned in 1642 to visit Transylvania as apostolic visitor, but he could not accomplish this task. However, in 1641, Diodato wrote a report on the life and religiousness of the Catholic Hungarian Csángó. His detailed report, in which he also discussed the Greek Orthodox population and touched upon the relations between the Catholics in Moldavia and Transylvania, was the most detailed document on the religious circumstances of Moldavia that reached the Cardinals in Rome to that date.¹⁷

Besides Jesuits and Franciscans, Dominicans also took part in the missions in Moldavia, although to a lesser extent.

Dominican Giacinto Macripodari, future Bishop of Csanád, was one of the most interesting Dominican missionaries in Moldavia. Macripodari was born on the island of Chios, under Ottoman rule, in the early 1610s, consequently the Moldavian sources often refer to him as Giacinto Ischiota. He studied theology in Paris for four years, between 1632 and 1636. Then he became vicar and taught at the Dominican monastery of Chios. Subsequently he worked in the Christian

¹⁷ *Moldvai csángó-magyar okmánytár ...* 204–230.

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quarter of Istanbul as the vicar of the Dominican monastery. His sermons had great success both in Greek and Italian.¹⁸

The learned Macripodari became the confessor of Alexander von Greiffenklaui, imperial envoy to Constantinople, in 1645. This connection and assistance gave an impulse to his carrier and helped him to the mitre. In 1645, although he was still living in Constantinople, he was appointed custodian canon of Esztergom. He arrived in Vienna in the same year and King Ferdinand III nominated him, at the intercession of the envoy of Istanbul, the bishop of the Macedonian Skopje. After that, since the Dominicans held important positions in Bákó in those times, he sought to obtain its episcopal seat.¹⁹

There were several rather active Dominican missionaries in Moldavia, although the (mostly Franciscan) sources did not paint a positive picture of them at all.

Although the Dominicans came only third after the Jesuits and the Franciscans in importance in Moldavia, the relative importance of those missions was still much more significant than that of their activity in Hungary. There are several factors to account for this: the Dominicans had two monasteries in Moldavia at the closing of the Middle Ages and, in the Moldavian mission, which had only a few priests, some of them rose to important offices. Furthermore, the influence of the Dominican missionaries was considerable in the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul and especially among the Tatars of the Crimea as well.

Dominican Giacinto Franceschi da Ossimo was the Moldavian vicar of the Bishop of Bákó. Despite his Italian name, he was probably of Greek origin. He worked as a missionary in Jászvásár in the early 1630s and then went to Csöböröcsök in Tatarland. He served there in 1633 and he had a Catholic wooden church built. After 1638, he was parish priest in Bákó and, at the same time, Bishop of Bákó and the vicar of Zamoyski. Leaving the Moldavian mission behind, he left for Poland in 1649.

Macripodari left Istanbul and went to Moldavia in 1646, where he stayed in its capital city, Jászvásár, and tried anything in order to become the Catholic bishop. He travelled to Poland several times – according to his Franciscan opponents he trafficked in various goods. Macripodari probably knew it well that even though had the support of the (naturally, Greek Orthodox) confessor of Vojvode Lupu Vazul, he would not achieve anything in the vojvode's court without presents. Besides, it is likely that he wanted to obtain the title of the Bishop of Bákó from the Polish king, the liege of Moldavia.

Many backed the plan of Macripodari to become Bishop of Bákó, including the vojvode himself. There were many Greeks among the boyars and the merchants of the court who, although they were Orthodox, got on well with a fellow Greek,

¹⁸ Tóth, István György, *Koszovóból vagy Mezopotámiából? Missziópüspökök a magyarországi török hódoltságban* [From Kosovo or Mesopotamia? Missionary Bishops in Hungary under Ottoman Occupation]. *Történelmi Szemle* 41 (1999) 3–4. pp. 279–329.

¹⁹ *Archives of the Csángó-Hungarian of Moldavia* ... 311. 331–333. 400–401. 521–522.

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the Chian Macripodari. However, the Franciscans impeded his appointment. As a result of his efforts, wrote their leader, Marco Bandini, the “vojvode’s eyes gradually opened to the truth”. Although the vojvode supported the Greek Dominican at first, the Bosnian Franciscan Bandini managed to get the post in the end, and Macripodari left Moldavia. In 1658 King Leopold I of Hungary appointed him Bishop of Csanád, and he lived in Nagyszombat as the assistant bishop of the Archbishop of Esztergom.

Besides Greek, Bosnian, Italian, and Bulgarian friars, Transylvanian Hungarian Franciscans also appeared in Moldavia in the 17th century. Kázmér Damokos, missionary bishop of Transylvania, and the Transylvanian Armenian István Taploczai, guardian of Csíksomlyó, wanted to take over the Franciscan monastery of Bákó for the Transylvanian custody.²⁰ Accordingly, in 1670, they made an agreement with Pietro Parchevich, apostolic administrator of Moldavia. However, their planned Moldavian mission was not realised: their friars were too few even for the Catholics of Transylvania.²¹ Thus, not the Transylvanian Franciscans went to Moldavia but, quite the contrary, the Moldavian Franciscans played an important role in the Catholic missions and education in Transylvania at the end of the 17th century. Following 1683, the outbreak of the war and the incursions of the Tatars, the Italian Conventual Franciscans fled from Moldavia to Transylvania, where they ran a mission and a school in Esztelnek (Estelnic) and Kanta.²²

The Observant Franciscans usually considered the Conventual Franciscan missionaries their rivals but the Bosnian friars managed to evangelise hand in hand with the Dalmatian Conventual, Fra Simone, who was close to them geographically and, due to the shared Croatian language, linguistically as well. Fra Simone – as so many fellow friars – used several names. Because of this, researchers regarded the two Franciscan figures, Simone Appoloni da Veglia and Simone Miserchich da Sebenico two separate persons. The “two” Fra Simone

²⁰ *Fekete könyv. Az erdélyi ferences kusstódia története* [Black Book. History of the Transylvanian Franciscan Custody]. Madas Edit (Ed.). Szeged 1991. pp. 40–43. Boros, Fortunát, A protestáns fejedelmek kora [The Age of Protestant Princes]. In: *Az erdélyi katolicizmus múltja és jelene*. Dicsőszentmárton 1925. pp. 61–82. Tóth, István György, Az első székelyföldi katolikus népszámlálás. (Szalainai István bosnyák ferences jelentése 1638-ból) [The First Catholic Census in Székely land (Report by Bosnian Franciscan István Szalainai from 1638)]. *Történelmi Szemle* 1998. pp. 61–85. Lukács, István, *Dramatizált kaj-horvát Mária siralom Erdélyből* [Dramatised Kajkavian-Croatian Mary’s Lament from Transylvania]. Bp. 2000. pp. 167–175.

²¹ Boros, Fortunát, *Az erdélyi ferencrendiek* [Transylvanian Franciscans]. Cluj-Kolozsvár 1927. pp. 64–92. Boros, Fortunát, *A csíksomlyói harminckét confrater* [Thirty Two Confraters of Csíksomlyó]. Cluj-Kolozsvár 1923. pp. 31–39. Galla, Ferenc, A csíksomlyói ferencendi kolostor viszontagságai Bethlen Gábor idején [Hardships of the Franciscan Monastery in Csíksomlyó under the Rule of Gábor Bethlen]. *A gróf Klebelsberg Kuno Magyar Történetkutató Intézet évkönyve*. IV. Bp. 1934. pp. 283–302.

²² Benda, Kálmán, Ferences iskola Esztelneken a XVII. században [Franciscan School in Esztelnek in the 17th Century]. In: *Az értelmiség Magyarországon a XVI–XVII. században*. Zombori István [Ed.]. Szeged 1988. pp. 131–138.; Sávai, János, *A csíksomlyói és a kantai iskola története* [History of the Schools in Csíksomlyó and Kanta]. Szeged 1997. pp. 173–176., 354–356.

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occur alternately in the *Archives of the Csángó-Hungarian of Moldavia* (the author took part in its compilation) as parish priests of Galac (Galati). The author discovered certain documents in the Holy Spirit Convent of Zagreb, in the archives of the province, that not only prove that the Dalmatian Fra Simone Conventual Franciscan was actually one person, but also help us reconstruct the life of this missionary from the island of Krk (Veglia in Italian). When he left Moldavia after decades of missionary work, he was elected guardian of the monastery in Trieste. In the years that followed, he held the offices of custos, perpetual definitor, and pater provinciae, and died in his province around 1677.²³

The missionaries in 17th century Moldavia included Observant, Reformed, and Conventual Franciscans, Jesuits and Dominicans, and Greeks, Bulgarians, Polish, Italians provided cure of souls for the Catholic Hungarians of Moldavia. This variety disappeared at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the mission of the Italian Conventual friars came to dominate in the Catholic church in Moldavia, which became a source of considerable conflict between the Csángó Hungarians, who insisted on the Hungarian language, and the Italian missionaries, who understood Romanian much more easily.²⁴

²³ *Archives of the Csángó-Hungarian of Moldavia...*. 242–248. 261–262. 281–285. 352–360. 369–376. 380. 400. II. 459–466. 487. 503. 524–525. 779. 790. On the life of the missionary in his own province: Samostan Sveti Duh, Zagreb, Archivum provinciae Dalmatiae OFM Conv, Registrum provinciae Dalmatiae, Acta Congregationis provinciae annorum 1655., 1662., 1664., 1666. 1669., 1670., 1673., 1674. A konventuális ferencesek misszióira: Franciscus Monay: *De provincia Hungarica ordinis fratrum minorum conventualium memoriae historicae*. Romae 1953. pp. 12–19.; Kowalská, Eva, Kláštory frantiskánov na Slovensku a národnostný problém v 17–18. storočí. *Slovenský národopis* 41 (1993) 3. pp. 304–312. *Archivum generale ordinis fratrum minorum conventualium*, Convento Santi Apostoli, Róma, prov. Ungheria S/XXX: A. 1. busta 1, Fasc. 1.

²⁴ Tocanel, Pietro, *Storia della Chiesa Cattolica in Romania. Il vicariato apostolico e le missioni dei frati minori conventuali in Moldavia*. Padova 1960. III/1. pp. 3–52.