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in the Carpathian Basin

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in the Carpathian Basin

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**Mária M. Horváth, Annamária Lupták  
István Monok, Kornél Nagy**

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## ARMENIANS IN CSÍKSZÉPVÍZ – AN INTRODUCTION BY KORNÉL NAGY\*

### The Settlement of Armenians in Transylvania

The history of the Armenians in Transylvania, like several other Central-Eastern European ethnic communities, goes back to the eleventh century when Armenia lost its political independence. The military campaigns of the Seljuk Turks and the Mongols in the following centuries accelerated the exodus of the native Armenians in great number. A significant part of the Armenian refugees fled to the Crimea and to the Russian principalities, on one hand, while another part found new home in Asia Minor, on the Balkans as well as on the coast of Levant. At this last area they founded the independent Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.

The migration of the Armenians was reinforced by the fact that the feudal state of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia became a part of the Mamluk Empire in 1375 when a huge proportion of the local population fled to Eastern Europe and thus enlarged the size of the Armenian communities which had already lived there. The exodus from the mother country had also been non-stop since the end of the fourteenth century when the army of Timur Lenk (*Tamerlan*) (1380–1405) destroyed Armenians.<sup>1</sup>

A decisive change occurred in the life of the Armenian community, that had lived in the Crimea for at least four centuries by then, when the Ottoman Turks occupied the city of Kaffa in 1475 and the Crimean Khanate became a protectorate of the Ottoman Empire. The Armenians of this region then fled in part to Poland, in part to Moldavia. In the same period Armenian refugees coming from the mother country also immigrated to Moldavia and settled down mainly in the towns of Iași, Suceava, Focșani és Botoșani, thus enlarging the population of the Armenian communities that had been living there.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nagy, 2012. 80. p.

<sup>2</sup> Lukácsy, 1859. 63–65. p.



Although it is not proved that the Armenians had settled down in great masses in Transylvania by then, their presence in Transylvania during the fourteenth century was palpable especially in the Saxon towns of Brassó (*Braşov*) and Nagyszeben (*Sibiu*). Most of them were merchants from the Balkans. We also have information about their church and their parish. We have a stamp engraving found in village Tolmács near Nagyszeben where you can read the name Márton (*Martinos*) of an Armenian bishop and the name of a local Armenian parish. Armenian merchants came to Nagyszeben from the Crimea and the Balkans, they dealt in Oriental spices and silk. They held such a strong monopoly in the spice trade of the town that the Saxon merchants pleaded with the Hungarian Royal Court. The Saxons complained that the Armenian merchants were not satisfied with holding the wholesale market in spices and making profit of it but opened retail shops to the disadvantage of the Saxon merchants of Nagyszeben. King Louis I of Angevin, the Great (1342–1382) prohibited the Armenian and other non-local merchants in Nagyszeben to have retail business. In Brassó, in 1339 Armenians shared a church with the local Greek community.<sup>3</sup>

In the period of the Transylvanian Principality several sources provide information about the Armenians. Under the rule of Prince István Báthori/Báthory (1533–1586), later King of Poland (1575–1586), Armenian merchants came to Transylvania in considerable numbers due to the reopening of the Transylvanian part of the Levant trade route. One of the examples for this is the temporary suspension of trade of the Armenian merchants in 1581 by the Prince of Transylvania as a response to the complaint of the Saxon merchants who were jealously protecting their trade positions in Transylvania. The Transylvanian Parliament passed a law on November 4th, 1600 which threatened the merchants of Levant with measures of re-torsion if they sell their merchandise in non-approved places.

In *Approbatæ Constitutiones*, the Transylvanian Book of Law promulgated in 1653, the participation of the merchants of Levant in the trade of Transylvania was regulated. In Székelyland or Szeklerland (*Székelyföld*) it was ordered by the representatives of Csík-, Gyergyó- és Kászoszék

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<sup>3</sup> Kolandjian, 1967. 358. p.

that the merchants of Levant, the Armenians among others, should not trade with their goods during mass.<sup>4</sup>

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Armenian merchants came to Transylvania from Moldavia as well. In a manuscript in Armenian language found in Matenadaran Archive, Yerevan an Armenian merchant called Xaç'ik Kaffayec'i<sup>5</sup> was mentioned who had a shop in Marosvásárhely (*Tirgu Mureş*). He was put up in the house of another Armenian merchant whose name was Ōhannēs Ĵulayec'i.<sup>6</sup> From 1654 on there is information of Armenian merchants in greater number who came from Moldavia and visited the fairs in Gyergyó. An Armenian merchant, Simēon T'orossean mentioned that there were sizable Armenian communities in Ebesfalva (*Ibaşfalău*) and Csíksomlyó (*Şumuleu Ciuc*). This information, however, is not confirmed by other documents.<sup>7</sup>

The Armenian refugees in Transylvania we know of can be divided into two categories. The first bigger group arrived around 1668 led by Bishop Minas Zilifdarean T'oxat'ec'i (1610–1686) from Moldavia and fled the pogroms there.<sup>8</sup> The pogroms were inflicted upon the Armenians because of their involvement in the uprising against Prince of Moldavia. The other group of Armenians came to Transylvania from Poland from Podolia and Kameniec-Podolski due to the military campaign led by the Ottoman Turks.<sup>9</sup>

These Armenian refugees chose Transylvania as their destination because many Armenians knew the circumstances in Transylvania but also for a confessional reason. They were aware of the relatively tolerant confessional relations in Transylvania. This was a decisive factor since the Armenians could also immigrate to Poland where they were well aware of the Church Union in 1627 passed by Archbishop Nikol Torosowicz (1604–1681) and the intolerant proselytisation.

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<sup>4</sup> Veszely, 1860. 22. p.; Pál, 2006. 29. p.

<sup>5</sup> In this article the transcription rules approved by the International Society for Armenian Studies (*AIEA = Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes*) is followed when Armenian names and concepts are transcribed.

<sup>6</sup> MA MS. No. 3519.

<sup>7</sup> Kolandjian, 1967. 359. p.

<sup>8</sup> ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 21. Pag 81.

<sup>9</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 572. Fol. 278r.–279/v.

The majority of the Armenians in Transylvania were town-dwellers which is well described by the surnames of the Armenian immigrants, e.g.: Asc'i (from Iași), Urmanc'i (from Románvásárhely), Poșanc'i (from Botoșani), Fokšanc'i (from Focșani), Suč'ovc'i or Seč'ovc'i (from Sușeava), or Hutinc'i (from Hotin).<sup>10</sup>

Armenian historians give us a more precise description of the origin of the Armenians in Transylvania. According to their studies the majority of the Armenians came to Transylvania from Moldavia. Around 1330 they arrived, in great numbers, to the towns of Botoșani és Iași from the Crimea. This is supported by the fact that the first Armenian stone church in Botoșani was consecrated in 1350 while in Iași in 1395. In 1408 Alexander I (Good), Voivode of Moldavia (1400–1432) invited Armenians from Poland and gave them trade privileges and provided free religious practice. These Armenian groups settled in the towns of Țernovița (*Czernowitz*), Seret, and Sușeava. The Voivode of Moldavia invited another group of Armenians who settled down a decade later in the towns of Cetatea Alba, Hotin and Galați.<sup>11</sup>

Armenian Church almanacs from Poland also prove that from the end of the fourteenth century a considerable Armenian community lived in Moldavia. The church sent their representatives there from Poland. Archbishop of Lemberg (Łwów, L'viv) presided over the Armenian communities in an ecclesiastic sense not only in Moldavia, but also in Wallachia, Bulgaria, Crimea and Thrace.<sup>12</sup>

New results have emerged in the studies concerning the immediate origin of the Armenians in Transylvania during the past centuries which find direct connection between the big wave of Armenian immigration in the last third of the seventeenth century and the events which took place in the mother land. These events, the spahi uprisings led by Kara Yazidji and Deli Hassan in Eastern Anatolia (Armenian Highlands) and the Ottoman-Persian war waged in territories of Armenian population at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth coincided with the from to time violent proselytisation of the Holy See in the spirit of the Council of Trent/Trident

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<sup>10</sup> Kolandjian, 1967. 360. p.

<sup>11</sup> Nagy, 2012. 82. p.

<sup>12</sup> Petrowicz, 1971. 30. p.

(*Concilium Tridentinum*) (1545–1563)<sup>13</sup> and set off a huge wave of refugees primarily in the direction of Eastern Europe. These refugees enlarged the Armenian communities in the Principality of Moldavia which had existed since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many of the new refugees were called T'oxat'ec'i which is less a surname than a denomination meaning someone coming from the town of Tokat (*Dokia, Ewdok'ia, Eudokia*) that is now located in Turkey. One must emphasize the importance of this wave of immigration because the descendants or grandchildren of these Armenians who had to flee from Tokat and its environment became refugees on their turn in 1668 and had to find refuge in the Principality of Transylvania because of the religious and ethnic persecution they suffered in Moldavia. This is in part supported by the philological study of contemporary Armenian sources which states that the majority of the Transylvanian Armenians spoke a dialect of Western Armenian, which resembled in many way to the dialect formerly spoken in Tokat and its surrounding area.<sup>14</sup> This, on the other hand, did not support the myth generally held within the Armenian community in Transylvania that the Transylvanian Armenians were the direct descendants of the inhabitants of Ani, the medieval capital with „the Thousand Towers”.<sup>15</sup> This legend has not been proven and the city of Ani must only have had an allegoric meaning within the Armenian community in late Middle Ages, Early Modern period or in Modern times as it symbolized the former statehood and political independence of the mother land.<sup>16</sup> This myth was disseminated in history at the end of the seventeenth century by the Jesuit scholars and monks, the Czech-Moravian Rudolf Bžensky SJ (1654–1715) and the Hungarian István Csete SJ (1648–1718) who worked in Transylvania and were under the influence of the Armenian Uniate Bishop Oxendio Virziresco (1654–1715).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Schütz, 1988. 50–66. p.

<sup>14</sup> Daranałc'i, 1915. 51. 69 95–96. 108. p.; Hing panduxt t'alasacner, 1921. 120. 131. 171–174. 215. p.; Simēon dpir Lehac'i, 1936. 8. p.; Manr žamanakagrut'yunner, 1956. 194. 294. p.; Rōšk'ay, 1964. 166–168. p.; Hišataranner, 1974. 112. 115. 125–126. 180. 194. 202. 278. p.

<sup>15</sup> MA MS. No. 7442.; Bžškeanc', 1830. 335–342. p.; Schütz, 1978. 125–126. p.

<sup>16</sup> On future occasions when this historical tradition appears, see: Bernád – Kovács, 2011.15–20. p.; Kovács, 2014. 509–518. p.

<sup>17</sup> Father István Csete worked under the pseudonym (in incognito) of Zsigmond Vizkeleti in Transylvania. On Csete István See: APF SC FUT. Vol. 3. Fol. 48/v.; ELTE

In 1672 the Armenian immigrants came from Poland due to warfare but the Armenians arriving in Transylvania then were linguistically distinct from the ones who came in 1668. The forefathers of the Armenian refugees who arrived in Transylvania from Poland in 1672 emigrated from the Crimea back in the fifteenth century where the Armenians had undergone a change of language during the late medieval period when they adopted and used in everyday life the Crimean Kipchak Turkish language. In writing they still used Armenian writing. This was the so-called Armenian-Kipchak language. The version used in Poland naturally borrowed many Polish words.<sup>18</sup>

In connection with Armenians settling down in Transylvania some clarification is needed. There are data which prove that Armenians from Moldavia came to Transylvania in smaller number earlier. This was facilitated by the privilege the Prince gave to Gyergyószentmiklós (*Gheorgheni*) in 1607 to hold national fairs. The Armenians living in neighbouring countries (Poland and Moldavia) were attracted to the three annual fairs as well as the weekly ones. First they came as merchants and later on they settled down in Gyergyószentmiklós in small groups. The first group found home in the town in 1637 while in 1654 several Armenian merchants settled down with their families led by two brothers, Vardik Martiros and Azbēy Hěrj Gandran.<sup>19</sup>

According to the findings of Kristóf Lukácsy (1804–1879), priest in Szamosújvár (*Gherla*) and researcher in Armenian Studies, between 1667 and 1672 the entire Armenian community of Moldavia fled from religious persecutions. This, however, is an exaggeration and is without basis because the majority of the Armenians remained in the territory of the Moldavian Principality despite the persecutions.

On the other hand, it is true that most of the refugees went to Transylvania and found a new home in Szeklerland under the reign of Prince

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EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 21, Pag. 81–84.; On Father Rudolf Bžensky SJ See: Molnár, 2009. 213–224. p.; Nagy, 2008. 251–285. p.; Nagy, 2010. 379–394.; On Oxendio Virziresco See: Nagy, 2013. 17–27. p.

<sup>18</sup> Documents of the Holy See also reported the Turkish language spoken by the Armenians in Transylvania APF Acta SC. Vol. 62. Fol. 125r.–128/v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 81. Fol. 215/v.–216/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 262r. Fol. 263/r.–v. Fol. 518r.; On the Armenian-Kipchak language, see: Schütz, 1975. 185–205. p.

<sup>19</sup> ASN ANV. Vol. 196. Fol. 147r.; Pál, 2006. 28–29. p.

Mihály Apafi I (1632–1690). The prince was of the mind that the Armenian merchants and craftsmen may help boost the economy of the principality which by then had a small margin for action. Another factor not to disregard is the fact that Prince Apafi wanted to play the Armenians against the Saxon and the Greek. The Armenian refugees settled down primarily in Csíksomlyó, Csíkszépvíz (*Frumoasa*), Kanta (*Canta*), Görgényszentimre (*Gurghiu*), Ditró (*Ditrău*), Bátos (*Batos*), Marosfalu (*Suseni*), Remete (*Remetea*), Gyergyószentmiklós, Petele (*Petelea*), Marosvásárhely, Nagyszeben, Brassó, Gyulafehérvár (*Alba Iulia*), and Beszterce (*Bistrița*). They found refuge in Ebesfalva and Szamosújvár much later, in 1692 and 1712.<sup>20</sup>

Prince Mihály Apafi I had a very narrow margin from 1661 on and the fate of the weaker and weaker Transylvania under the declining Ottoman influence was in the hands of major powers. It is well-known that Transylvania was devastated by the military campaigns of the 1660s not only politically but also economically. Prince Apafi wanted to stop the return of the Armenians to Moldavia at the end of the 1670s since they decided to move back to Moldavia once the religious persecutions subsided. Therefore the prince granted free commercial and immigration privileges in the hope that the Armenians would boost the Transylvanian economy with their competence and zeal. He gave them the right to free religious practice.

The status quo concerning Transylvania started to shift irrevocably following the fiasco of the Ottoman Turks near Vienna in 1683 and political moves were then on initiated by the Habsburg. After 1690 Mihály Apafi II (1690–1713) was prince elect of Transylvania in name only since real power was exercised by the Gubernium (Governorship) that was controlled by the Habsburgs. The Gubernium also gave the Armenians privileges; the privilege of 1696 allowed free commercial, confessional and legal rights to the Armenians who settled down in Ebesfalva in 1692.<sup>21</sup>

No precise data is available concerning the number of Armenians who settled down in Transylvania. The fluctuation of the Armenian community was significant. Many Armenian families moved back to Mol-

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<sup>20</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 5. Fol. 550/r.–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 6. Fol. 552r.–553/v.; ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 21. Pag. 83.

<sup>21</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 265/r.–v.

davia from the end of 1670 on. The Armenian Apostolic Church appointed Anat'olios Țusot to succeed Bishop Minas T'oxat'ec'i. Anat'olios Țusot invited the Armenians back to Moldavia from Transylvania.<sup>22</sup> The new prince in Moldavia, Anton Ruset bestowed an even wider range of commercial privileges to the Armenians which may have helped them to move back to Moldavia. At Matenadaran Archive in Yerevan there are a few manuscripts which prove that the emigration of Armenians from Transylvania at the turn of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries was considerable. These documents stated that the Armenian population of Iași, Suțeava and Botoșani grew. The „new” immigrants came from Transylvania and were all Catholic adhering to the church union. Not long after they settled down in Moldavia Bishop Anat'olios reconverted them to the Armenian apostolic faith.<sup>23</sup>

What makes it even more difficult to determine the precise number for the Armenian community in Transylvania is that the Armenians went to Transylvania in several waves and from different regions. During Rakóczy's War of Independence (1703–1711) in 1707 Oxendio Virziresco (1654–1715), Bishop of the Catholic Church after the church union complained to the Holy See that many Armenians had moved back to Moldavia.<sup>24</sup> According to tradition the estimated number of the Armenian community in Transylvania was about 3000 families, fifteen to twenty thousand people. This data is from the Jesuit Father Rudolf Bžensky's description.<sup>25</sup> He, however, meant the refugees who settled down in Moldavia, not the ones in Transylvania. Despite of this, many authors erroneously adopted this figure repeating that three thousand Armenian families settled down in Transylvania. This idea seems to be supported by a letter written on April 6th, 1689 by Giacomo Cantelmi/Cantelmo (1645–1702), Titular Archbishop of Caesarea and Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw sent to Edoardo Cybo (1619–1705), Secretary of the Sacred/Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*), the institution of the Holy See to oversee missions<sup>26</sup> where Cantelmi estimated the number

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<sup>22</sup> MA MS. No. 5817. No. 6582. No. 9800.

<sup>23</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 558. Fol. 20r.

<sup>24</sup> Nagy, 2012. 88. p.

<sup>25</sup> ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 16. Pag. 21.

<sup>26</sup> This institution of the Holy See will be referred to as Propaganda Fide for the sake

of the Armenian community in Transylvania to two thousand. Later on it turned out that this data referred only to the Armenians who settled down in Szeklerland.<sup>27</sup>

### **Church Union and its Consequences in Transylvania**

Christian faith for the Armenians from Early Middle Ages on had been identified with their language, and culture. The undeniable historical fact that the Armenians translated the Bible into Armenian at the beginning of the fifth century and held their liturgy in their mother tongue instead of Aramaic, Greek or Latin played an important part in this. During the turmoil of Armenian history the Armenian Church and the language of liturgy symbolized a refuge and have contributed to the survival of Armenians to a great extent. To keep this national and ethnic distinctness in a Diaspora, however, was much more difficult than in the mother land. On the other hand, the Armenian Church had always been confronted with the church union policy of first Constantinople and then of Rome.<sup>28</sup>

The unification policy of the Armenian and the Roman Catholic Church is called the Latinisation (*latinac'um*) of the Armenians. This concept is referred not only to the Early Modern Age but also to the period between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries since Rome had been trying to persuade the autocephalous Armenian Apostolic Church to unite with the Roman Catholic Church since medieval times. These efforts on Rome's part were rather unilateral since they expected the Armenians to accept and adopt all Latin rites unconditionally besides uniting their church to that of the Roman Catholic Church. This was categorically rejected by the Armenian Apostolic Church, therefore all Rome's efforts to unite the entire Armenian Apostolic Church with the Roman Catholic Church failed and produced no permanent result.

The fact that Rome had been trying to convert the Armenians for centuries produced many conflicts the origins of which go back to late Antiquity. The controversial relationship of the Armenian Apostolic Church

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of simplicity.

<sup>27</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 59. Fol. 165r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 504. Fol. 103r.; APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 610r. Fol. 612r.; ELTE EKK. G. Vol. 522. Fol. 137/r.-v

<sup>28</sup> More on this, see: Garsoïan, 1999.



with the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451 has generally been justified by the Orthodox with the unconditional acceptance of Monophysitism. The Armenian Apostolic Church stayed away from the Council for political reasons and did not accept Dyophysitism, the universal teachings of the Council. The national councils of the Armenian Apostolic Church rejected Monophysitism, the teaching which claims that Jesus Christ had one nature that was divine, as well as its proponents. Constantinople and Roma, however, accused the Armenian Church with Monophysitism from medieval times on until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

The Armenian Apostolic Church saw in these church unification efforts a threat to their autonomy. Therefore they watched the approaches of both Constantinople and Rome with growing suspicion. Constantinople and Rome, however, were in part successful in their missionary activities among the Armenians in medieval times without converting the entire Armenian nation. Their failure was mostly due to the Armenian Apostolic Church who embodied the Armenian state for the Armenians living both in the mother land and in the Diasporas after the fall of the medieval Bagratid Kingdom. Armenians living in Diasporas were more vulnerable than those living in the mother land from the point of view of Church Union since an Armenian bishop of wavering faith from the Diaspora could cut off the connection with the Armenian Apostolic Church when he adhered to Church Union and initiated the conversion of Armenians into the Orthodox or the Roman Catholic Churches.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, the birth of the language of liturgy and literature which contributed to the creation of Armenian ethnic identity, greatly, was closely linked to the Armenian Apostolic Church. For this reason, the efforts on the part of Constantinople and Rome during the Middle Ages to convert Armenians had failed. Although the Roman Catholic Church almost succeeded in their strife for church union at the Councils of Cilicia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and Florence in 1439 but in the end the Armenian Apostolic Church rejected both these councils justifying their decision with national interests. The reason for this was that the leaders of the Armenian Apostolic Church proclaimed themselves as the followers of the Holy Scriptures and Early Church Fathers. In questions concerning dogma and

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<sup>29</sup> Nagy, 2012. 42–44. p.

<sup>30</sup> Uo. 202. p.

theology they had always been conservative and suspected in each attempt at church union a threat to national tradition which had been kept alive by the Armenian Apostolic Church. The tradition and teachings of the Armenian Apostolic Church between the fourth and tenth centuries became an integral part of Armenian national identity. Maybe this is what explains the conservative stance of the Armenian Apostolic Church mentioned above which considered every attempt at church union on the part of Constantinople and Rome as a betrayal of the Armenian Church and Armenian state.<sup>31</sup>

This way of thinking became predominant within the Armenian Apostolic Church in the Early Modern period and each attempt at church union generated big waves. But from this point of view the Diaspora stayed vulnerable. A typical example of this was the church union of the Armenians in Lemberg, Poland with the Roman Catholic Church which took place between 1627 and 1681.

Recent studies in church history reviewed the sources of the controversial church union between 1627 and 1681 led by Nikol Torosowicz, Armenian Archbishop of Lemberg. One of the most important findings of these studies was that recatholisation and the church union of Lemberg cannot be researched only by studying the Armenian Uniate sources or those of the Holy See because these will result in one-sided conclusions. Recent studies of newly found Armenian and Armenian Kipchak documents depict a different, often controversial set of events. The church union of the Armenians of Poland proved to be successful for the Roman Catholic Church but the ambitions and the fallibility of Archbishop Torosowicz provided just as strong motivation for the church union of Lemberg as the considerations from recatholisation's point of view.<sup>32</sup> In any case, the events in Lemberg played an important part in the church union of the Armenians in Transylvania later on, had an influence on the foundation of the Armenian Uniate Mechitarist Order as well as on the church union of the Cilician Armenian Church in 1742 and the establishment of the so-called Armenian Catholic millet within the Ottoman Empire.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Nagy, 2009a. 91–125. p.

<sup>32</sup> Schütz, 1987. p. 247–330.

<sup>33</sup> Frazee, 1975. 149–163. p.; Nagy, 2014. 367–380. p.

After the church union in Lemberg, the Roman Catholic Church and the Holy See turned their attention to the Armenians in Transylvania. Missions to Transylvania were initiated by the Armenian Uniate Archbishopric of Lemberg at the turn of 1682 and 1683. Francesco Martelli (1633–1717), Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw and Titular Latin Archbishop of Corinth and Bishop Deodatus Bogdan Nersesowicz<sup>34</sup> (1647–1709), provisory head (*coadiutor*) of the Uniate Archbishopric of Lemberg in their reports described the importance of the possible church union of the Armenians of „heretic faith”, living in Transylvania and Moldavia. This would have been important because before the church union these Armenians had been under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Lemberg.<sup>35</sup> As a result of this the church union of the Armenians of Transylvania was inevitable and it was only a matter of time that whether they would choose church union twenty or thirty years after they settled down in Transylvania between 1668 and 1672. Their church union actually preceded the recatholisation in Transylvania which started in the principality with Habsburg’s reign in 1690. If they had converted to Roman Catholic faith during the Habsburg reign then it would have been a different case since the royal court in Vienna did all it could to reconvert their subjects. This is why they favoured the Jesuits, the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church, the church union of the Romanians in Transylvania and that of the Ruthenians in Upper-Hungary. The court, however, got involved in conflicts with the Holy See because of the missions. Hungary and Transylvania were important missionary targets for the Holy See at the turn of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries but both the royal court and the Hungarian Catholic Church meant to coordinate missionary work themselves.<sup>36</sup> The church union of the Armenians in Transylvania was in close connection with the missionary activity of Oxendio Virziresco, an Armenian-born Uniate priest delegated by the

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<sup>34</sup> According to Hierarchia Catholica Nersesowicz was Titular Bishop of Traianopolis. See more on this.: HC, 1952. 243. 384.; In contrast, Catholic Hierarchy claims that Nersesowicz was Titular Bishop of Traianopolis but was an archbishop. See here: <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bnerses.html> (Downloaded on August 9, 200. 15:15.)

<sup>35</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 380r.–381/v.; APF SC Fondo Moldavia. Vol. 2. Fol. 126r.–127/v. Fol. 134r.–135/v.

<sup>36</sup> Nagy, 2012. 61–62. p.

Holy See.<sup>37</sup> Recent research has shown that factors of church policy played the most important part in the church union of the Armenians in Transylvania which was intended by the Holy See in an effort to unite the Armenian Apostolic Church with Rome. With the church union the Holy See meant to recreate the old religious *oikumene* that characterised the two churches during the pontificates of Saint Gregory the Illuminator (287–325) and Pope Saint Sylvester I (314–335).<sup>38</sup> Rome also emphasized the fact that the Armenian Church chose the schismatic and heretic path because of the unworthy successors of Saint Gregory the Illuminator and thus left Orthodoxy. Therefore Rome saw the Armenian Diasporas as bridgeheads which would have helped Rome unite with the entire church of the mother land of Armenia.<sup>39</sup>

The history of the church union of the Armenian Church in Transylvania is full of legends. These legends, for a long time, escaped the scrutiny of researchers. All was known of Oxendio Virziresco in charge of attaining church union was that he was a missionary in Transylvania and it was thanks to him that Szamosújvár or in Latin *Armenopolis* was founded.<sup>40</sup> Several legends have sprung about him in the Armenian community in Transylvania which have been known to historians.

One of these legends is the alleged conversion of Minas T'oxat'ec'i, Bishop of Moldavia who led the refugee Armenians to Transylvania in 1667 or 1668. The legends say that Bishop Minas was converted to Roman Catholic faith by Opizio Pallavicini, Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw, and Titular Archbishop of Ephesus (1632/1633–1700) in Lemberg at the very end of 1686 and accepted the church union on behalf of the entire Armenian community in Transylvania.<sup>41</sup> In fact, documents of the Holy

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<sup>37</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 56. Fol. 114/r.–v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 493. Fol. 30r.–31/v. Fol. 376/v. Fol. 377/v. Fol. 378/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 419r. Fol. 434/r.–v. Fol. 462/r.–v. Fol. 468r.–469/v. Fol. 498r.; ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 15. Pag. 249.; ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 16. Pag. 33.

<sup>38</sup> APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 644r. Fol. 648r.

<sup>39</sup> Nagy, 2012. 95. p.

<sup>40</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 66. Fol. 191/r.–v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 525. Fol. 83r.–86/v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 85. Fol. 22/v.–23/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 522r.; ASV ANV. Vol. 196. Fol. 152r.

<sup>41</sup> ARSI Fondo Austria. Hist. Vol. 155. Fol. 81/v.; Lukácsy, 1859. 16. p.; Petrowicz, 1988. 82. p.

See categorically deny this event. Bishop Minas never wanted to convert to Catholicism since he was a sworn enemy of the church union with the Roman Catholic Church. He only went to Lemberg to have religious disputes with Uniate Archbishop Vardan Hunanean (1644–1715) in defence of the Armenian Apostolic Church.<sup>42</sup> The church union of the Armenians in Transylvania in fact took place on February 6th, 1689 under the leadership of the above mentioned Uniate Archbishop Vardan Hunanean.<sup>43</sup> Undoubtedly, Oxendio Virziresco played a key role in the church union since after the death of Bishop Minas who had opposed church union the Armenian community of Transylvania was left without a leader which made it easier for Oxendio Virziresco to convert them to Roman Catholic faith.<sup>44</sup> Thus a large delegation of Armenians living in Transylvania led by Archdeacon (*awagerēc* ' ) Elia Mendrul (1630–1701) converted to Roman Catholic faith on behalf of the entire Armenian community during a ceremony.<sup>45</sup> The delegation requested the Holy See in their letters written in Armenian language that Oxendio be appointed and ordained as a Bishop as soon as possible. The Propaganda Fide officially approved Oxendio's appointment in April, 1689.<sup>46</sup> Church union greatly contributed to Oxendio's appointment in 1690 as the Apostolic Vicar and Titular Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania by the Holy See. After Oxendio's appointment the Armenians of Transylvania were directly under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Propaganda Fide. The Archbishopric of Lemberg was not particularly happy with this since they requested this right for themselves especially because it was them who initiated the missionary work and suggested the church union itself to the Holy See.

The other example of a legend was that the church union of the Armenians in Transylvania took place quietly without any conflicts. This is also denied by documents of the Holy See. Church union meant only the acceptance of the supremacy of the Pope in Rome which led to many con-

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<sup>42</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 532. Fol. 456r.–457r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 90/v.–91r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 374r.–375/v.; ASV ANV. Vol. 196. Fol. 219r.–220r.

<sup>43</sup> APF CU. Vol. 3. Fol. 472/r.–v.

<sup>44</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 13/r.–v.

<sup>45</sup> Rōšk'ay, 1964. 186. p.

<sup>46</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 504. Fol. 103r. Fol. 104r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 69r.–70/v.

flicts between the Armenians of Transylvania and Bishop Oxendio.<sup>47</sup> The Armenian Uniate Bishop, the converted Armenian priests and the Armenian population interpreted the church union in different ways. The bishop was unconditionally committed to the Latin rite while for the Armenian priests the church union meant that certain rites common in Armenian liturgy such as the heavenly banquet, the use of Armenian liturgical language (*grabar*) and Armenian calendar, etc. will be kept. This diverging interpretation of the church union resulted in two big conflicts in Transylvania. The bishop's inadequate church policy was counteracted in 1691 by a movement led by two monks, Vardan Potoczky and Astuacatur Nigošan while in 1697 Elia Mendrul Archdeacon led the opposition.<sup>48</sup> The dissident priests succeeded in fanaticizing the Armenian population who rejected the Uniate faith. In 1691 the bishop came off badly since the opposing Armenian population was defended by Count György Bánffy (1661–1708), the Governor (*Gubernator*) of Transylvania and Count Miklós Bethlen (1642–1716) Chancellor of Transylvania who helped 60 Armenian families to move from Beszterce (*Bistrița*) to Ebesfalva. These Armenians were allowed to freely exercise their Eastern Armenian Apostolic religion there up until 1698. A number of other Armenians also left Beszterce and its surrounding villages and moved out of Transylvania due to Bishop Oxendio's the religious policy.<sup>49</sup> The conflict was most probably due to Oxendio Virziresco's intolerant and aggressive recatholisation policy. The situation was so severe that at the end of the seventeenth century that Oxiendo's removal from power was contemplated at the Holy See since as a result of the conflict with the Armenian Church in Beszterce in 1697 many Transylvanian Armenians returned to Moldavia and rejected the church union for good. These cases were closed only with the help of the secular authorities, the Jesuits in Transylvania, the Transylvanian Minorites, Bertalan Szebellébi/Szebelébi (1631–1708), Roman Catholic Vicar in Transylvania and Andrea Santacroce/Santa Croce (1656–1712), Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna.<sup>50</sup> Bishop Oxendio Virziresco represented hard line recatholisation

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<sup>47</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 61. Fol. 84r.–87/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 510. Fol. 97r.–98/v.

<sup>48</sup> Vanyó, 1986. 180. p.; Nagy, 2009b. 945–974. p.

<sup>49</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 265/r.–v.

<sup>50</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 68. Fol. 62r.–67/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 532. Fol. 472r.; ASV ANV. Vol. 196. Fol. 194/r.–v.

and was a typical neophyte priest. Based on what he learnt at the Urbanian College (*Collegium Urbanum*), the Seminary of the Propaganda Fide in Rome, Bishop Oxendio considered desirable the complete Latinisation of the Armenians in Transylvania due to the church union. For him a true Armenian Christian would keep all the rites and religious festivals of the Roman Catholic Church. Any secular or religious Armenian who would keep the old Armenian religious rites after the church union risked being charged with heresy or schismatism. Oxendio was well aware that his people had had a history full of tragedies in the past centuries but he attributed the sufferings of the Armenians solely to the diverging path the Armenians took in the sixth century when they left the Orthodox Catholic faith and adhered to false and heretic views. Oxendio took the tragedies as God's incessant punishment. Therefore he believed that Armenians should return to and unite with the Roman Catholic Church so as to stop their sufferings. As a result, Oxendio considered all ancient Armenian rites such as the use of Armenian language during liturgy as old, Godless and heretic and therefore wanted to eradicate these entirely from Transylvania. He never called himself an Armenian Uniate priest but as a priest of the Latin rite who is of Armenian origin which resulted in new conflicts within the Armenians in Transylvania.<sup>51</sup>

The Armenian Uniate Church in Poland was an entirely different case. The Armenians in Poland was a bigger community than the Armenians of Transylvania and therefore could counteract the Latinisation efforts of the Roman Catholic Church with more success. The Armenians in Poland found a strong supporter in the Italian Theatine (*Chierici Regolare*) monks teaching at the Armenian College of Lemberg the majority of whom spent long years as missionaries in the mother land of Armenia. They realised that pushing Latinisation could jeopardise the church union. These monks gained the support of Giacomo Cantelmi, the Apostolic Nuncio of Warsaw then who, upon the request of the Italian Theatine monks convened the Uniate Armenian Council of Lemberg in 1689 where the rite of the Armenian Uniate Church in Poland was worked out to the last detail. Thus Armenian Church traditions were partly preserved. Oxendio and his followers were, indeed, invited for this Council but they did not show up

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<sup>51</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 580. Fol. 283r.-285/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 6. Fol. 206r.-207/v.; ASV ANV. Vol. 196. Fol. 265r.-268/v.

for unknown reasons. Therefore Latinisation pushed by Oxendio remained the one determining factor in the Uniate Armenian Church of Transylvania.<sup>52</sup> The reason for Oxendio to push Latinisation can be understood by the fact that he had graduated from the seminary of the Propaganda Fide in the last third of the seventeenth century. In this period seminarists of Eastern origin received an education in the spirit of Western theology. The education and ordaining of Armenian priests in Urbanian College is a problematic area from the point of view of the present study. Documents of the Urbanian College unearthed during recent studies show that the Armenian seminarists studying there were educated first of all in Latin rites. All we know of the seminarists is that the documents recorded their Armenian origin.<sup>53</sup>

The official documents of the Urbanian College did not provide sufficient information concerning Oxendio Virziresco's studies. The only exception is the short note inserted under the year of 1685 in the catalogue of the Urbanian College. The catalogue says that Oxendio learnt Italian and Latin languages, Roman Catholic theology and dogmatics at the highest level.<sup>54</sup> This makes us believe that Oxendio became a partisan of Latinisation during his studies. His reports sent to the Holy See as a missionary and later on as a bishop clearly indicate that he supported and even pushed Latinisation in Transylvania. This is corroborated in the reports written in the 1690s about him.<sup>55</sup> In connection with Latinisation it is important which bishop (*vescovo ordinante armeno*) and in what rite ordained Oxendio. Invaluable documents were found by recent studies in which the seminarist Oxendio in his last year of study requested from Propaganda Fide to be ordained according to Armenian rite by Archbishop Yovhannēs Polsec'i, former Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople who had just been converted and ordained himself and still stayed in Rome. Oxendio justified his request with mentioning that his superior, Minas T'oxat'ec'i, Bishop of Moldavia who stayed in Transylvania was of the heretic faith.<sup>56</sup> The

<sup>52</sup> APF Acta SC. 60. Fol. 19/r.–v.; APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 68r. Fol. 613r.–618r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 79. Fol. 94/v. Fol. 110r.; Petrowicz, 1988. 17–26.; Nagy, 2012. 96–103.

<sup>53</sup> APF SC Fondo MPR. Vol. 2. Fol. 315/r.–v.

<sup>54</sup> Petrowicz, 1988. 86. p.

<sup>55</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 510. Fol. 181r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 82. Fol. 100/v. Fol. 110/v.–111r. Fol.119/v.

<sup>56</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 51. Fol. 3r.–4/v. Fol. 154/r.–v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 57. Fol. 81/v.;



Propaganda Fide rejected this request reasoning that patriarch Yovhannēs is not honestly Uniate and that he kept heretic practice despite his conversion. The Holy See did not consider it desirable that an archbishop of wavering faith ordained as a Catholic Armenian seminarist. In the end Oxendio was ordained along with an Armenian seminarist from Poland and another one from the mother land following the Latin rite.<sup>57</sup> The ceremony itself was carried out in 1681 by Edoardo Cybo, the then Titular Archbishop of Seleucia, and Secretary of the Propaganda Fide.<sup>58</sup> From the point of view of Latinisation it was a key issue in Transylvania what missal Oxendio used. As far as we know the Armenian Uniate bishop used a Latin missal and followed *Sacramentarium Romanum* when imparting spiritual grace. We do have a letter written by Archbishop Opizio Pallavicini, Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw and another one written by Edoardo Cybo, Secretary of the Propaganda Fide both from 1687 in which they request the Holy See to send financial aid and Latin missals to Oxendio in Transylvania because the missionaries were in great need of those.<sup>59</sup>

To conclude, the church union of the Armenian Church in Transylvania proved to be a success from the point of view of the Holy See. Oxendio with his activities disrupted an old Armenian tradition in which the Armenian community was identical with the Armenian Church. Initially, the Armenian Apostolic Church stood at the centre of the Armenian communities, especially in the Diasporas of the medieval and early modern period, which also represented national identity. With the Armenian Church union in Transylvania, Oxendio's activities as bishop and the aggressive introduction of Latinisation Armenian rite faded into the background.

By the end of his life Bishop Oxendio admitted to have committed a series of huge mistakes when he pushed Latinisation and thus caused great harm to the Armenian community of Transylvania. In his reports written in 1711 he promoted Armenian Uniate rite adjusted to the Roman Catholic

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APF SOCG. Vol. 490. Fol. 110r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 492. Fol. 313r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 497. Fol. 335r.

<sup>57</sup> APF Lettere SC. Vol. 70. Fol. 54/v. Fol. 66/v.–67r.; Galla, 2010. 139. 141. p.

<sup>58</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 51. Fol. 232r. Fol. 255.; APF SOCG. Vol. 493. Fol. 376/v.–377/v.

<sup>59</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 497. Fol. 335/r.–v. Fol. 338/r.–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 469/v.

rite.<sup>60</sup> He meant to correct his mistakes but he had no time left for amendments: he died in Vienna in 1715.<sup>61</sup>

## **The Hardships of the Armenian Uniate Church in Transylvania in the Eighteenth Century**

There are still a lot of undiscovered written documents in the archives concerning the ecclesiastic history of the Armenians in Transylvania in the eighteenth century. One of the most important jobs of researchers in the near future should therefore be to thoroughly review the history of the Armenian Church in Transylvania examining every detail in the period after 1715, the death of Bishop Oxendio Virziresco.

The Armenian Uniate Church in Transylvania was in fact fighting for survival in the eighteenth century and became confronted with the Roman Catholic Bishopric in Transylvania both from dogmatic aspect and from the point of view of ecclesiastic jurisdiction. After the death of Bishop Oxendio the Armenians in Transylvania found themselves in a new situation. On one hand, the seat of the bishop was empty and the Armenians in Transylvania were without a religious leader. On the other hand, the officials of the Armenian community could not reach a consensus in the succession of Oxendio Virziresco.<sup>62</sup> What is more, the Holy See did not find a suitable church official who could have been appointed as the Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania. In his last will dated 1715 just before his death, Bishop Oxendio named Stefano Stefanowicz Roszka (1670–1739), Titular Bishop of Hymeria as his successor<sup>63</sup>. Roszka, who lived in Poland but had strong ties in Transylvania, was also a close family member to Bishop Oxendio. Roszka fled with his family from Kameniec-Podolski in Poland as a child in 1672. Oxendio converted him around 1687 and Roszka went to study in Rome with Oxendio's recommendation to Urbanian College in

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<sup>60</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 580. Fol. 560r.–565/v.

<sup>61</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 598. Fol. 265r.–266/v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 104. Fol. 57r. Fol. 58r.

<sup>62</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 85. Fol. 169/v.–171r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 7. Fol. 588r.

<sup>63</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 70. Fol. 166r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 83r.–84r. Fol. 96r., APF Istr. Vol. B. Fol. 138r.–147/v.; Nagy, 2006. 39–46. p.; Gierowski – Kopiec, 2009. 25. 30. p.; Nagy, 2012. 133. 192. p.

1690. From 1710 on he became coadjutor at the Uniate Armenian Archbishopric in Lemberg as a Titular Bishop. Roszka was opposed by many church officials in Lemberg in his application for the Bishopric and became involved in serious conflicts there.<sup>64</sup> The Propaganda Fide considered Roszka's nomination several times but in the end the cardinals of the Holy See could not reach an agreement in which the Hungarian Catholic Church played a part because they did not wish to appoint anyone to the seat of the Bishop of the Armenian Uniate Church in Transylvania.<sup>65</sup> Therefore the seat of the bishop remained unoccupied. This coincided with the restructuring of the Bishopric of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania and the appointment of György Mártonffy/Mártonfi (1663–1721) as Bishop in Transylvania.<sup>66</sup> He was appointed in 1713 but occupied his seat in Transylvania only three years later in 1716. This was an important step for the Catholics since György Mártonffy was the first church official in Transylvania who was firmly rooted and worked effectively in Transylvania after Demeter Naprághy/Naprágyi (1563–1619), Bishop of Transylvania was chased away in 1601.<sup>67</sup> The new bishop did all he could to re-establish the authority of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania. For this reason, he got into conflicts with the Armenians of Transylvania who were without a bishop. Upon Bishop Mártonffy's order Friar Minor Observant and Conventual monks (in other words Franciscans) examined the Armenian religious rites.<sup>68</sup> Using their report Mártonffy put together documents in his own handwriting for the Holy See in 1719 which stated that the Arme-

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<sup>64</sup> Nagy, 2006. 39–46. p.

<sup>65</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 85. Fol. 170r., Fol. 437r–438/v. Fol. 582r. Fol. 587r.–589/v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 104. Fol. 231/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 6. Fol. 588r. Fol. 642r.–643/v.

<sup>66</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 86. Fol. 75r.–76/v. Fol. 102r.–103/v., APF SOCG. Vol. 600. Fol. 535r. Fol. 536r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 601. Fol. 550r.–552/v+ 553/v.

<sup>67</sup> Galla, 2005. 272–274. p.; Nagy, 2016. 68–84. p.; At the end of the 17th century András Illyés (1637/1646–1712) was the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania. He tried twice to return to Transylvania unsuccessfully. He had to leave Transylvania due to the resistance of the Protestants and also because of the outbreak of the Rakóczi War of Independence. In spite of this, he wore the title and held the office until the end of his life. On this briefly see: APF Acta SC. Vol. 74. Fol. 55r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 535. Fol. 1r.–3/v. APF SC FUT. Vol. 3. 46r.–52/v.; Galla, 2005. 271. Nagy, 2012. 156–157. p.

<sup>68</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 617. Fol. 324r. Fol. 325r.+328/v.+329/v.

nians of Transylvania observed old heretic rites despite the church union.<sup>69</sup> The bishop named Lazar Budachowicz (1668–1721), priest in Szamosújvár and his deputy Michál Minas Theodorowicz (1689/1690–1760) as ringleaders who led the Armenians in Transylvania back to their heretic Monophysite faith and called off the church union of 1689. The bishop claimed that both priests secretly observed and practiced their old heretic and schismatic faith and urged the Armenian community in Transylvania to reject the church union of 1689 altogether.<sup>70</sup> Budachowicz was suspected to be the ringleader by the bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania and his aid because he opposed Oxendio in 1697 in Beszterce in the ecclesiastic conflict. Mártonffy was very well informed of this since his right hand, Provost Antalfy/Antalfi János (1644–1728) was personally involved in the investigation of the religious conflict of the Armenian Church in Beszterce.<sup>71</sup> Budachowicz and Theodorowicz contradicted Mártonffy’s charges. In their reply they answered Mártonffy’s charges point by point. In their view, the Uniate Armenians of Transylvania had always been loyal to the Roman Catholic Church and had never practised heretic rites after the church union in 1689 with Rome. The entire Armenian community was outraged by the charges against Budachowicz and Theodorowicz. The Armenian community objected to Mártonffy building up his charges on false and unfounded claims and they turned to the Holy See for legal redress.<sup>72</sup>

Therefore the holy See sent to Transylvania the Uniate Xaç’atur Aṙak’elian (*Don Accador; Cacciaturo Araciel*) (1666–1740), Apostolic Visitor, Mechitarist monk and vardapet<sup>73</sup> (highly educated archimandrite in the Armenian Apostolic Church tradition) of Armenian origin who was born in the motherland. He was also a former student (alumnus) of the Urbanian College.<sup>74</sup> The Visitor knew well the problem of the Uniate Ar-

<sup>69</sup> Vanyó, 1933. 115–116. p.

<sup>70</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 89/I. Fol. 79r.–81/v. Fol. 109r.–114/v. Fol. 156r.–158/v. Fol. 178r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 7. Fol. 39r.

<sup>71</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 532. Fol. 472r.

<sup>72</sup> Lukácsy, 1859. 77–78. p.

<sup>73</sup> Pehlevi (Of Middle-Persian origin) a loanword of the Classical and Modern Armenian language. Meaning: scholarly priest, theologian

<sup>74</sup> Bardikian, 2000. 94. p.; Kovács, 2006. 61. p.; Kovács, 2007. 40.p.; Abgarjan – Kovács – Martí, 2011. xxxii–xxxiii. p.; At the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries Xaç’atur Aṙak’elian served in Constantinople as a missionary. To see more on this:

menians and was well aware of recatholisation in Hungary and Transylvania since he had been working as a missionary in Belgrade (*Beograd*) and Temesvár (*Timișoara*) from the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>75</sup> After a long investigation the vardapet stated that Mártonffy's charges were unfounded against the Armenians of Transylvania.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, Pier Luigi Caraffa (1677–1755), Titular Archbishop of Larissa, Girolamo Grimaldi (1674–1733), the Secretary of the Propaganda Fide, and Titular Archbishop of Edessa, Apostolic Nuncio of Vienna and Cardinal Giuseppe Sacripante (1645–1727), Prefect of the Propaganda Fide turned to the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office (Inquisition) in Holy See<sup>77</sup> (*Suprema Sacra Congregazione del Sant'Uffizio*) to investigate Mártonffy's charges. They also asked the Holy Office to declare whether the Bishop has right in interfering in the ecclesiastic matters of the Armenian Church.<sup>78</sup> The above mentioned Office of the Holy See prepared a long report of this case in 1720 in Latin in which they stated that Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania has the right and the mandate to interfere in matters relating to Eastern rite Christians living in his diocese based on the decisions made at the Council of Lateran in 1219 and also due to his jurisdiction especially when he comes across anomalies in the liturgies and rites of these Eastern rite Christians which are in opposition with the practice of the Roman Catholic Church. As far as we know this document was sent to Transylvania via the Apostolic Nuncio's Office in Vienna.<sup>79</sup>

This document, however, did not mention the fact that ecclesiastic jurisdiction of the Armenians in Transylvania was exercised after 1690 not by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania but directly by the Holy See or more precisely the Propaganda Fide. This fact was disregarded by Bishop Mártonffy and his colleagues<sup>80</sup> while the Cardinals of the Propa-

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Kévorkian, 1983. 572–595. p.

<sup>75</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 562. Fol. 607r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 623. Fol. 293r.

<sup>76</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 617. Fol. 319/r.–v., Fol. 320r.–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 7. Fol. 62r.

<sup>77</sup> Briefly, the Holy Office. Now it is called Congregation for Doctrine of the Faith.

<sup>78</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 89/I. Fol. 81r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 617. Fol. 323r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 108. Fol. 42/v. Fol. 45/v–46/v. Fol. 47/v. Fol. 48/v. Fol. 49/v., Fol. 94r.–95/v. Fol. 147/v. Fol. 414/v.

<sup>79</sup> ACDF. St. St. UV. 59. Nr. 18.

<sup>80</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 512. Fol. 180/r.–v.; APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 617/v.; APF SC Fondo

ganda Fide were aware of this as well as the report written for the Holy See. In official sessions they did not deal with this issue at all. The Propaganda Fide did not put Bishop Mártonffy in the wrong when he interfered in matters beyond his ecclesiastic jurisdiction. Bishop Mártonffy continued his ecclesiastic policy and confronted Xaç'atur vardapet several times. The two of them exchanged sharp edged letters on several occasions.<sup>81</sup>

In the meantime the intervening of the Jesuit fathers in Kolozsvár (*Cluj-Napoca*) came as an unpleasant surprise to the Bishop of Transylvania since the Jesuits supported in this dispute the Armenian Visitor and the Armenian Uniate community. Their stance was even more astonishing since formerly in the 1690s they backed Bishop Oxendio in his Latinising church policy in Transylvania.<sup>82</sup> Their stance changed considerably by 1719. The Jesuits in Transylvania, just like the Theatine monks teaching at the Armenian College (*Collegium Armenum*) founded in Poland in 1664, supported to keep Armenian Uniate faith. The Jesuits thought that exaggerated Latinisation and the unfounded charges of heresy make a lot of harm to the Roman Catholic Church and the Armenian Church Union. A church policy like this will result in the Armenians rejecting the church union and the Uniate faith while it would be in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church to keep the Armenian believers within the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, the Uniate rite of the Armenians of Transylvania should be kept and be adjusted to the Roman Catholic rite as it had been done in Poland since 1689.<sup>83</sup>

In any case, Mártonffy's conflict with the Armenians did not get resolved and the bishop died in 1721. A little later Father Lazar Budachowicz charged with heresy by Mártonffy passed away too. After this the Propaganda Fide considered the case closed. On September 21st, 1722, however they discussed the messages and the report sent by Xaç'atur vardapet.<sup>84</sup>

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Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 140/r.–v.

<sup>81</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 623. Fol. 282r. Fol. 283r.–284/v. Fol. 291r. Fol. 293r. Fol. 294r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 7. Fol. 80r–81/v.

<sup>82</sup> ARSI Fondo Austria Hist. Vol. 176. Pag. 106.

<sup>83</sup> APF Lettere SC. Vol. 109. Fol. 82/v.–83/v. Fol. 111/v. Fol. 112/v.–113r. Fol. 191r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 8. Fol. 80r. Fol. 97r.

<sup>84</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 92. Fol. 58r.–65/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 633. Fol. 58r. Fol. 314r.–315r. APF Lettere SC. Vol. 110. Fol. 227r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 113. Fol. 707r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 7. Fol. 467r.

The vardapet insisted on filling the empty seat of the Bishopric because that would solve the problem of the Armenian community in Transylvania. This meeting did not make a decision concerning the bishop's position but the cardinals at the session all agreed to send apostolic visitators to Transylvania on a regular basis among the Armenians.<sup>85</sup>

In connection with Bishop Mártonffy one must add that during his relatively short office he tirelessly worked on reinstating the authority of Roman Catholicism in Transylvania which had been lost during former centuries. Like many other church officials in Hungary at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries Mártonffy saw rivals in the Uniate churches. Mártonffy had a vision of a centralised diocese in Transylvania which did not leave any space either for the Uniate Armenian or the Uniate Romanian churches in Transylvania. Not long after arriving in Transylvania he turned against the Armenians because they had no leader then. After the death of Bishop Oxendio neither the Holy See, nor the officials of the Armenian community could make up their mind concerning the succession and Bishop Mártonffy tried to profit from this situation.<sup>86</sup>

Bishop Mártonffy was well aware that during the 1690s due to the religious conflicts and the effects of Rákóczi's War of Independence the Armenian community became considerably smaller. Therefore he tried to have this community under his influence and control as soon as possible which inevitably created conflicts and tensions. On the other hand, Bishop Mártonffy also worried about the Armenians due to the Uniate Romanians. The Romanians of Transylvania managed to persuade both the Holy See and the royal court to keep the Uniate Romanian Bishopric and to establish their own diocese in 1721 with the centre in Fogaras (*Făgăraş*). Seeing this situation, the Bishop worried that the Armenians of Transylvania would follow the Romanian example and would want to found an independent Bishopric and diocese in Transylvania.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 623. Fol. 278r.

<sup>86</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 85. Fol. 582.; APF SOCG. 601. Fol. 550/r.-v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 104. Fol. 231/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 7. Fol. 588r.

<sup>87</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 86. Fol. 231r.-234/v.; APF Acta SC. Vol. 87. Fol. 141r.-143/v., Fol. 201/r.-v.; APF SOCG. 569. Fol. 582/r.-v., Fol. 606r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 572. Fol. 446r.-447/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 577. Fol. 303r.-304/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 590. Fol. 358r.-360/v.+361/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 605. Fol. 317r-334/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 609.

Beyond that, Mártonffy inherited the problem Bishop Oxendio had faced before him: that the Armenian community insisted on keeping its own ecclesiastic practices. Not to speak of the fact that most of the Armenian priests working in the „vineyard of the Lord” (*in vinea Domini*) in Transylvania during the time Mártonffy was the bishop studied theology at the Armenian College in Lemberg where, beyond the Latin rite, a great emphasis was laid on the Armenian Uniate rite adjusted to the Latin one. Therefore the seminarists in Lemberg were educated and socialised in an entirely different ecclesiastic culture which later resulted in a lot of tension and conflicts with the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania. This is why it is not surprising that the Roman Catholic Church officials in Transylvania considered the Armenian Uniate community there as second rate Catholics and their rites as the hotbed of heretics.<sup>88</sup>

Bishop Mártonffy’s ecclesiastical policy, however, may have a different reading. He undoubtedly wanted to expand the ecclesiastic jurisdiction onto the Armenians and Romanians of Transylvania. He envisioned only one diocese, one bishopric of Roman Catholic faith and one bishop in Transylvania, not more. This ambition of Bishop Mártonffy was in fact reinforced by the report of the Holy Office written in 1720 and the *ex-lex* state of the unfilled seat of the Armenian bishopric in Transylvania came in handy. He could always refer to the example of Bishop Oxendio who, after his appointment in 1690, had also been charged by the authorities of the Holy See with the pastoral care of the Transylvanian Catholics of Latin rite<sup>89</sup> due to the bitter state of the Catholics there. This is why Bishop Oxendio consecrated priest and churches, etc. all over Transylvania.<sup>90</sup> This allowed Mártonffy to interfere in the affairs of the Armenian Uniate Church in Transylvania and to acquire total ecclesiastic control over the Armenians.<sup>91</sup> Propaganda Fide disapproved of the fact that Mártonffy systematically overstepped the boundaries of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction

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Fol. 58/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 609. Fol. 68.; APF LDSC. Vol. 99. Fol. 107/v.; ELTE EKK. Coll. Kapr. B. Cod. 20. Pag. 201–202., Pag. 203–205.

<sup>88</sup> See on the dogmatical and theological background of this conflict here: Nagy, 2007. 156–169. p.

<sup>89</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 83. Fol. 7r.–8/v.; Kovács – Kovács, 2002, 14. p.

<sup>90</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 152. Fol. 368r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 861. Fol. 92r.; APF SC. Fondo Armeni. Vol. 16. Fol. 775r.–781/v.

<sup>91</sup> Nilles, 1886, 919–922. p.; Shore, 2007. 76. p.



but, most probably influenced by the Hungarian Catholic Church, they did not take any measures to express their objection at the request of the Armenian community in Transylvania.<sup>92</sup> As a result, Bishop Mártonffy continued to consider the Transylvanian Uniate Armenian Church under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is why he accused the Armenians with heresy and schismatism and used these charges against them while disregarded the major historical reasons and circumstances which would have explained the difference in rite.

The intolerant policy Bishop Mártonffy had concerning the Armenians in Transylvania served basis for the tense relations between the Roman Catholic Bishopric and the Armenians until the very end of the eighteenth century. After Bishop Mártonffy passed away, however, there was a calmer period due to the fact that until 1724 no one was appointed as bishop in Transylvania and thanks also to the new bishop, János Antalffy who led a more conciliatory policy during his short ecclesiastic office. He consecrated priests of Armenian origin and Armenian Uniate Churches in Gyergyószentmiklós and in Szamosújvár (the so-called Solomon/Salamon Church).<sup>93</sup>

In spite of this, there were tensions within the Armenian community connected to Visitor Minas Barun/Baron (*Minas Paronean*) sent by the Holy See. The Armenian priest who studied in Urbanian College in Rome came to Transylvania recommended by Xaç'atur vardapet, appointed as the head of the missionary work of the Propaganda Fide.<sup>94</sup> Father Minas, however, was opposed by both the Armenian clergy and the bishop in Transylvania. Bishop Antalffy objected to Minas' practice of old Armenian rites at the expense of Catholic ones.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 219r.

<sup>93</sup> The Solomon Church in Szamosújvár was named after Judge Salamon Simay, Armenian Judge in Szamosújvár in his lifetime because he and his family paid for the construction of the stone church. APF SOCG. Vol. 652. Fol. 196r. Fol. 197r.; Vanyó, 1933. 116. p.; Kovács – Kovács, 2002. 75. 91–93. p.; On Armenian churches and their set-up see more: Pál, 2013. 73–83. p.; Pál, 2015.

<sup>94</sup> APF Acta SC Vol. 92. Fol. 58r.–65v.; APF SOCG Vol. 633. Fol. 58r. Fol. 314r.–315r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 431r.

<sup>95</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 661. Fol. 206r.–210r.

Another aspect of Minas' controversial behaviour was that he considered himself to be the bishop of the Transylvanian Armenians<sup>96</sup> while it turned out that he did not have a proper appointment. Another aspect of his comportment was that he was corrupt. Minas was accused of financial abuse at the Holy See and he could not answer these charges. He was also accused of performing marriage ceremony for close relatives what made him accomplice in incest. Minas was also accused of not keeping fast. The biggest outrage, however, was that he lived with a widow in Transylvania.<sup>97</sup>

After all this came to light Father Minas could no longer stay in Transylvania and went to Vienna where he was active in the royal court trying to lobby on behalf of the Armenian community in Ebesfalva (later on called Erzsébetváros; Rom. *Dumbrăveni*).<sup>98</sup>

One thing should be noted in connection with Father Minas Barun. Despite his dubious behaviour, in his reports written to the Holy See he made it very clear that the Armenian Uniate rite should be kept in Transylvania since this is what would keep them there. All in all, the Armenian community in Transylvania did not benefit from the activities of Minas Barun because the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church identified his behaviour with that of the entire Armenian community in Transylvania.<sup>99</sup> The Catholic Church had mixed feelings about church officials and priests of Eastern origin by the beginning of the eighteenth century and formed a rather negative opinion of them. The Holy See, in general, was disappointed and suspicious of them and did not trust their honesty any more. Many of these Eastern priests converted for selfish reasons to acquire high ecclesiastic offices, the huge incomes or for high positions out of sheer ambition. On the other hand, there were many priests of Eastern origin who converted to Catholicism but when confronted with the duties which came with this they rejected the Roman Catholic faith right away

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<sup>96</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 652. Fol. 191r.–v.

<sup>97</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 652. Fol. 199r.–v. Fol. 200r.–v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 654. Fol. 423r.–424v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 661. Fol. 213r.–v.

<sup>98</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 103. Fol. 564r.–566r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 654. Fol. 423r.–424v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 7. Fol. 467r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 9. Fol. 255r.–v. Fol. 551r.; See more on Minas Barun missionary activity: Kovács, 2006. 62–66. p.

<sup>99</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 661. Fol. 217r.–218r.; Vanyó, 1933. 116. p.

and went back to the faith of their ancestors. The most typical cases of this kind were the Armenian priests. Therefore the Holy See considered the bishops, archbishops and simple priests who chose the path of the church union to be heretic or schismatic and not sincere Catholics and often accused them of following their ancestors' religious practices in secret.

After Minas Barun Visitor's activities between 1728 and 1735 the above mentioned Bishop Stefan Stefanowicz Roszka made official visits among the Armenians of Transylvania. He was delegated to Transylvania from Poland with the approval of Jan Tobiasz Augustynowicz (1664–1751), Archbishop in Lemberg.<sup>100</sup> His job was clear: he had to make up for the mistakes caused by Minas and had to check on the Armenian communities regularly.<sup>101</sup> It was well-known that for a short period Bishop Roszka was expected to succeed Bishop Oxendio after his death in 1715 as Armenian Uniate Bishop in Transylvania. Roszka was also delegated to Transylvania by the Holy See to oversee the religious practices of the Armenian community there. Contrary to Minas Barun, he built good connections with the Armenian clergy in Transylvania. However, Roszka did not have a balanced relationship with Gergely György Sorger/Zorger (1687–1739), the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania.<sup>102</sup> Similar to Mártonffy, Bishop Sorger aimed at the submission of the Transylvanian Armenians and disapproved of Roszka's activities in Transylvania. Sorger was even more concerned on Roszka's account because Roszka happened to be also a Titular Bishop, no matter how hard he was trying to hide this fact, who had served in the parish of Stanisławów (now Ivano-Frankivsk in Ukraine) as well as in the Armenian Uniate Archbishopric of Lemberg before coming to Transylvania.<sup>103</sup> Bishop Sorger was worried that Bishop Roszka might stir up problems under Sorger's ecclesiastical jurisdiction and would want to become the bishop of the Uniate Armenians in Transylvania. Roszka, however, did not have such ambitions but had the interests of the Armenian at heart. Roszka himself preferred the Armenian Uniate

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<sup>100</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 103. Fol. 483r.

<sup>101</sup> Bishop Roszka scourged Minas Barun in no ambiguous terms in his report written from Poland to the Holy See. APF SOCG. Vol. 654. Fol. 427r.–428/v.

<sup>102</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 673. Fol. 191r.–192/v.

<sup>103</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 103. Fol. 564r.–566/v.; Lukácsy, 1859. 78. 86–87. p.; Petrowicz, 1988. 169. 176–177. p.; Kovács, 2007. 41. p.

rite to the Latin one because the former one could help keep the Armenians their identity in Transylvania.<sup>104</sup> Sorger, on his side, represented the Latin rite and did not consider the Uniate Armenians true Catholics. Sorger also said that the Armenian Uniate rite in Transylvania in itself served as a basis for future rejection of the Catholic faith, schisms, and heresy.<sup>105</sup> Roszka, on his part, reinforced his claim that the only way the Armenians would keep the Roman Catholic faith if they could exercise their own Armenian Uniate rite and if, as a guarantee, the empty seat of the Armenian Uniate bishop, vacant since Oxendio Virziresco's death, is at last filled. For Roszka this would serve as a guarantee for the Armenians in Transylvania.<sup>106</sup> This was the stance the Armenians in Transylvania held and they took steps at the royal court to have an Armenian Uniate bishop be appointed. There were several candidates for the position after Oxendio's death in 1715 but either the Armenians could not make up their mind who to back or the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania successfully managed to lobby at the royal court and the Holy See and managed to prevent the appointment.<sup>107</sup> The Armenians even held a bishop election meeting in Görgényszentimre in 1715 not long after Oxendio's death where due to the inside conflicts they could not reach an agreement, which served well the purposes of the Roman Catholic Bishop.<sup>108</sup>

Armenian Uniate Mechitarist monks settled down in Ebesfalva (from 1733 on Erzsébetfalva) in 1732 during the time Roszka was in office in Transylvania. The Mechitarist order, founded in 1696 by Mxit'ar Sebastac'i (1676–1749) and his fellow monks, brought considerable change at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the point of view of church unions and Armenian Uniate faith. While earlier the missionaries, often of Armenian origin, did their studies in Theology in Rome or Lemberg the founding fathers of this order lived in Armenian monasteries even before converting to the Roman Catholic faith and did their

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<sup>104</sup> Vanyó, 1933. 116–117. p.

<sup>105</sup> On Roszka's activity as an apostoli visitator in Transylvania, see: APF SOCG. Vol. 652. Fol. 198r.–211/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 673. Fol. 191/r.–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 9. Fol. 93/r.–v. Fol. 250r. Fol. 251r.–252/v.; Kovács – Kovács, 2002. 92–93. p.

<sup>106</sup> APF Lettere SC. Fol. 237r. –239r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 9. Fol. 474r.–475/v. Fol. 579r.

<sup>107</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 85. Fol. 582r.; APF SOCG. Vol. 601. Fol. 550r.

<sup>108</sup> Lukácsy, 1859. 73. p.; Petrowicz, 1988. 168. p.

studies in theology in seminaries and schools in the mother country.<sup>109</sup> The objective therefore was not only to reinforce Armenian Uniate faith but also to keep Armenian identity and culture alive in the Armenian communities in the Diasporas under foreign dominion. While Catholic missions in the mother country formerly did not bring permanent success and would create suspicion among the Armenians, the Mechitarist Fathers got much closer to the population in spite of the fact that the members of the Mechitarist Order remained loyal to Rome almost all along. The key to success was that unlike other missionaries and monks from different Catholic orders, they knew local conditions and Armenian mentality itself. The order also invested huge sums in education and printing books. The educational system they created was based on three pillars one of which was the teaching of the Armenian language and culture.<sup>110</sup> The second pillar was to teach Armenian theology adjusted to Roman Catholicism as well as the history of the church. The third and, to some extent, the most important pillar was to make public the achievements of modern science and humanities in the contemporary Western world.<sup>111</sup>

Besides teaching, the Mechitarist Fathers were noteworthy also for their activities to organise science. Their printing house founded in the eighteenth century published books by old Armenian historians and theologians. They had books in science translated into contemporary but classicist Armenian. It was owing to their scientific activities that the first encyclopaedic overview of Armenian history came out. This way the Mechitarists became the forerunners of researchers in Armenian Studies and one can go as far as to declare that the birth of Armenian Studies was one of the most important results of the Counter Reformation or in other words recatholisation and the Mechitarist Order played a major role in it. The order, however, could not expand in Transylvania because of the tensions between the Transylvanian Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church and them. What the Transylvanian Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church was worried about was the fact that the Mechitarists of Erzsébetváros were under the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of the Mechitarist Arch-Abbot of Venice

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<sup>109</sup> Nagy, 2014. 372–374. p.

<sup>110</sup> Kovács, 2007. 40. 44–43. p.

<sup>111</sup> The centre of the order was Constantinople (Istanbul) from its foundation until 1717, then they moved to their headquarters San Lazzaro Island in Venice.

and not himself. To make the conflict even more serious, the order urged the higher church authorities to re-establish the Armenian Uniate Bishopric in Transylvania which resulted in a new conflict with Gyulafehérvár in spite of the fact that both the Mechitarists and the Armenian Uniate clergy ambioned to acquire an appointment of a titular bishop.<sup>112</sup>

At the beginning of the 1730s the Armenians in Transylvania let the royal court know that they would not like to have a diocesan but a titular bishop appointed by the Holy See who, similarly to Oxendio would be directly under Rome in ecclesiastic jurisdiction. This was unacceptable from the beginning for the bishop of the Roman Catholic faith in Transylvania.<sup>113</sup> In 1738 the Armenians managed to persuade Charles III, King of Hungary (1711–1740) to appoint Michál Theodorowicz, Vicar of Szamosújvár, to become Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania.<sup>114</sup> The Armenians and the court successfully persuaded Domenico Passionei (1682–1761), Titular Archbishop of Ephesus, Apostolic Nuncio of Vienna to forward this act to Rome.<sup>115</sup> The Holy See first backed up the nomination but later on, due to the objection raised by the Bishop of Roman Catholic faith in Transylvania, did not approve of the appointment put forward by the royal court. The main objection was that Theodorowicz was not fully supported by the entire Armenian community in Transylvania since many of the Transylvanian Armenians would have liked Kristóf Dragomán to be their bishop. A key player in all this was Camillo Merlini-Paolucci (1692–1763), Titular Archbishop of Iconium who, in the meantime, succeeded Passionei as Apostolic Nuncio of Vienna. At the request of the bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania, he sent reports to the Holy See from Vienna saying that following the death of Bishop Oxendio the Armenians of Transylvania had been well governed by the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania who conscientiously provided pastoral care for the Armenians. Beyond this, the Nuncio also explained in his reports that the Armenians of Transylvania must have tricked the king because he wanted

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<sup>112</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 691. Fol. 274r. Fol. 275/r.–v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 708. Fol. 373r.

<sup>113</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 107. Fol. 300r.–302/v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 143. Fol. 215/v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 147. Fol. 239/v.–241/v.

<sup>114</sup> According to documents Theodorowicz was the nephew of Bishop Stefan Stefanowicz Roszka, Apostolic Visitator. Kovács – Kovács, 2002. 94–96. p.

<sup>115</sup> APF SOCG. 708. Fol. 364r.–366/v. Fol. 368/r.–v. Fol. 369r.–370/v. Fol. 383r.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 149. Fol. 140/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 10. Fol. 377/r.–v.

to appoint Theodorowicz bishop who is an entirely unsuitable person for the job. The reason for this was that Theodorowicz was for old Armenian ecclesiastic rites which the bishop of the Roman Catholic Church rejected entirely. This objection proved to be rather subjective but it shows well that in the affairs of the Armenian Church of Transylvania the opinion held by the Catholic bishop was more and more powerful and well received. As a result of this, the Propaganda Fide did not appoint anyone in 1740 and the Armenians of Transylvania remained without a bishop of their own. The Propaganda Fide prepared a detailed report on the outcome of this debate.<sup>116</sup>

At the middle and in the second half of the eighteenth century the Armenians of Transylvania remained without a bishop. There was permanent tension between the priests of the Armenian Uniate Church and the Roman Catholic bishopric and the disputes were still focused on the unfilled seat of the Armenian bishop and the issue of Armenian rites. The majority of the Armenian priests serving in Transylvania did their studies in theology in Urbanian College in Rome and the Armenian College of Lemberg where attention was accorded to the Armenian rite as well as the Latin one. The Mechitarists serving in Transylvania held their masses according to Armenian rites and graduated from the Mechitarist Arch-Abbey of Venice located on the Island of San Lazzaro.<sup>117</sup>

Transylvanian bishops of the Roman Catholic Church such as Antal Sztojka (1699–1770), József Batthyány (1727–1799), or Antal Bajtay (1717–1773) complained that Armenian priests were not educated in local seminaries.<sup>118</sup> They also objected to the fact that the Armenian priests used, parallel to the Latin one, the old Armenian calendar and chronology and dated their letters and reports that way on several occasions.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> From the point of view of the Armenians it was very unfortunate that Charles III, Emperor and King of Hungary died in 1740 who wanted to close this issue. APF Acta SC. Vol. 111. Fol. 331r.–335r.; Lukácsy, 1859. 96–102. p.; Vanyó, 1933. 114. p.; Petrowicz, 1988. 170–173. p.

<sup>117</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 779. Fol. 217r. Fol. 221r.; APF SC. Fondo Armeni. Vol. 12. Fol. 248/r.–v.

<sup>118</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 12. Fol. 250r.; Lukácsy, 1859. 111. p.; Petrowicz, 1988, 197. p.

<sup>119</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 128. Fol. 372r.–378r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 13. Fol. 75/r.–v. Fol. 76r.; Lukácsy, 1859. 113. p.; Petrowicz, 1988. 199. p.

To make matters worse, the Armenians of Transylvania often turned for support to the Roman Uniate (Greek Catholic) Bishop in Transylvania. Bishops of Fogaras, Petre Pavel Aaron (1712–1764) and Atanasie Rednic (1722–1772) on their part, sent several reports to the Propaganda Fide concerning the situation of the Armenians. Persuaded by the Armenians the Romanian bishops also urged at the Holy See to fill the vacant position of the Armenian bishop in Transylvania. The Propaganda Fide, however, did not take sides, which in essence meant that by implication they supported the Roman Catholic Bishopric's point of view.<sup>120</sup>

The Catholic bishops of Transylvania counterattacked and claimed that the Uniate Armenians requested the protection of clergy who are not sincerely loyal to Rome and could not keep their followers within the Roman Catholic Church due to former schismatic movements. Therefore, Armenians were again accused of schismatism because they asked support against the bishop of the Roman Catholic faith in Transylvania from other high church officials of wavering faith.<sup>121</sup>

The Armenian Uniate Archbishopric of Lemberg meant to solve this unfortunate situation in the 1770s. After the death of Archbishop Vardan Hunanean for more than half a century the archbishops of Lemberg did not concern themselves with the Armenians in Transylvania. After the First Partition of Poland in 1772 Galicia and Lemberg became part of the Habsburg Empire. Therefore the bishops were interested in the situation of the Armenian Church in Transylvania. For this reason, the very old Bishop Jakub Augustynowicz (1701–1783) sent visitators in secret to Transylvania to make a detailed report about the state of affairs of the Armenian Church there. All these reports stated that Gyulafehérvár intentionally tried to diminish the Armenian Church in Transylvania by not allowing to fill the vacant seat of the bishop and by trying to get the Armenians under their total control. The Uniate Archbishop objected that the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Bishop considered the Armenians in Transylvania to be under his own ecclesiastical jurisdiction while officially they had been

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<sup>120</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 133. Fol. 230r.–233v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 779. Fol. 217r.–220v. Fol. 223r.–224v. ;APF SOCG. Vol. 806. Fol. 132r.–135r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 13. Fol. 336r.–337v.

<sup>121</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 798. Fol. 115r.–v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 806. Fol. 122r. Fol. 128r. Fol. 132r.–135v.; Fol. 143r.–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 13. Fol. 505r.–v.



under Propaganda Fide since 1690 who did not transfer its jurisdiction to the Roman Catholic Diocese in Transylvania. Therefore in 1782 Lemberg officially declared that they would extend their jurisdiction on to the Armenians of Transylvania, to include them in their own archdiocese and they would have a bishop appointment to head it with a seat in Szamosújvár.

Lemberg soon requested this at the Holy See. Archbishop Yakub Tumanowicz (1714–1798), succeeding Archbishop Augustynowicz who died in the meantime, reconfirmed the request. His strongest argument was that missionary work and the idea of the church union among the Armenians of Transylvania was initiated and spread by the archbishopric at the beginning of the 1680s.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, it was thanks to the head of the archbishopric, to Archbishop Vardan Hunanean and Bishop Deodatus Nersesowicz as well as to Francesco Martelli, Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw at the time that the Armenians of Transylvania swore on to Catholic faith in Lemberg in 1689. The archbishopric requested and supported the appointment of Oxendio Virziresco as bishop in Transylvania who was consecrated in Lemberg on 30<sup>th</sup> of July in 1691.<sup>123</sup> All this happened under the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of the archbishopric which was acknowledged and approved by the Holy See at the beginning of the missionary work.<sup>124</sup> They cited as a grievance that upon the request of the Hungarian clergy the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Armenians of Transylvania was withdrawn from Lemberg right before the consecration of Bishop Oxendio. In several documents they expressed their incomprehension why the Roman Catholic bishopric in Transylvania wanted to interfere in the internal affairs of a church which had existed even before the Roman Catholic Bishopric in Transylvania was founded.<sup>125</sup>

The step taken by Lemberg made the bishop of Roman Catholic faith in Transylvania indignant. Bishop Ignác Batthyány (1743–1798) raised his objections with Giuseppe Garampi (1725–1792), Apostolic Nuncio of Vienna and formerly of Warsaw who was trying to mediate between the

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<sup>122</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 861. Fol. 88/r.–v. Fol. 89r.–90r.

<sup>123</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 380r.–381/v. Fol. 462/v. Fol. 465/r.–v.; APF SC Fondo Moldavia. Vol. 2. Fol. 125r.–127/v. Fol. 134r.–135/v.

<sup>124</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 861. Fol. 93/r.–v.

<sup>125</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 512. Fol. 181r.; APF CP. Vol. 29. Fol. 609r. Fol. 610r. Fol. 611r. Fol. 612r.–613/v. Fol. 617/v. Fol. 628/r.–v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 79. Fol. 134/v.–135/v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 146/r.–v.

two parties<sup>126</sup>. In 1784 Bishop Batthyány turned to the Holy See with a complaint claiming that Lemberg interfered in the affairs of his diocese unauthorised.<sup>127</sup> In his complaint written to the Holy See the Transylvanian bishop of the Roman Catholic faith also referred to the decree of 1726 issued by Charles III of Spain, Emperor and King of Hungary which stated that the Uniate Armenians of Transylvania or in other words the Armenian Catholics of Transylvania (*ritus armenus catholicus*) should obey, in all matters, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania which was then acknowledged by the Holy See. Batthyány's interpretation, however, proved wrong because the Emperor obliged the Armenians to obey the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania in ecclesiastical matters until a bishop is appointed to them either by the Emperor or the Holy See. Also, this decree was not reinforced by any documents issued by the Holy See and the archives of the Propaganda Fide had no document mentioning this decree at all.<sup>128</sup> The Bishop responded that for a long time the Roman Catholic Bishopric had exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Armenians of Transylvania and added with a pinch of exaggeration that it had always been the Roman Catholic Bishop who was their pastoral head since the Armenians accepted the church union.<sup>129</sup> What the bishop claimed, however, was not true because it was well-known that the Armenians then belonged directly to Propaganda Fide from an ecclesiastical point of view and their high official was Oxendio Virziresco mentioned above several times. The Armenian Uniate Archbishopric of Lemberg was informed of this untruth and sent to the royal court as well as to the Holy See the decision made by the Holy See in 1690 which declared that ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Armenians of Transylvania is to be exercised instead of the Archbishopric in Lemberg directly by the Propaganda Fide and not the bishop of the Roman Catholic faith in Transylvania.<sup>130</sup> Archbishop Tumanowicz decided

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<sup>126</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 861. Fol. 85r.–86/v.

<sup>127</sup> Propaganda Fide prepared a detailed summary of this.. APF Acta SC. Vol. 152. Fol. 368r.–395/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 861. Fol. 65r.–81/v.

<sup>128</sup> It is very important to note that the expression „Armenian Catholic” was first used in Transylvania in 1726 meaning the Uniate Armenians. Kovács – Kovács, 2002. 90. p.

<sup>129</sup> APF SOCG Vol. 861. Fol. 96r.–97/v. Fol. 98/r.–v. Fol. 99/r.–v. Fol. 100r–101r.

<sup>130</sup> Lukácsy, 1859. 131. p.; Vanyó, 1933. 112. p.; Vanyó, 1986. 181–182. p.; Petrowicz, 1988. 236–238. p.

to put forward to Joseph II Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary (1765–1790) his request for the ecclesiastic jurisdiction over the Armenians of Transylvania to be exercised by the Uniate Archbishopric of Lemberg instead of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania. He argued that like Transylvania, Galicia and Lemberg belonged to the Habsburg Empire following the Partition of Poland in 1772. Therefore the archbishop considered lawful and his duty to acquire jurisdiction over the Armenians of Transylvania and believed to have the mandate to protect them against the abuse of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania.<sup>131</sup>

This measure taken by Archbishop Tumanowicz proved to be hasty. First he declared that since the death of Bishop Oxendio Virziresco he had been only one entitled to act in the affairs of the Armenian Church of Transylvania while the Bishop of the Roman Catholic faith in Transylvania had not. Archbishop Tumanowicz also considered himself to be the *de jure* highest ecclesiastic authority of the Transylvanian Armenians without receiving an official appointment or mandate for this from the royal court or the Holy See.<sup>132</sup> His communications met with disapproval of not only the Hungarian clergy and the Holy See but also that of the royal court.

The conflict was aggravated by the fact that Archbishop Tumanowicz announced on all for that the Armenian Church in Transylvania should return under the jurisdiction of Lemberg because this was the only way to keep the Armenian Church that would not become Latinized. Tumanowicz was right in one sense even if he was violent in forming his arguments and also in communicating them to the authorities. He claimed that the Roman Catholic Church did not understand the Armenian Uniate rite, did not speak the old liturgical language of the Armenians. Therefore his archdiocese is the only one who could care for the Armenian Church in Transylvania.

Joseph II first enquired at the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania, then at the Holy See. After a 2-year-long investigation on September 14th, 1786 he categorically rejected the archbishop's request. The ruler argued that the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania had governed the Transylvanian Armenians, loyal and devoted subjects of the Empire, in ecclesiastical matters in an exemplary manner in

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<sup>131</sup> Vanyó, 1986. 181. p.

<sup>132</sup> ASV ANV. Fol. 196. Fol. 273/r.–v. Fol. 278r.–279/v.

accordance with the Holy See for a long time. Therefore he did not see fit to transfer the Armenians of Transylvania under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Lemberg. Joseph II also emphasised that the clergy of the Roman Catholic Bishopric in Transylvania had always followed the instructions of the Propaganda Fide in an exemplary manner. With this the emperor considered the dispute between the two dioceses closed.

The decision undoubtedly favoured Ignác Batthyány, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania. It meant that in principle, the Armenians belonged to the Propaganda Fide but in fact were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania. Thus Bishop Batthyány won the dispute, his arguments proved to be the stronger. Bishop Batthyány was more well-connected in court circles and also at the Holy See than the Archbishop of Lemberg. Bishop Batthyány also used the argument the Roman Catholic bishops, first brought up by György Mártonffy in 1718 and 1719, that the Roman Catholic bishops were right in dealing with the affairs of the Transylvanian Armenians because when Oxendio was appointed bishop in 1690 he received his mandate not only for the pastoral care of the Armenians but also of the Roman Catholics in Transylvania who did not have a bishop then. This is why Oxendio made several visits in 1690s at the vicarages of Szeklerland, consecrated bells and altars all over Transylvania and also Hungarian priests in Transylvania. Bishop Batthyány was very apt in formulating his argument reminding everyone that Bishop Oxendio served temporarily also as the Roman Catholic Vicar of Transylvania between 1708 and 1709 after the death of Bertalan Szebellébi (1631–1707) and also as a mandatory Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania between 1712 and 1713 after the death of Bishop András Illyés (1637–1712).<sup>133</sup> All this served as a precedent for the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania to have a word in the ecclesiastic affairs of the Armenian Church in Transylvania. At the same time, the issue of filling the vacant seat of the bishop of the Armenian Church was taken off the agenda and very little hope remained concerning filling this office in the future.<sup>134</sup>

The last attempt to have an Armenian bishop appointed took place in 1857. Then the royal court in Vienna intended to appoint a bishop for

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<sup>133</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 83. Fol. 7r.–8/v.; ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 8. Pag. 57.

<sup>134</sup> Vanyó, 1933. 112. p.

the descendants of the Armenians in Transylvania but Lajos Haynald (1819–1891), The Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania strongly opposed this. In spite of all the protest the court found the suitable person in Kristóf Lukácsy, Armenian Uniate Vicar in Szamosújvár, Armenianist scholar and historian. Lukácsy, however, did not accept the nomination for political reasons. After the fall of the revolution of 1848-1849, out of patriotism he did not want to accept the court's offer. On the other hand, Lukácsy believed it was no longer relevant to fill in the seat of the Armenian Bishop of Transylvania since the assimilation of the Armenians was well advanced by then.

Furthermore, assimilation also started among the Armenians of Poland: at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Armenians there assimilated to the Polish. There were fewer and fewer trained Armenian priests and many believers changed rites.<sup>135</sup> It was a huge blow for the Archbishopric of Lemberg when in 1784, due to its disadvantageous operation and too few seminarists, Joseph II closed down the Armenian College in Lemberg, founded by the Theatine monks in 1664. Therefore Armenian priests were no longer trained in Poland. The majority of the seminarists of Armenian origin continued their studies in seminaries in Poland or at the Holy See while a minority went to the Mechitarist Abbey in Venice and served later on either in the Near East or in Armenian areas of the mother land.<sup>136</sup>

Catholic missions led among the Armenians living in Diasporas had harmful consequences both in the long and the short run. It was especially true among the Armenians living in Transylvania, Poland and Italy.<sup>137</sup> Most of these church unions were initiated and forced by Rome, supported by the local secular and Roman Catholic Church authorities.<sup>138</sup> In these cases Rome reached its goal: the Armenian community in question became irreversibly Roman Catholic and was integrated successfully into the society of the ethnic majority. As for their Armenian national identity the church union proved in fact fatal because the Armenian clergy living in the Diasporas was the only link to the Armenians of the mother land and the

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<sup>135</sup> Petrowicz, 1988. 322–327. p.

<sup>136</sup> ASV ANV. Vol. 193. Fol. 154/r.–v.; Petrowicz, 1988. 228–235. p.

<sup>137</sup> Nagy, 2011. 427–442. p.

<sup>138</sup> Nagy, 2009a. 96–99. p.

Armenian Apostolic Church. Church unions in fact destroyed this special connection because they disrupted an old Armenian historic and oral tradition where Armenian identity was identical with the Armenian Apostolic Church. The Armenian Church identical with Armenian national identity used to be the focal point of these communities. With church unions, Latinisation and the forced switch of liturgical rite it was Armenian culture and identity which faded into the background. These conversions in Diasporas far from the mother land always resulted in time in linguistic and cultural assimilation. The Mechitarist Fathers striving to keep Armenian national identity alive could but temporarily slow down this process.<sup>139</sup> In light of this, the integration of the Armenians in Transylvania can, at first glance, be considered a success since integration of Armenians into the society of Transylvania started with the church union and resulted in the formation of the so-called Hungarian-Armenian national identity. However, if one studies recatholisation from the point of view of the Armenians it can also be assessed as a failure since the church union led eventually to linguistic and cultural assimilation and Armenian language and culture in fact lost their appeal. Therefore one can draw the conclusion that the Armenian Diasporas living far from the mother land after accepting a church union with either Constantinople or Rome became integrated and assimilated entirely into the surrounding society in terms of language and culture in a few generations time or in a few centuries. In most cases, the memories of their former Armenian identity were kept only by their old churches, cemeteries, merchant houses and surnames.<sup>140</sup>

### **A Short History of the Armenians in Csíkszépvíz in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries**

Studies consider the Armenian community in Csíkszépvíz the oldest but also the smallest. Armenians settled down here before and during the migration in 1668.<sup>141</sup> There are no data available for the number of the Armenian population then. What is certain is that they had an Armenian

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<sup>139</sup> Schütz, 1987. 285. p.; Nagy, 2012. 122–124. p.

<sup>140</sup> On changes in national identity of Transylvanian Armenians in the 19th and 20th centuries see: Bernád – Kovács, 2011. 41–45. p.; Kránitz, 2016. 282–302. p.

<sup>141</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 3. Fol. 468r.; ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 21. Pag. 81.

priest, Pál (*Tēr-Pōlos*) from the beginning who held the liturgy in Armenian Apostolic rite.<sup>142</sup> In fact, upon the order of Mihály Apafi I, Prince of Transylvania, Bertalan Szebellébi, Roman Catholic Vicar in Transylvania provided a chapel to the village for the Armenians on condition that they take care of setting up and maintaining the small church.<sup>143</sup> We also know that Szebellébi did try to convert the Armenians in Csíkszépvíz with the help of the Franciscan fathers in Csíksomlyó which was confirmed by Bishop Oxendio Virziresco, and Jesuits Rudolf Bžensky and István Csete in their reports written in the 1680s and 1690s.<sup>144</sup> Catholicisation led by Oxendio Virziresco did not have an impact on the Armenian community of Csíkszépvíz. The Armenian Uniate missionary, delegated by the Holy See and later bishop, never visited Csíkszépvíz and in his reports written about the church union to the Holy See he never mentioned Csíkszépvíz when listing the Armenian communities in Transylvania.<sup>145</sup>

In the history of the Armenian community the February of 1694 meant a turning point when the Tartars destroyed Csíkszépvíz.<sup>146</sup> The majority of the Armenian community was either killed or sold as slaves.<sup>147</sup> The remaining survivors fled primarily to Gyergyószentmiklós where they converted to Catholicism soon afterwards. There is a surviving Armenian glossa about the destruction of the Tartars which related that at the holiday of the Armenian soldier saint, Saint Sergios (*Surb Sargis Zōrawor*) the Tartars attacked during liturgy. They killed the above mentioned Priest Pál and dragged off about 150 Armenians from the village.<sup>148</sup> This text proves that despite the church union of 1689 the Armenians of Csíkszépvíz were not Uniate Catholics. The saint mentioned in the text was a saint of the Armenian Apostolic Church who was not acknowledged by the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 21. Pag. 80.

<sup>143</sup> ASV ANV. Vol. 196. Fol. 147r.

<sup>144</sup> ELTE EKK. Coll. Hev. Cod. 16. Pag. 32.; ELTE EKK: Coll. Hev. Cod. 21. Pag. 81–82.; Molnár, 2009. 222. p.

<sup>145</sup> Fáraó, 1888. 47–51. p.

<sup>146</sup> APF CP. Vol. 31. Fol. 390r.; ARSI FA. Hist. Vol. 152. Fol. 18/r–v.

<sup>147</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 65. Fol. 54r.–56/v.; APF SOCG. Vol. 518- Fol. 66/r.–v.

<sup>148</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 325/r.–v.

<sup>149</sup> Bžškeanc', 1830. 201. p.; Lukácsy, 1859. 18. p.; Szádeczky-Kardos, 1897. 445. p.; Nagy, 2012. 152–153. p.

Oxendio Virziresco, the Uniate Bishop started to focus on the Armenians of Csíkszépvíz only then and not for ecclesiastic reasons. He asked the Holy See, the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna as well as the Gurbernium for financial aid in 1694 and 1695 so that he could pay the ransom to the Tartars for the surviving Armenians of Csíkszépvíz.<sup>150</sup> Oxendio also contacted Andrea Santacroce, Apostolic Nuncio of Warsaw later on and Cardinal Lipót Kollonich (1631–1695), Archbishop of Esztergom with the help of whom he received 5,000 Forints from the royal court in Vienna for the ransom of the prisoners.<sup>151</sup> They managed to pay for 96 out of the 150 prisoners, the rest of them died or disappeared in the meantime.<sup>152</sup> The ones who were freed never returned to Csíkszépvíz because the village was entirely destroyed by the Tartars. Most of the survivors settled down in Gyergyószentmiklós where soon afterwards were converted to Roman Catholic faith by Bishop Oxendio.<sup>153</sup>

In any case, there was no Armenian community in Csíkszépvíz between 1694 and the end of the Rákóczi's War of Independence after which a few Armenian families returned to the village. Until the end of the eighteenth century we have contradictory data concerning the Armenian community of the village. In the 1720s documents of the Holy See reported of a Csíkszépvíz in ruin.<sup>154</sup> Other documents list a few dozen Uniate Armenians who live in the village without a priest or a church.<sup>155</sup> On the other hand, Csíkszépvíz did have a principal or a judge because János Miklós, Armenian judge asked the Holy See and Gergely György Sorger, Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania in his letter of November 4th, 1731 to delegate a Uniate priest for the Armenians. This is also confirmed by Márton Barabás, Vicar of Csíkrákos (*Racu*) and Ferenc Bodó, Vicar of Csíkszentmiklós (*Nicolești*) in their reports written in 1731 when they stated that in Csíkszépvíz neither the Armenians nor the Catholic Szeklers had priest or parish and they asked that this situation should soon be redressed.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> APF SOCG. Vol. 520. Fol. 289/r.–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 325/r.–v. Fol. 350r. Fol. 369/r.–v.

<sup>151</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 4. Fol. 368r.

<sup>152</sup> APF Acta SC. Vol. 65. Fol. 263r.–266/v.; APF Lettere SC. Vol. 83. Fol. 165/v.–166/v.

<sup>153</sup> APF Lettere SC. Vol. 83. Fol. 248/v. Fol. 253/v. Fol. 255/v.

<sup>154</sup> ASV FM. (Folio unnumbered)

<sup>155</sup> Pál-Antal, 2009. 9. p.

<sup>156</sup> Kovács – Kovács, 2002. 111–112. p



There was no decision made concerning the Armenians but in 1732 Bishop Sorger decided to establish a Latin rite parish.<sup>157</sup> Most probably the bishop did not make a decision concerning the Armenians due to the difference in rites since, as it was explained above, the bishop had reservations concerning the Uniate Armenians. The Armenians therefore continued to be without a priest and went to mass either to Gyergyószentmiklós or the Uniate Armenian priest of Gyergyószentmiklós came to hold the liturgy for them in Csíkszépvíz.<sup>158</sup>

In 30 years a major change took place in the history of Csíkszépvíz. In 1759 about 300 Armenians fled Moldavia due to the persecutions and settled down in Transylvania, most of them in Csíkszépvíz. These were Armenians of the Armenian Apostolic (Eastern) faith. This news reached Rome soon and the Holy See instructed the Armenian Uniate priests of Transylvania to persuade the newly arrived Armenians to accept the church union. János Jakabffy, János Karácsony and Péter Novák, Armenian Uniate priests in Erzsébetváros and former seminarists of the Urbanian College in Rome, were the ones who were assigned this job. They succeeded in their efforts and in 1760 the Armenians of Csíkszépvíz accepted the Roman Catholic faith peacefully during a ceremony.<sup>159</sup> As opposed to former experiences here there were no conflicts which would have resulted from the different interpretations of the church union but no parish was established yet. Therefore the Armenians of Csíkszépvíz belonged to the arch diocese of Erzsébetváros and the priests from Erzsébetváros went to celebrate masses in Csíkszépvíz until the last third of the eighteenth century. During this period János Ábrahám, Antal Petri and József Szebeni, priests in Erzsébetváros held masses regularly in the village.<sup>160</sup>

The small chapel became too little for the community and in 1762 they started to build a bigger stone church. The construction lasted until 1785. In the meantime the community requested higher church authorities several times unsuccessfully that an independent Armenian parish could be established.

The parish could finally be founded with the approval of the Holy See and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania in 1785 when the

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<sup>157</sup> Uo. 155–158. p.

<sup>158</sup> Uo. 111–112. p.

<sup>159</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 14. Fol. 148/r.–v.

<sup>160</sup> APF SC Fondo Armeni. Vol. 15. Fol. 171/r.–v. Fol. 428r.–429r.. Fol. 518r.–519/v.

church was ready. Bishop Ignác Batthyányi consecrated it. The first Armenian vicar of the village was Minász Gyertyánffy (Minas Geron).<sup>161</sup>

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APF Acta SC. = Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide

APF CU. = Collegio Urbano

APF CP. = Congregazioni Particolari

APF Istr. = Istruzione dicere

APF Lettere SC. = Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione

APF SOCG. = Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali

APF SC Fondo Armeni. = Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Fondo Armeni

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APF SC FUT = Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Fondo Ungheria e Transilvania.

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HAB – Herzog August Bibliothek

ICCU – Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche

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OSKANYAN – OSKANYAN, Ninel A. ; KORKOTYAN, K'narik A.; SAVALYAN, Ant'axram M.: Hay girk'.e 1512–1800 t'vakannerin: hay hnatip grk'i matenagitowt'yown. OSKANYAN OSKANYAN, Ninel A.; ABGARYAN, Gevorg V.: Hay girk'.e 1851–1900 t'vakannerin. Erevan 1999 (Hay grk'i matenagitowt'yown 3).

OSZK – Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library)

ÖNB – Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

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## CATALOGUE



2. Sacristy of the Armenian Catholic Parish Church  
*Csíkszépvíz / Frumoasa*

## Legend for the bibliographical descriptions

A = composite volume, missing pages

C = Manuscript note(s) in the volume

F = Bibliographical works used in the identification of prints



3. Altar in the Armenian Catholic Parish Church – Csíkszépvíz / Frumoasa

ABAFFI Ferenc *vide* KOLB, Gregorius, Nr. 72.

**1** **Csíkszépvíz 88**

ALEXOVICS Vazul

Vasárnapi prédikátziók. – Pesten : Patzko Ferentz betüivel, 1790. – 8°

Tavaszi rész. – [8], 426, LXXXV p.; 8°

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1853

F Petrik I. 48

**2** **Csíkszépvíz 36/2**

Analytica expositio tenorum investiturae parochialis cum respectu ad juramentum fidelitatis, et obedientiae. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Venceslai Jelinek, 1803. – 71 p.; 8°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1.: 36/1 *vide* Nr. 14.; Coll. 3.: 36/3 *vide* Nr. 47.)

F Petrik I. 729

**3** **Csíkszépvíz 180**

ANANIA, Sabahnets'i; ŽOĽOVAC'U

Girk' Koč'ec'eal Žoľovacu. I T'win Hayoc' ṙbčxb Hoktemberin žē i Tparani Yovhannēsean Pōłosi (Kostandnupolsoy). [A Collection called a Book. Collection. Published on October 17, 1242 according to Armenian Calendar. In Pōłos Yovhannēsean's Press in Constantinople]. Constantinople, 1793. – 450 p.; 8°

F British Library: 018212042 (Nersessian –); Calouste Gulbenkian Library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem: 230.155.

**4** **Csíkszépvíz 103**

ANDRÁSSY István

Keresztény tudomány. – Kolozsvártt : A' királyi lyceum' betüivel, 1845.– XV, 184 p.; 8°

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao [1]859

F Petrik I. 729

5

Csíkszépvíz 42

ANTOINE, Paul Gabriel

Theologia moralis universa complectens omnia morum praecepta...–  
Romae et prostant Venetiis : Typis, et sumptibus Joannis Generosi  
Salomonii, 1757. – XLVIII, 543, [1] p.; 4°

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovics<sup>1</sup> 1821

F IT\ICCU\URBE\014299

6

Csíkszépvíz 70

ANTOINE, Paul Gabriel

Theologia moralis universa, complectens omnia morum praecepta, et  
principia decisionis omnium conscientiae casuum... – Editio novissima. –  
Bononiae et prostat Venetiis : apud Antonium Zatta, 1763. – 4°

Volumen secundum. – 49-379 p.

A Missing pages: 1–48.

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1865

F IT\ICCU\TOOE\043690

7

Csíkszépvíz 71

ANTOINE, Paul Gabriel

Theologia moralis universa, complectens omnia morum praecepta, et  
principia decisionis omnium conscientiae casuum... – Editio novissima. –  
Bononiae et prostat Venetiis : apud Antonium Zatta, 1763. – 4°

Volumen primum. – 479 p.

C Ex libris Joannis Dombi m.p. proprius

Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1851

F IT\ICCU\TOOE\043689

8

Csíkszépvíz 190

ԱՐԱՇԱԿԻ; ԱՎԳԵՐԵԱՆ, Մկրտիչ, transl.

Tarekan ařak'. Hogeřah Imastic'. T'argmanut'iwn i Latin Bnagrē i Hay  
Barbař, Hayr Mkrtič' Vardapeti Mxit'arean Awgereanc'. I Venetik I Vans  
Srboyn Łazaru, 1825 [Annual Proverbs. The Wise Ones' Salvation. Translated  
from Latin into Armenian by Father Mkrtič' Awgereanc', Vardapet

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<sup>1</sup> An Antal Petrovics (Petrovits) was an Armenian priest in Csíkszépvíz 1844–1860.

and Mechitarist Monk. Published in Venice, in the Press of Mechitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro degli Armeni in 1825.] Venetiis : typis PP. Mechitaristarum in Insula Sancti Lazari, 1825. – 591 p.; 8°

**F** ICCU –; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 3 A 86498; Nersessian –.

**9**

**Csíkszépvíz 52**

ARVISENET, Claude

Memoriale vitae sacerdotalis, a sacerdote Gallicano. – Editio sexta. – Posonii : Typis Georgii Aloysii Belnay, 1804. – 302, [2] p.; 8°

**C** Dono Exclmi, Illmi, ac Rni Dni, Francisci Xav. Fuchs Archi-Eppi Agriensis

Parochiae Szépviziensis

**F** Petrik II. 714

ATHANASIUS Alexandrinus, Sanctus vide VARK', Nr. 150.

**10**

**Csíkszépvíz 183**

AWETARAN

Girk' Srboy Awetarani Teṛn Meroy ew P'rkč'in Yisusi K'ristosi. Tpagrec'el i T'win Hayoc' řčld i žd Ōgostosi Amsoyñ. In Venetia: Appresso Michiel' Angelo Barboni. I Venetik k'alak'i. [The Holy Book of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ's Gospel. Came out in Venice in Michel' Angelo Barboni's Press on August 14, 1134 according to the Armenian Calendar.] Venezia : Nella tipografia di Michelangelo Barboni, 1685. – 432 p.; 4°

**F** ICCU –; IT\ICCU\VIAE\036275 (1680: 532 [16] p.); Nersessian Nr. 50.

AWGEREAN, Mkrtič' vide AṘAC'K', Nr. 8.

AWGEREAN, Mkrtič' vide ŌJNEC'I, Yovhannēs, Nr. 96.



11

Csíkszépvíz 78

BARCIA Y ZAMBRANA, José de

Manuductio ad excitatorem christianum. – Augustae Vindel. et Oeniponti : sumptibus Josephi Wolff, 1767. – 4°

Tomus primus. – [4], 312 p.

Tomus secundus. – [2], 176, [16] p.

C Ex libris Antonii Porumbi

F VD18 –; ÖNB 303845-D1-2

12

Csíkszépvíz 102/1

BARCLAY, John

Joannis Barclaii Icon Animorum. – Editio indice, capitum, rerum et verborum, auctior. – Francofurti : sump. Christiani Hermsdorffii, Literis Wustianis, 1675. – [10], 182 [recte: 206], [43] p.; 12°

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2.: 102/2 *vide* Nr. 151.)

C Sum ex libris Fr. Wi. Rie 1737

F VD17 39:136682V

13

Csíkszépvíz 35

BÄRNKOPF Ignác

Methodus recte gubernandi Parochiam, et dirigendi animas in S. Tribunali Poenitentiae. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Venceslai Jelinek, 1803. – 8°

Pars prima. – [6], 594, [6] p.

C Dono Excellentissimi Illmi ac Rni Dni Francisci Xav. Fuchs Eppi Nitriensis

Parochiae Elisabethopolitanae

Cooperatum Antonio Petrovics donavit Ioannes Kabdebo Parochus

L. R. E. Elisabeth.

F Petrik I. 153

14

Csíkszépvíz 36/1

BÄRNKOPF Ignác

Methodus recte gubernandi Parochiam, et dirigendi animas in S. Tribunali Poenitentiae. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Venceslai Jelinek, 1803. – 8°

Pars secunda. – [6], 384 p.

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2.: 36/2 *vide* Nr. 2.; ; Coll. 3.: 36/3 *vide* Nr. 47.)

- C Dono Excellentissimi Illmi ac Rni Dni Francisci Xav. Fuchs Eppi  
Nitriensis  
Parochiae Elisabethopolitanae  
Ex libris Bibliothecae Elisabethopolitanae Ecclesiae Armenae
- F Petrik I. 153

BATTHYÁNY Ignác *vide* BEUVELET, Mathieu, Nr. 17.

BERNAD, Vitalis *vide* FASCHING Ferenc, Nr. 40.

**15**

**Csíkszépvíz 38/1**

BERTI, Giovanni Lorenzo

Breviarium historiae ecclesiasticae. – Editio post Venetam in Germania quarta. – Vindobonae : Typis Joan. Thomae nob. de Trattnern, 1774. – 8°  
Pars prima. – [VII], 343 p.

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2.: 38/2 *vide* Nr. 16.)

C Fr. Theodori Lazar ex concessione R Patris Casimiri Domokos Mri  
Parochialis  
Ex libris Emmanuel Korbuly 1816 die 28 Junii(?) nec non 2do  
humanitatis classis studiosi  
Ex libris Simeonis János [1]865  
Post usum P. Theodori (...) Prov. Tran(syl)vaniae Ord. Minor.  
[1]785

F ÖNB 234441-A.1

**16**

**Csíkszépvíz 38/2**

BERTI, Giovanni Lorenzo

Breviarium historiae ecclesiasticae. – Editio post Venetam in Germania quarta. – Vindobonae : Typis Joan. Thomae nob. de Trattnern, 1774. – 8°  
Pars secunda. – [4], 392, [102] p.

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1.: 38/1 *vide* Nr. 15.)

F ÖNB 234441-A.2

**17**

**Csíkszépvíz 37**

BEUVELET, Mathieu; BATTHYÁNY Ignác, transl.

Norma cleri quam pro institutione clericorum Seminarii S. Nicolai

Chardonensis olim magister Math. Beuvelet Gallice edidit... nunc in usum cleri Transylvaniae Latinam redidit... Ignatius de Batthyán. – Agrariae : Typis Scholae Episcopalis, 1780. – [20], 356, [5] p.; 8°

A Back damaged

C Caessit Iosephus Andrási II. Anni Theolog. 1812 die 1 Februar. Ant. Petrovits

F Petrik I. 275; Mizera–Nagy–Verók 2017. Nr. 558.

**18**

**Csikszépvíz 50**

BIBLIA

Biblia Sacra vulgatae editionis. – Venetiis : apud Franciscum Pitteri, 1740. – [8], 999, [1] p.; 8°

F IT\ICCU\CAGE\001642

**19**

**Csikszépvíz 45**

BOLLA Márton

Primae lineae historiae universalis. – Claudiopoli : typis et sumptibus Martini Hochmeister, 1798. – 8°

Tomus I. – XXIV, 323, [1] p. 2 t. fol.

F Petrik I. 316

**20**

**Csikszépvíz 46**

BOLLA Márton

Primae lineae historiae universalis. – Claudiopoli : typis et sumptibus Martini Hochmeister, 1798. – 8°

Tomus III. – XVI, 339, [4] p. 1 t. fol.

F Petrik I. 316

**21**

**Csikszépvíz 47**

BOLLA Márton

Primae lineae historiae universalis. – Claudiopoli : typis et sumptibus Martini Hochmeister, 1799. – 8°

Tomus II. – XVI, 312 p. 3 t. fol.

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits anno 1810 21 Aprilis

F Petrik I. 316

22

Csíkszépvíz 48

BOLLA Márton

Primae lineae historiae universalis. – Claudiopoli : typis et sumptibus Martini Hochmeister, 1798. – 8°

Tomus III. – XVI, 339, [4] p. 1 t. fol.

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1810 die 4bris Aprilis, II. ... Philosophiae auditoris Tomus III.

F Petrik I. 316

BOROSS József *vide* Quod bonum, Nr. 107.

23

Csíkszépvíz 44/2

BOUCQ, Engelbert François le

Succincta et dilucida, Heidelbergensis catechesios ecclesiarum reformatarum explicatio sive Pertractatio. – Hagae-Comitis : Apud Fredericum Boucquet, 1741. – [12], 223, [1] p.; 4°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. 44/1 *vide* Nr. 149.)

F British Union Catalog: Oxford University, Regent's Park College Library, 39.c.19(11)

24

Csíkszépvíz 125

BUSENBAUM, Hermann

Medulla theologiae moralis, facili ac perspicua methodo resolvens casus conscientiae... – Editio novissima. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Academicis, per Johann. Adam. Friedl, 1693. – [24], 789, [45] p.; 12°

A Back damaged

F RMK II. 1744

25

Csíkszépvíz 113/1

CAMPION Jácint

Animadversiones physico-historico-morales de baptismo nonnatis, abortivis, et proiectis conferendo quas... proponit P. Hyacinthus Campion. – Budae : excudebat Leopoldus Landerer, 1761. – [18], 279, [1] p. [2] t. fol. : ill.; 8°

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2. 113/2 *vide* Nr. 119.)

F Petrik I. 377

26

Csikszépvíz 55

CICERO, Marcus Tullius

M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes selectae. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Tyrnaviensibus, 1776. – 8°

Tomulus tertius. – 440, [8], 48 p.

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits

F Petrik I. 420

27

Csikszépvíz 54

CICERO, Marcus Tullius

M. Tullii Ciceronis ad familiares epistolae. – Editio altera. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Regiae Universitas Budensis, 1782. – LIV, 890, [8] p.; 8°

A Missing pages: III–IV.

C Ex libris R. Stephani Patrubán

Nunc Antonii Petrovits 1821 donatus

Ex libris Joannis Keresztes philosophiae (... studiosi?)

F Petrik I. 420

28

Csikszépvíz 56

CICERO, Marcus Tullius

M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes selectae. – [Tyrnaviae] : Typis Tyrnaviensibus, 1775. – [14], 445, [11] p.; 8°

F Petrik I. 420

COCHEM, Martin von *vide* MÖGULÖ, Nr. 88.

COMENIUS, Johannes Amos *vide* KOMENSKÝ, Jan Amos, Nr. 73.

29

Csikszépvíz 8

CNNDOC'

Girk' Cnndoc' [Genesis. Book of Creation]. – 1232 p.

A Manuscript. Without a date or a place (probably a copy of a print, published in Venice in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The beginning is fragmented. It is most probably a Bible (*Astuacašunč Matean'*) in Old/Classical Armenian (*grabar*).

CORDIER (CORDERIUS), Balthasar *vide* CYRILLUS, Nr. 30.

CSIURCSICH Balázs *vide* SCHREINER Mihály, Nr. 119.

**30**

**Csikszépvíz 118/1**

CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, SANCTUS; CORDIER,  
BALTHASAR, ED.; GÖCZE, FRANCISCUS, PRAES.

Apologi morales Sancti Cyrilli Anno MDCXXX. Ex antiquo Ms. codice per Balthasarem Corderium... primum in lucem editi, denuo recusi laureatis honoribus... neo-baccalorum, Dum in Alma... Universitate Societ. Jesu Claudiopolitana promotore... Francisco Göcze... A Condiscipulis dicata Anno 1752. Mense Junio Die 6. – Claudiopoli : typis Academicis S.J., [1752]. – [2], 200, [12] p.; 12°

- A After the work theses, with the names of the students (nomina promotorum), 4 pages. (Coll. 2.: *vide* Nr. 107, Csíkszépvíz 118/2)
- C Congreg. BMV. Maros(vásárhelyiensis): Nr. 28  
Antonii Madár; Antonii Madár Fiscalis Procuratoris Tordensis (18<sup>th</sup> century); Petrus Matraz 1802 Syntaxista
- F Petrik V. 96–97

DAMIANUS, Ladislaus *vide* DEMÉNYI László, Nr. 33.

**31**

**Csikszépvíz 20/1**

DÁNIEL Imre, resp.; EYBEL, Josephus Valentinus, praes.; STÖGER, Ferdinandus, praes.

Positiones ex universo jure ecclesiastico et historia ecclesiastica... praesidentibus... Josepho Valentino Eybel... Ferdinando Stöger... die 25. mensis Augusti MDCCLXXIX. in auditorio magno palatii academici publice defendendas suscepit... Emericus Daniel... – [Vindobonae : typis Joannis Thomae de Trattner, 1779] – [32] p.; 8°

- A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2. 20/2 *vide* Nr. 97.)
- F RMK III/XVIII. Nr. 2164.

32

Csíkszépvíz 49

DECSY Sámuel

Egyiptom ország rövid históriája. – Bécs : sine typ., 1803. – VIII, 424 p.;  
8°

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao [1]857

Ex libris Christofori Czecz

F OSZK 808.322

33

Csíkszépvíz 57

DEMÉNYI (Damianus) László

Ladislai Damiani, a Sancto Nicolao, e scholis Piis clerici regularis,  
sacerdotis, et eloquentiae professoris, Orationes in variis Hungariae  
gymnasiis habitae. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Academicis, 1742. – 240 p.; 8°

A Missing pages: up to page 240

C Ex libris Michaelis Daniel Rhetoris Mediensis Anno 1783 die 19  
Martij

Emerici Daniel

Ex libris Eugenii Daniel Rhetoris a Caroli Anno 1801 die 14  
Januarij

F Petrik I. 494

DIRRHAIMER, Udalrich *vide* SEGNERI, Paolo, Nr. 120, 121.

34

Csíkszépvíz 85

DORN, Franz Xaver

Diurnale concionatorium in festa. – Augustae Vindelicorum : sumpt.  
Joannis Baptistae Burkhart, 1770. – 8°

Pars V. – [22], 781 p.

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovics 1818

Ex libris R. D. Adeodati Ötves

F VD18 90178637

35

Csíkszépvíz 209

ERG

Erg i ver Č'arč'aranac' K'ristosi [A Hymn over Christ's Sufferings].  
Csíkszépvíz, 1845. – 43 fol.

- A Manuscript. Armenian Catholic hymn book. Beside the Armenian words there is the Hungarian translation in Latin letters (April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1845).
- C Zakariás Joáchimné, Zakariás Mária, 1890.

36

Csíkszépvíz 2

ERGARAN

Ergaran Hayoc', I Žam Srboyn Pataragin ew i ver Zanazan Tōnic'. I Groc' Grigor Simonoviĵean Tirac'u u Vardapet<sup>2</sup> Sibvizn 1890 Yunisin 24-in [Armenian Ecclesiastical Hymnary: Holy Liturgy for Different Church Holidays. From the Library of Grigor Simonoviĵean (*Gergely Szimonovics*), Vardapet and Parish Priest in Csíkszépvíz on September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1890]. Csíkszépvíz, 1890. – 67 fol.

- A Manuscript. Cf.: ZSIGMOND Benedek, *A csíkszépvízi örmény énekeskönyv-töredék*, in *Örmény diaszpóra a Kárpár-medencében*, szerk. ÖZE Sándor, KOVÁCS Bálint, Piliscsaba, PPKÉ BTK, 2007 (Művelődéstörténeti műhely. Felekezetek és identitás), 258–277.

37

Csíkszépvíz 204

ERZURUMEC'I Arak'elean, Xaç'atur

Bank' ew K'arozk'. Yaĵaĵ Terunakan Tōnic' ew Awurc' Aĵhac'ic'. Šaradrec'ealk' I Xaç'atroy Ērzurumec'ioy<sup>3</sup> Hator Aĵajin I. I Venetik, I Tparan Antoniosi Pōrt'ōli Yami P'rkč'in řč'ž Marti ew Hayoc' řčet' Marti [Prayers and Sermons related to Church Holidays and Commemorations. Compiled by Father Xaç'atur Erzurumec'I OMech. First Part. In Venice, in Antonio Portoli's Press, in March of the year 1710 of the Saviour and in 1159 according to the Armenian Calendar/Era]. Venezia : Antonio Portoli, 1710. – 1196 p.; 4°

- C Ex libris Farao Simeonis 1865.
- F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian Nr. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Vardapet: A borrowed word of Middle Persian origin (Pehlevi) in Old/Classical and Modern Armenian languages. Meaning: scholarly monk.

<sup>3</sup> Xaç'atur Arak'elean Erzurumec'i (1666–1740), vardapet Mechitarist monk, theologian and missionary. Apostolic visitor among the Armenians in Transylvania appointed by the Apostolic Holy See between 1719 and 1721. Alumnus of the Seminar called Urbanian College (*Collegium Urbanum*, *Collegio Urbano*, *Urbanian Dpratum*) in Rome.



**38**

**Csikszépvíz 170**

ĚSTKAREAN, Vardan; NAMAĀAGRUT'IWN

Guide Épistolaire. Français – Arménien. Araĵnord Namakagrut'ean. Gałli-erēn – Hayerēn. Ašxatasirut'iwn Hōr Vardanay Vardapeti Ęstkarean i Mx-it'areanēn Uxtēn. B Tpagrut'iwn. I Vienna: i Tparan Mxit'areanc, 1877. [Guide to the Correspondence in French and Armenian. Edited by Vardan Ęstkarean Vardapet, Mechitarist monk. Second Edition. Published in Vienna in the Mechitarist Abbey's Press in 1877]. Wien : Buchdruckerei der Mechitharisten-Congregation 1877. – 313 [14] p.; 8°

**C** 1911 yanuar 5. Gētk' J. Čarukean Tirazizean. [From the library of J. Čarukean Tirazizean. January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1911].

**F** ÖNB –; ICCU – (unique copy?)

EYBEL, Josephus Valentinus *vide* DÁNIEL Imre, Nr. 31.

**39**

**Csikszépvíz 43**

FARKAS Bernárd

Vasárnapi és ünnepi evangyéliomi magyar homiliák az-az, A' régi sz. atyák prédikállásának közönségesbb módgyaszerént, vasárnapi ,s ünnepi sz. evangyéliomokat fejtegető egy-házi magyar beszédek, mellyeket monda... közre-is botsáta P. Farkas Bernárd. – Egerben : Érseki Oskola' betűivel, 1808. – XII, 523, [21] p.; 8°

**A** Back damaged

**C** Mártonfi Antalé 1836

**F** Petrik I. 746; Mizera–Nagy–Verók 2017. Nr. 1140.

**40**

**Csikszépvíz 114**

[FASCHING Ferenc], TAKÁCS Marcell, praes.

Soliloquia sacra ad curandam aeternae salutis incuriam accommodata... dum... theses ex universa philosophia ad Mentem Doctoris subtilis Joannis Duns Scoti... publice defenderent in Conventu Claudiopolitano ad SS. Apostolos Petrum et Paulum Anno 1746 Mense <Aprilis> Die <21>... Vitalis Bernad, Bonaventura Mike, et Casimirus Kraus... praeside... Marcellino Takács... auditoribus oblata. – [Claudiopoli] : [Typ. Acad.], [1746]. – [14], 248, [1] p.; 8°

- A A thesis booklet (*Liber gradualis*) [4] fol., befor the work  
C 1768 Ex libris Marcelli Csíki  
Nunc possessor Antonius Petrovics 1819  
F Petrik V. 148–149

41

Csíkszépvíz 64

FERRARIS, Lucius

Prompta Bibliotheca. – Editio novissima. – Bononiae, sed prostant Venetiis :  
apud Gasparem Storti, 1766. – 4°

Tomus tertius. – VI, 613, 108 p.

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1865

F IT\ICCU\MILE\003881

42

Csíkszépvíz 65

FERRARIS, Lucius

Prompta Bibliotheca. – Editio novissima. – Bononiae, sed prostant Venetiis :  
apud Gasparem Storti, 1767. – 4°

Tomus Septimus. – VIII, 845, 49, [1] p.

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1865

F IT\ICCU\MILE\003877

43

Csíkszépvíz 66

FERRARIS, Lucius

Prompta Bibliotheca. – Editio novissima. – Bononiae, sed prostant Venetiis :  
apud Gasparem Storti, 1766. – 4°

Tomus Quintus. – V, 599, 75 p.

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1865

F IT\ICCU\MILE\003879

44

Csíkszépvíz 67

FERRARIS, Lucius

Prompta Bibliotheca. – Editio novissima. – Bononiae, sed prostant Venetiis :  
apud Gasparem Storti, 1766. – 4°

Tomus Sextus. – VIII, 782, 117 p.

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1865

F IT\ICCU\MILE\003878

45

Csíkszépvíz 68

FERRARIS, Lucius

Prompta Bibliotheca. – Editio novissima. – Bononiae, sed prostant Venetiis : apud Gasparem Storti, 1766. – 4°

Tomus secundus. – VII, 751, 76 p.

A First part of the book is truncated

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1865

F IT\ICCU\MILE\003882

46

Csíkszépvíz 69

FERRARIS, Lucius

Prompta Bibliotheca. – Editio novissima. – Bononiae, sed prostant Venetiis : apud Gasparem Storti, 1766. – 4°

Tomus Quartus. – VIII, 694, 103 p.

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1865

F IT\ICCU\MILE\003880

FORRAI András *vide* JUSTINUS, Nr. 65.

47

Csíkszépvíz 36/3

[FUCHS Xavér Ferenc]

Moralis philosophiae Christianae de virtutibus, et vitiis Tractatus... – Posenii : Typis Joan. Michaelis Landerer, 1802. – VIII, 208, [1] p.; 8°

A Coll. 3. (Coll. 1.: 36/1 *vide* Nr. 14.; Coll. 2.: 36/2 *vide* Nr. 2.)

F OSZK 802.266

48

Csíkszépvíz 84/1

FUCHS Xavér Ferenc

Sensa moralia et religiosa virorum saeculi XVI. in singulos anni dies distributa, similia sensa moralia et religiosa virorum saeculi XIX. in compendio... cum subnexo epicedio in memoriam Pii VI. – Posenii : typis Georgii Aloysii Belnay, 1805. – 595 p.; 8°

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2. 84/2 *vide* Nr. 49.)

C Dono Excellmi Illstri, ac Rni Dni Alexandri Rudnay  
Stephano Patrubam Parocho Szépviziensi

Antonio Petrovits supra memoratum D. donavit 1821

F Petrik I. 837

49

Csíkszépvíz 84/2

FUCHS Xavér Ferenc

Visitationalia statuta generalia. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Venceslai Jelinek, 1804. – 125, 100 [recte: 126] p.; 8°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. 84/1 *vide* Nr. 48.)

F Petrik I. 837

GEMBAC'I, T'ovma *vide* THOMAS à Kempis, Nr. 139.

50

Csíkszépvíz 203

GIRK'; MXIT'AR, Sebastac'i

Girk' K'ristonēakani Vardapetut'ean. Šaradrec'eal Ašxarhabařin Lezunun Ašxatasirut'eamb Teařn Mxit'aray Vardapeti Sebastac'woy<sup>4</sup> Abbay Hayr Koč'ec'eloy. I Venetik I Tparani Antōni Pōřt'ōli, Yami Teařn 1727 Marti. [A Book on Christian Teachings. Compiled in Modern Armenian, Published and Edited by Mxit'ar Sebastac'i Vardapet, who is also referred to as Arch Abbot. Published in Antonio Portoli's Press in Venice in March, A. D. 1727]. Venezia : Antonio Portoli, 1727.; 8°

C Ex libris Simeonis Farao<sup>5</sup> 1858.

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian – (1725: Nr. 106; 1732: Nr. 117; 1771: Nr. 169.)

GÖCZE Ferenc *vide* Quod bonum, Nr. 107.

51

Csíkszépvíz 116

GRUBER Ágoston

A' keresztény hittan' elemi vázlata, gyakorlati kalauz a' katolikus kisedek' oktatására. – Kolozsvártt : A' Királyi Lyceum' betűivel, 1846. – XXII, 181, [3] p.; 8°

C Simonis Kopár

F Petrik – (unique copy?)

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<sup>4</sup> Mxit'ar Sebastac'i (1676–1749) vardapet theologian, arch abbot, founder of the Armenian Uniate Catholic Mechitarist Order.

<sup>5</sup> Simon Fáraó historian, Armenian parish priest in Csíkszépvíz, 1872–1916.

52

Csikszépvíz 202

HAWATOY

Yalaxs Hawatoy [On Faith; Book of Preaches]. 1753. – 2015 pp.

- A Manuscript bound, written in Armenian language. Dated on the last page: *July 10th, 1753*. The place where the manuscript was written is unknown (probably in Erzsébetváros).

53

Csikszépvíz 18

HERTZIG, František

Manuale parochi, seu methodus compediola. – Tyrnaviae : typis Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1755. – [12], 212, [20] p.; 8°

- C Ex libris Emerici Gáspár
- F Petrik II. 109

54

Csikszépvíz 101

HINDOĞLU, Artin

Deutsch-armenische Sprachlehre. – Venedig : in der Armenischen Buchdruckerey, 1830. – [12], 292 p.; 4°

- C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao
- F ÖNB 65.225-B; Nersessian Nr. 439.

55

Csikszépvíz 89

HOLLE, Philipp Joseph

Mythologia seu fabulosa deorum historia... – Cibinii : typis Petri Barth, 1781. – 214 p.; 8°

- C Ex libris Michaelis Daniel Rhetoris 1782. die 5 Decembris
- F Petrik II. 143–144 (Petrik VIII. 383)

56

Csikszépvíz 29

HUGO de Sancto Caro

Sacrorum biblorum Vulgatae editionis Concordantiae... – Nunc vero secundum Huberti Phalesii, Plantini ac Parisiensium observata, accuratissime, multis mendis aliarum editionum expunctis, editae. – Coloniae Agrippinae : Balthasarum ab Egmond, 1684. – 16, [580] p.; 8°

- A Back damaged, truncated copy
- F VD17 23:273489Q

[57

**Szamosújvár/Gherla/Armeniopolis  
(Armenian Church Library) 1912**

Hymni Latini et Hungarici in usum scholasticae juventutis. – Editio secunda. – Hermannstadt: gedruckt und zu finden bei den Hochmeister'schen Erben, 1844. – 72 p.; 8°

**C** Ex libris Christophori Görög *Cantor. Csíkszépviziensis*

**F** Petrik –

**58**

**Csíkszépvíz 112**

[IMRECH Imre

Élő vizeknek kúttya .. avagy a stáír-országi havasokon... tsudákkal tündöklő Mária...] Fol. a2r: Az élő vizeknek kúttyához Számatlan Tsudákkal Tündöklő Czelli Máriához ajánló levél... – [Steyr : 1753, Menhardt] – [34], 200 p.; 8°

**A** Title page missing; Back damaged.

**C** Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1857

Joachimus Czetz; Joachimus Czetz 1814; Joannis Jakabfy (19<sup>th</sup> century)

**F** Petrik I. 611, II. 214; OSZK 295.434.

**59**

**Csíkszépvíz 97**

JÁNOSSI Miklós

Silvae, seu varia elegiarum artificia, diversas temporum praesentiam materias complexa... dum in alma... Academia Claudiopolitana... promotore... Nicolao Janosi... ordinario ab illustrissima poesi Claudiopolitana oblata, anno MDCCXXXVII. – Claudiopoli : typis Academicis Soc. Jesu, [1737]. – 68 p.; 8°

**C** Cong. Mar. 1765 Comp.

**F** Petrik II. 264

**60**

**Csíkszépvíz 22**

JASZLINSZKY András Endre

Institutionum Physicae pars altera, seu physica particularis. – Tyrnaviae : Typ. Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1761. – 341, [7] p. [5] t. fol. : ill.; 8°

**A** Back damaged

**C** Nicolai Szilvasi 1762.

**F** Petrik II. 268

61

Csíkszépvíz 23

JASZLINSZKY András Endre

Institutionum Physicae pars altera, seu physica particularis. – Tyrnaviae :  
Typ. Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1761. – 341, [7] p. [5] t. fol. : ill.; 8°

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1819

Finis totius Philosophiae dies 7mus Augusto Dn. Patre Fr. Xa.

Fuchs

F Petrik II. 268

62

Csíkszépvíz 53/1

JASZLINSZKY András Endre

Institutiones logicae, in usum discipulorum concinnatae... – Tyrnaviae :  
Typis Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1755. – [8], 164 p. : 1 fig.; 4°

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2. 53/2 *vide* Nr. 63.)

C Ex libris Simeonis Fáraó 865

Possidet hunc librum Antonius Petri Anno 759 die 20 10bris

F Petrik II. 268

63

Csíkszépvíz 53/2

JASZLINSZKY András Endre

Institutiones metaphysicae. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Academicis Societatis  
Jesu, 1756. – 288, [8] p. : 1 fig.; 4°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 2. 53/1 *vide* Nr. 62.)

F Petrik II. 268

64

Csíkszépvíz 124

JUNCK, Jakob

Xeniothecion, sive copiosissimus concionum strenalium thesaurus  
hactenus reconditus. – Coloniae Agrippinae : typis et sumptibus Joannis  
Wilhelmi Friessem, 1701. – [8], 583 [recte: 593], [25] p.; 8°

C Ex libris Simeonis Farao

sui in domum accepit a spectabili Dno Martino Korbuly 28/5

[1]865

F VD18 13668072

65

Csíkszépvíz 109

JUSTINUS, Marcus Junianus; FORRAI András, transl.

Justinusnak Trogius Pompejus negyven négy Könyveiből ki-válogatott rövid ékes Historiája... fordított soborsiny Forrai András... – Egerben : A Püspöki iskola betüivel, 1781. – [8], 437, [10] p.; 4°

C Ex libris Simeonis Farao mp. [1]862.

F Petrik II. 305; Mizera–Nagy–Verók 2017. Nr. 586.

66

Csíkszépvíz 24

KABDEBÓ János, VARK' SRBOC'

Vita Sanctorum quorum memoria recolitur in Ecclesiis Armenorum Transylvaniae. Vark' Srboč' Zors Tōnen Ekelec'ik' Hayoc' Yarteał Opera Ioannis Kabdebo Canonici Semestre 1m. Elisabethopoli. Anno 1831 [Prebend János Kabdebó: The Lives of Saints Celebrated by the Armenian Church of Transylvania]. Erzsébetváros, 1831. – 93 fol.

A Manuscript.

67

Csíkszépvíz 181

KABDEBÓ János; TASĚ PATWIRANK'

Decalogi Praeceptum. Tasě Patwiranēn. Ereč'umin Mēknut' iwně. Asac'eal ew greal i Tēr Yōhannēsē Gabdēvbōjean. Teaj̄n yami 1817 [The Second of the Ten Commandments. Told and written by Prebend János Kabdebó in A.D. 1817]. Erzsébetváros, 1817. – 73 fol.

A Manuscript bound. No data where the book was written but most probably in Erzsébetváros.

C Ex libris et opere Ioannis Kabdebo. Parochi Elisabethopoliensis. 12 7br 1818.

68

Csíkszépvíz 7

KARGAWORUT'IWN

Kargaworu'iwn Astwacayin Paštmanč'. I Venetik: I Vans Srboyn Łazaru, 1824. [Breviary upon Adoration of the Lord. Published in Venice in the Press of Mechitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro degli Armeni in 1824] Venetiis : typis PP. Mechitaristarum in Insula Sancti Lazari, 1824. – 303 p.; 2°

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian Nr. 381.



## KARGAWORUT'IWN

Kargaworu'iwn Astwacayin Paštmanč'. I Venetik: I Vans Srboyn Łazaru, 1824. [Breviary upon Adoration of the Lord. Published in Venice in the Press of Mechitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro degli Armeni in 1824] Venetiis : typis PP. Mechitaristarum in Insula Sancti Lazari, 1824. – 303 p.; 2°

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian Nr. 381.

## KARGAWORUT'IWN

Kargaworut'iwn Hasarakac' Ałot'ic' Hayastaneayc' Ekełec'ioy. Azaraeal Srboyn Sahakay Hayarapeti ew Mesropay Vardapeti<sup>6</sup> ew Giwtay ew Yovhannu Mandakunioy ew Ayloc' Vardapetac'. I Hayrpatetut'ean Tn Tn St'epanos Petros Ž Azarean Kat'ołikosi<sup>7</sup> Tann Kilikoy. Venetik, I Surb Łazar, 1898. [Breviary. Public Order concerning the Prayers of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Prepared by Saint Isaac Catholicos, St Mesrop Vardapet, Saint Giwt Catholicos and Saint John Mandakuni Catholicos and Other Vardapets. Published under the Pontificate of John Peter X (Azarean), Armenian Catholic Patriarch of Cilicia. Published in Venice by Press of Mechitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro degli Armeni in 1898]. Venetiis : typis PP. Mechitaristarum in Insula Sancti Lazari, 1898. – 1237 [26] p.; 2°

F ÖNB –; ICCU –

## K'AROZIČ'

K'arozič' Girk. [Book of Sermons]. – 168 p.

A Manuscript. Hard to read. Publication date and place are unknown. The bound manuscript might be from the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>6</sup> Surb Mesrop Maštoc' vardapet. Saint *Mesrop* Maštoc' (362–440) Armenian monk and theologian, who invented the Armenian alphabet and translated the Bible into Armenian.

<sup>7</sup> Ž Step'anos Petros Azarean. Stephen Peter X (1881–1899), Armenian Catholic Patriarch.

72

Csíkszépvíz 28

KOLB, Gregorius; NAGY János, praes.; ABAFFI Ferenc, resp.  
Series Romanorum Pontificum cum reflexionibus historicis... authore...  
Gregorio Kolb... dum in alma, ac Regio-Principali S. J. Academia  
Claudiopolitana positiones universae philosophiae publice propugnandas  
suscepit... D. Franciscus Abaffi... praeside... Joanne Nagy... auditoribus  
oblata anno salutis MDCCXLI Mense Augusto.... – Claudiopoli : Typis  
Academicis S. J. : per Michaellem Becskereki, [1741]. – [8], 360, [16] p.;  
4°

- A Back damaged; Liber gradualis; before the work, 8 pages (as part of this edition).
- C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao [1]865
- F Petrik IX. 258

73

Csíkszépvíz 94

KOMENSKÝ, Jan Amos

Joann. Amos Comenii Orbis pictus, in Hungaricum et Germanicum  
translatus; et hic ibive[!] emendatus. – Po'sonban : Wéber Simon Péter  
költisével és betűivel, 1806. – 167, [1] p. : mul. fig.; 8°

- C Ex libris Christophori Czecz  
Ex libris Simeonis Fárao [1]852.
- F Bratislava, University Library, S. D.72885

KOVÁCS Ferenc *vide* PATAI András, Nr. 102.

KRAUS, Kázmér *vide* FASCHING Ferenc, Nr. 40.

74

Csíkszépvíz 193

KTAKARAN

Nor Ktakaran [New Testament]. – 788. p.; 8°

- A Fragmented. Publication date and place of the book are unknown (probably at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in Venice in the Press of the Mechitarist Congregation; Cf. Nersessian Nr. 221).

75

Csíkszépvíz 196

KTAKARAN

Nor Ktakaran [New Testament]. – 414 p.; 8°

- A Fragmented. Publication date and place are unknown. Probably, it was published at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in Venice. Cf. Nersessian Nr. 221.
- C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits<sup>8</sup>

76

Csíkszépvíz 72

LEO a Sancto Laurentio

Conciones adventuales in tres partes distributae. – Venetiis : ex typographia Balleoniana, 1752. – 4°

Tomus primus. – 224, 244, 71 p.

- C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1816  
P. Lazar
- F IT\CCU\TO0E\030343

77

Csíkszépvíz 73

LEO a Sancto Laurentio

Conciones adventuales in tres partes distributae. – Venetiis : ex typographia Balleoniana, 1752. – 4°

Tomus tertius. – 171, XX, 374 p.

- C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1816  
P. Lazar
- F IT\CCU\TO0E\030348

78

Csíkszépvíz 16

MANUZIO, Paolo

Epistolarum Pauli Manutii libri XII. ad quos accesserunt ejusdem praefationes, quibus libri ad illustres viros et ad amicos misi commendantur. – Editio novissima. – Tyrnaviae : Typ. Acad, 1762. – [12], 487, [7] p.; 4°

- A Missing: page of title, the first page: A2

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<sup>8</sup> Antal Petrovicz – Anton Betrovíč/Bedrovíč? Armenian catholic parish priest in Csíkszépvíz between 1860 and 1872.

- C** Ex libris Bibliothecae Elisabethopolitanae Ecclesiae Armenae  
Ex libris R. D. Marcelli Csíki 1768.  
**F** Petrik II. 668

MARCKL József *vide* SCHREINER Mihály, Nr. 119.

**79**

**Csíkszépvíz 83**

MARIANUS ab Angelis

Examen theologico-morale... opusculum. – Editio sexta. – Augustae Vindelicorum : sumptibus Matthaei Rieger P. M. Filiorum, 1782. – [14], 437, [9] p.; 8°

- C** Ex libris Antonii Petrovics  
**F** VD18 –; Stadtbibliothek Augsburg Th S 1754

**80**

**Csíkszépvíz 58**

MARLIANI, Ambrogio

Theatrum politicum in quo quid agendum sit a principe et quid cavendum, accurate praescribitur. – Augustae Vindelicorum : sump. Christophori Bartl, 1753. – 9, 472, [10] p.; 8°

- A** Missing: page of title and the first four folios.  
**C** Ex libris Christophori Csere  
Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1857  
**F** VD18 –; Stadtbibliothek Augsburg Stw 4849

**81**

**Csíkszépvíz 110**

MÁRTONFI Antal

Initia Astronomica speculae Batthyanianae Albensis in Transilvania cum XI. Tabulis Aeneis. – Albae Carolinae : Typis Episcopalibus, 1798. – XXIV, [8], 424 p., 7 t. fol.; 4°

- C** V. cleri ditus supersit domo Anthonii  
**F** Petrik II. 686

82

Csíkszépvíz 198

MAŠTOC', Mesrop

Hayastaneayc' Ułap'ar Ekelec'i [Mesrop Maštoc': The True Church of Armenia]. Vienna: Mxit'arean Tparan, 1905 (= in Vienna, in Mechitarist Abbey's Press, 1905). Wien : Buchdruckerei der Mechitharisten-Congregation, 1905. – 732 [12] p.; 4°

C Frumoasac'i hay kat'olik elekelec'i. Vienna 12 Őgostos 1931.  
[Armenian Catholic Church in Csíkszépvíz. Vienna, August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1931].

F ŐNB –; ICCU –

83

Csíkszépvíz 199

MAŠTOC', Mesrop

Hayastaneayc' Ułap'ar Ekelec'i [Mesrop Maštoc': The True Church of Armenia]. Vienna: Mxit'arean Tparan, 1905 (= in Vienna, in Mechitarist Abbey's Press, 1905). Wien : Buchdruckerei der Mechitharisten-Congregation, 1905. – 732 [12] p.; 4°

F ŐNB –; ICCU –

84

Csíkszépvíz 186

MEŁAC'IS

Mełac'is Berin Mēj [Burdened by my sins.] – 131 fol.

A Bound manuscript of prayers in Old/ Classical Armenian (*grabar*). The date and place when and where the manuscript was written is unknown (probably at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in Csíkszépvíz).

MIKE Bonaventura *vide* FASCHING Ferenc, Nr. 40.

85

Csíkszépvíz 1/2

MISSALE

Missae in festis propriis sanctorum patronorum Regni Hungariae.... – Tyrnaviae : Typis Academicis, per Joannem Andream Hörmann, 1701. – [2], 24 p. : ill.; 2°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. 1/1 *vide* Nr. 86.)

F RMK II. 2087

86

Csíkszépvíz 1/1

MISSALE

Missale Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V. pontif. max. jussu editum, et Clemens VIII. primum, ac denuo Urbani papae octavi auctoritate recognitum... jussu et autoritate Leopoldi a Kollonicz. – Tyrnaviae : ex typographia Academica Soc. Jesu, per Joannem Andream Hörmann, 1702. – [78], 413, [22], 415-908, CLXVI, [2], 24 p. : ill.; 2°

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2. 1/2 *vide* Nr. 85.)

F RMK II. 2127

87

Csíkszépvíz 3

MISSALE

Missale sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum... – Romae : Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda fide, 1728. – [36], 74, 452, 94 p.; 2°

C Missale isthoc Armenorum pertinet ad Ecclesiam Armenorum  
CsikSzépviziensis

F ICCU –

88

Csíkszépvíz 206

MÖGULŌ; [COCHEM, Martin von]

Mōgulō nilgul vōlu doy goyr mēyyl ōz Uyvtvuzituy Yezuš Griztušnōg iš Sēnd Siyliinnēg ivēgid uyk gēšērvēš ginsēnvētišit' iš hōlalat' ōtkiōy ēluy č'ēy niēlvbul mōkiōyr niēlvrē fōrtitōttōg. Mōšd bētik uyeōnnōn šōg gērēzsdin lēlēg puzguy givanšakarōy nēkiēzsaēr giniōmt'ōt't'ōt'ōt' Nōyk Sōnmpōtpōn ō Yezuš T'aršōšakōy Agad. gōlek peduivēl 1765 Ēzt'ēntupēn. [Immaculate Mirror which presents the Sufferings and the Death of Jesus Christ Our Saviour and His Holy Mother translated from Czech into Hungarian, Reprinted for the Fourth Time at the Zealous Request of Many Christian Souls in Nagy Szombat with the Kid Fonts of the Jesuit Society's Academy in 1765. (Petrik V. 309)] Copied by Johannes, son of Pirov Hacsik (Xačik), 1802–1803. – 828. p.

A Manuscript bound. It was transcribed with Armenian characters (but in Hungarian) in the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Csíkszépvíz, adjusted to the sound of the contemporary Transylvanian Armenian pronunciation. It was written, probably, during the office of the

parish priests József Szebeni (1786–1791) and Minas/Minász Geron-Gyertyánffy (1791–1797). Cf.: Kovács Bálint, *A Makula nélkül való tükör magyar nyelvű, örmény átírásos változata*, in *Makulátlan tükör. Tanulmányok a Makula nélkül való tükör című kegyességi műről*, szerk. MACZÁK Ibolya, Budapest, MTA-PPKE, 2016 (Pázmány Irodalmi Műhely, Lelkiségtörténeti tanulmányok, 13.), 97–119.

C Szentpéteri Dávid

MXIT'AR, Sebastac'i *vide* GIRK', Nr. 50.

NAGY János *vide* KOLB, Gregorius, Nr. 72.

NAMAKAGRUT'IWN *vide* ĚSTKAREAN, Vardan, Nr. 38.

89

Csíkszépvíz 104

NEGYEDES Pál

Minden mostani fenn álló innepekre és némelly... szenteknek... isteni tiszteleteknek... és más jeles ájtatosságoknak napjaira szolgáló prédikációk. – Győrött : Streibig Jó'sef betűivel, 1800. – 8°

II. vol. – 492, [8] p.

C Hentes János tulajdona 1842

F Petrik II. 856

90

Csíkszépvíz 61

NEPOS, Cornelius

Cornelius Neposnak avagy Aemilius Probusnak hires nevezetes hadi fejedelmeknek életekről, és cselekedeteikről írt könyve. – Kassán : Az Akadémiai Betűkkel, 1763. – [8], 290 p.; 12°

C Ex libris Christophori Czecz

Ex libris Simeonis Fárao

F Petrik I. 443

91

Csíkszépvíz 86/1

Neues französisch-deutsches und deutsch-französisches Taschen-Wörterbuch. – 13., verb. u. verm. Original-Ausgabe. – Strasbourg et Paris : [Amand König], (A Strasbourg chez Amand Koenig, imprimeur-libraire A Paris chez le même, quai des Augustins), 1811. – 16°

Tome premier. – XII, 503 p.

- A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2. 86/2 *vide* Nr. 92.)  
C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao  
F ÖNB –; ICCU –; BNU Strasbourg –

**92**

**Csíkszépvíz 86/2**

Neues französisch-deutsches und deutsch-französisches Taschen-Wörterbuch. – 13., verb. u. verm. Original-Ausgabe. – Strasbourg et Paris : [Amand König], (A Strasbourg chez Amand Koenig, imprimeur-libraire A Paris chez le même, quai des Augustins), 1811. – 16°

Tome II. – [2], 463 p.

- A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. 86/1 *vide* Nr. 91.)  
F ÖNB –; ICCU –; BNU Strasbourg –

**93**

**Csíkszépvíz 32**

NOSZKÓ Alajos

Vasárnapokra való egyházi beszédek. – Budán : nyomtattott a' Magyar Királyi Universitásnak betűivel, 1807. – 8°

Őszi rész. – VIII, 403 p.

- A Back damaged  
C Ex libris Eugenii Daniel Parochi Ebesfalvensis Anno 1817  
Nunc Antonii Petrovits 1844.  
F OSZK 279.182

**94**

**Csíkszépvíz 33**

NOSZKÓ Alajos

Vasárnapokra való egyházi beszédek. – Budán : nyomtattott a' Magyar Királyi Universitásnak betűivel, 1807. – 8°

Nyári rész. – [8], 452 p.

- A Back damaged  
C Ex libris Eugenii Daniel Parochi Ebesfalvensis Anno 1817  
Nunc Antonii Petrovits 1844.  
F OSZK 279.182

**95**

**Csíkszépvíz 34**

NOSZKÓ Alajos

Vasárnapokra való egyházi beszédek. – Budán : nyomtattott a' Magyar



Királyi Universitásnak betűivel, 1805. – 8°

Tavaszi rész. – [8], 448 p.

A Back damaged

C Ex libris Eugenii Daniel Parochi Ebesfalvensis Anno 1817  
Nunc Antonii Petrovits 1844.

F OSZK 279.182

96

Csíkszépvíz 12

ŌJNEC'Ī, Yovhannēs, Imastasēr<sup>9</sup>; AWGREAN, Mkrtič', transl.

Domini Johannis Philosophi Ozniensis Armenorum Catholici Opera. Teaṙn Yovhannu Imastasiri Awjunec'ioy Matenagrut'iwnk'. T'argmanean i Latin Barbaṙ Erkasirut'eamb Teaṙn Hōr Mkrtč'i Vardapeti Awgerean At'oṙakali Uxti Mxit'areanc'. I Venetik i tparani Srboyn Łazaru Yami 1834 ew R̄MJG<sup>10</sup> [Chronicle of St John of Ojun, "the Philosopher", Catholicos of Greater Armenia. Father Mkrtič' Awgrean, Mechitarist Monk and Vardapet, Vicar of the Mechitarist Order edited and translated it into Latin. It was published in Venice in the Press of the Mechitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro degli Armeni in 1834 and in the Year of 1283 according to the Armenian Calendar]. Venetiis : typis PP. Mechitaristarum in Insula Sancti Lazari, 1834. – 314 [4] p.; 8°

F IT\CCU\PUV\0723416; Nersessian Nr. 486.

97

Csíkszépvíz 20/2

OPSTRAET, Jan

Joannis Opstraet... de locis theologicis dissertatio I. De verbo Dei scripto seu de Scriptura sacra. – Vindobonae : typis Joannis Thomae Nob. de Trattnern, 1779. – 333 p.; 8°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. 20/1 *vide* Nr. 31.)

F VD18 80216730-001; cf.: RMK III/XVIII. Nr. 2164.

<sup>9</sup> Surb Yovhannēs „Imastasēr” Ōjnec'i (Awjunec'i). Saint John IV the Philosopher (717–728), Catholicos of Armenia.

<sup>10</sup> The year of publication was added in Armenian letters and according to the old Armenian calendar as well.

**98**

**Csíkszépvíz 117**

OPSTRAET, Jan

Pastor bonus, seu idea, officium, spiritus et praxis pastorum. – Venetiis : sumpt. Heredis Nicolai Pezzana, 1771. – XXXIV, 566 p.; 8°

A Back damaged

F IT\ICCU\TO0E\146409

**99**

**Csíkszépvíz 106**

OSTERVALD, Jean Frédéric d'

A' keresztyének között ez idő szerént uralkodó romlottságnak kutfejeiről való elmékedés. – Debreczenben : nyomt. Margitai János, 1745. – [14], 313, [8], 357, [3] p.; 8°

C Iosephi Dési compar. Debretini anno 1748 Cal. Septembris

F Petrik II/2. 953

**100**

**Csíkszépvíz 95**

OVIDIUS NASO, Publius

Magyar Ovid, az által-változásokról szabad fordításban. – Kolozsváratt : nyomtattatott a' Reform Kolégyom' betűivel, 1802. – [22], 348, [5] p.; 8°

C Ex libris Christophori Czecz

Ex libris Simeonis Fárao [1]837

F OSZK 32.057

**101**

**Csíkszépvíz 81**

PALMER, Thomas Hibernicus

Flores Bibliorum, sive loci communes omnium fere materiarum, ex Veteris et Novo Testamento excerpti. – Agriae : Typis Scholae Episcopalis, 1777. – 693, [5] p.; 8°

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao [1]862

F Petrik I. 802; Mizera–Nagy–Verók 2017. Nr. 497.

102

Csíkszépvíz 51/1

PATAI András, praes.; KOVÁCS Ferenc, resp.

Theses ex universa philosophia, qua sin alma, ac Regio-Princ. S. J. Acad. Claudiop. A.n. a partu Virg. MDCCXXXII. Mense Augusto... publice propugnandas suscepit... Franciscus Kovács...praeside R. P. Andrea Patai. – [Claudiopoli] : [Typ. Acad.], [1732]. – [6] p.; 4°

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2. 51/2 *vide* Nr. 103.)

C Martini Demeter mp

Ego Keresztes Jácábus habeam hoc liber

Ego Stephanos Kerestes emi 1756

Ezen Szent Háromságról bizonyító Szent könyv volt Csíky Gáspár fő tisztelendő Péter Cayetáné Ersébeth városi Romano Catholikus Szent Széknek. Notariusá és contsionatore. Az után pedig Főbb. Keservben úgy mind Csíky Gáspárffi Gáspárnak. Anno 1790 die esztendőben

Csíky Gáspárffi Gásparé Anno 1790

F Petrik – (unique copy?)

103

Csíkszépvíz 51/2

PEÑALOSA, Ambrosio de

A szent háromságnak, azaz az atyának, és fiúnak, és szent léleknek, három valóságos isteni személyeknek egy igaz, örök és egyenlő istenségekről való... egyedül üdvességes hiti, vallása, és tudománya. – Kolosvaratt : az Akadémiai bötűkkel Weichenberg Simon által, 1732. – [12], 446, [8] p.; 4°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. 51/1 *vide* Nr. 102.)

F Petrik I/2. 515

104

Csíkszépvíz 30

PICHLER, Vitus

Theologia polemica in duas Partes divisa, quarum... – Viennae Austriae : Typis Ioannis Thomae Trattner, 1755. – [10], 805, [10] p.; 8°

A Back damaged

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao [1]865

F Petrik III. 91

105

Csíkszépvíz 31

POMEY, François

Syntaxis ornata, seu de tribus latinae linguae virtutibus, puritate, elegantia, copia... cum adjuncto flore latinitatis.... – Tyrnaviae : Typis Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1754. – 595, [106] p.; 8°

F Petrik II/1. 119

106

Csíkszépvíz 182

PŌZAJĪEAN, Yakovbos

K'erakanut'iwn Italakan Lezwi. Ašxatasireal i Hōrē Yakovposē Pōzajĭean, Mxit'arean Miabanut'iwn. Venna I Tparani Mxit'areanc', 1836. [Grammar of the Italian Language. Edited by: Yakovbos Pōzajĭean Mechitarist monk. Published in Vienna in Mechitarist Abbey's Press in 1836]. Wien : Buchdruckerei der Mechitharisten-Congregation 1836. – 291 p.; 8°

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian – (unique copy?)

107

Csíkszépvíz 118/2

QUOD BONUM

Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque sit. Huic Almae Regio-Principali Soc. J. Universitati Claudiopolitanae... sub... patre Josepho Boross... decano... Philosophiae candidati in Aula Universitatis Anno MDCCLII Mense Junio die 6.... laurea condecorati sunt. Promotore R. P. Francisco Göcze... professore ordinario. – [Claudiopoli : typis Academicis S.J., 1752]. – [4] p.; 12°

A Coll 1.: *vide* Nr. 30, Csíkszépvíz 118/1)

F Petrik – (unique copy?)

108

Csíkszépvíz 62

REUTER, Johann

Neo-confessarius practice instructus, seu methodus rite obeundi munus confessarii... – Coloniae Agrippinae : sumptibus Remondinianis, 1763. – XII, 588 p.; 12°

A Back damaged

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao [1]865

F BnF FRBNF31201895; VD18 – (for this edition)

109

Csíkszépvíz 91

RICHARD, Charles-Louis

Analysis conciliorum generalium, et particularium, continens eorum canones super dogmate, morali doctrina... – Augustae Vindelicorum : Sumptibus Matthaei Rieger p. m. filiorum, 1778. – 8°

Tomus I. – XXIV, 903 p.

F VD18 80427030

110

Csíkszépvíz 59

RIPPEL, Gergely

Az anya-szent-egyháznak tzeremóniái és szertartási. – Egerben : nyomtattott a' Püspöki Oskola' betöivel, 1779. – [8], 455, [24] p.; 4°

A Back damaged

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao mp. [1]862.

F Petrik V. 429; Mizera–Nagy–Verók 2017. Nr. 539.

111

Csíkszépvíz 197

RODRÍGUEZ, Alphonso (RĀTRIKVĒC', Alp'onsos); TIP'LISEC'I, Petros, transl.

K'rtut'iwn e Katarelut'ean ew Krōnaworakani Aṙak'inut'ean. Šaradrec'eal i Hayr Rōtrikvēc' Alp'onsos Kahanayē Yisusean Kargin. Ew T'argmanec'eal i Haykakan Barbaṙ i Petrosē Vardapetē T'ip'lizec'woy. Yami Teṙn 1741 Dektemberi 6. I Venetik I Tparan Anton Pōṙt'ōli, 1741 [Teachings Related to the Moral of the Faith and Perfection. Compiled by Alfonsus Rodriguez SJ Jesuit Father. Translated into Armenian by Petros Tip'lisec'i Vardapet, Mechitarist Father. Published on December 6<sup>th</sup>, A.D. 1741 in Venice in Antonio Portoli's Press.] Venezia : Antonio Portoli, 1741. – 321 p.; 8°

C Cessit Antonio Petrovits Domina Catharina, 1872 die 30a 8bris.; Anton Betrovič'i (= Petrovits)

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian Nr. 129.

112

**Csíkszépvíz 187**

RODRÍGUEZ, Alphonso (ՐԾՏՐԻԿՎԵՇ՝, Alp'onsos); TIP'LISEC'I, Petros, transl.

Krt'ut'iwn Katarelut'eān ew K'ristonēakani Aṙak'inut'eān. Šaradrec'eal i Hayr Ṙōtrikvēc' Alp'onsos Kahanayē Yisusean Kargin. Ew T'argmanec'eal i haykakan barbaṙ i Petrosē Vardapetē T'ip'lizec'woy. Yami Teāṙn 1742 Yulisi 18. I Venetik I Tparani Anton Pōṙt'ōli, [Teachings of Christ's Morality and Perfection. Compiled by Alfonsus Rodriguez SJ, Jesuit Father. Translated into Armenian by Petros Tip'lisec'i Vardapet and Mechitarist Father. Published on July 18, A.D. 1742. In Venice in Antonio Portoli's Press], Venezia : Antonio Portoli, 1742. – 220 p.; 8°

C on May 29, 1777. Arrnk' zrōžin Mōltōvanec'nē mer ēsdōlē [May 22, 1777. From the library of a man called Moldován]

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian –.

ՐԾՏՐԻԿՎԵՇ՝, Alp'onsos *vide* RODRÍGUEZ, Alphonso, Nr. 111, 112.

113

**Csíkszépvíz 120**

Sacro sancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini. – Tyrnaviae : Typis Collegii Acad. Soc. Jesu, 1765. – XXXII, 344, [46] p.; 8°

C Ex libris Emerici Gáspár

F Petrik I. 435

114

**Csíkszépvíz 82**

Sacrosanctum concilium Tridentinum cum citationibus ex utroque testamento... – Ultima hac editione quam absolutissimum. – Venetiis : sumptibus Antonii Astolphi, 1781. – 440 p.; 8°

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao mp.

F IT\ICCU\RMSE\003428

**115**

**Csíkszépvíz 211**

SALMOS

Salmos Dawt'i or ew Koč'i Salmosaran. Tpeal Yam Tearn I Trest', I Tparani Harc' Mxit'areanc' [King David's Psalms, that is also called The Book of Psalms. Published in Trieste in the Press of the Mechitarist Congregation, in A.D. 1787], Trieste : typis Patrum Mechitaristarum, 1787. – 368 p.; 8°

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian –.

**116**

**Csíkszépvíz 189**

SALMOS

Salmos Dawt'i, or ew Koč'i Salmosaran. Tpagrec'eal I Venetik yami Tearn 1771 i Tparani Antoni Pōrt'ōli [King David's Psalms, also called The Book of Psalms. Published in A. D. 1771 in Venice in Antonio Portoli's Press]. Venezia : Antonio Portoli, 1771. – 374 p.; 8°

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian –.

**117**

**Csíkszépvíz 207**

SALMOSAGIRK'

Salmosagirk' [The Book of Psalms]. – 367. p.; 8°

A The date and the place of the publication are unknown. Published probably by the Mechitarist Congregation in Venice, at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

**118**

**Csíkszépvíz 19**

ŠARAKANOC'

Šarakanoc' i Tōni [A Collection of Armenian Ecclesiastical Hymns for Church Holidays]. – 161 p.

A Manuscript. Hand-written pages bound. Time and place it was written is unknown (probably at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in Csíkszépvíz).

C Ex libris A. R. D. Adeodati C. ; Ex libris Antonii Demirčean 1828.

119

Csikszépvíz 113/2

SCHREINER Mihály

Conclusiones ex logica et metaphysica concinnatae ad mutum doctoris subtilis... Joannis Duns Scoti... publicae luci expositas defendendas susceperunt... Eugenius Esterhamer, Josephus Marckl, et Blasius Csiurcsich... ex praelectionibus, et sub assistentia... Michaelis Schreiner... dicato anno 1763. Mense <Augusto> die <15>. – [Budae] : [Landerer], [1763]. – [3] fol.; 8°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. 113/1 *vide* Nr. 25.) – The thesises follows the page of title of the main work (113/1).

F Petrik VII. 466

120

Csikszépvíz 75

SEGNERI, Paolo; DIRRHAIMER, Udalrich, transl.

Quadraginta sermones per verni jejunii tempus. Ex Italico Idiomate Latinitate Donati A R. P. Udalrico Dirrhaimer... – Editio sexta. – Augustae Vindel. et Oeniponti : sumptibus Josephi Wolff, 1765. – [14], 541, [25] p.; 4°

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1876

Ex libris P. Joannis Dombi

F VD18 –; Augsburg Stadtbibliothek, Th Pr 2425

121

Csikszépvíz 76

SEGNERI, Paolo; DIRRHAIMER, Udalrich, transl.

Quadraginta sermones per verni jejunii tempus. Ex Italico Idiomate Latinitate Donati A R. P. Udalrico Dirrhaimer... – Editio sexta. – Augustae Vindel. et Oeniponti : sumptibus Josephi Wolff, 1765. – [14], 541, [25] p.; 4°

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1876

Ex libris P. Joannis Dombi

F VD18 –; Augsburg Stadtbibliothek, Th Pr 2425



122

Csíkszépvíz 74

SEGNERI, Paolo; TRUCHSESS von Waldburg-Wolfegg, Eusebius  
R.P. Pauli Segneri Panegyrici sacri, et... Eusebii Truchsess... oratio. –  
Augustae Vindel. et Oeniponti : sumptibus Josephi Wolff, 1772. – [4], 356,  
[22] p.; 4°

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1877

Ex libris P. Joannis Dombi mp.

F VD18 –; Augsburg Stadtbibliothek, Th Pr 3224

123

Csíkszépvíz 99

SEILER, Georg Friedrich  
Kisdedek vallása. – Kolosváratt : nyomt. a' Reform. Kollég. betűivel,  
1775. – [32], 228, [4] p.; 8°

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao [1]857

Gajzágó Elek

N.G. DEM [gerincen]

F Petrik III. 364

124

Csíkszépvíz 100/1

SIMON de la Vierge  
Sermones sacri in dominicas et festa totius anni. – Augustae Vindelicorum :  
sumptibus Fratrum Veith, 1774. – 8°  
Pars III. – [4], 464, [8] p.

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2. 100/2 *vide* Nr. 125.)

C Ex libris Antonii Porumbi

Nunc Antonii Petrovics 1817

F VD18 –; Stadtbibliothek Augsburg Th Pr 4685-3.

125

Csíkszépvíz 100/2

SIMON de la Vierge  
Sermones sacri in dominicas et festa totius anni. – Augustae Vindelicorum :  
sumptibus Fratrum Veith, 1774. – 8°  
Pars IV. – [4], 482, [10] p.

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. 100/1 *vide* Nr. 124.)

F VD18 –; Stadtbibliothek Augsburg Th Pr 4685-4.

126

Csíkszépvíz 210

De singularitatis actionum perfectionum. – 208 fol.

- A A hand-written treatise in Latin, bound. Place and date when and where it was written are unknown.
- C M. Benedicti Dániel a SS. Trinitate et PP Szegedini, 1755. Dono obtulit Antonio Petrovits 1809.

127

Csíkszépvíz 123

[SPASAWORUT'IWN PATARAGI]

Ministerium missae. [Liturgia Armena, Scilicet, Ministerium Missae Codex Mysterii Missae Armenorum, Seu Liturgia Armena; Accedum ad calcem Correctiones officii divini et hymnorum Armenorum: armeniae, cum versione latina] – Romae : typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1677. – 19[recte: 21] p.; 2°

- A Partially printed, partially handwritten copy
- C Inside upper cover: a note in Classical Armenian: *Araġin kerani galustean Polosi aġak'eloyñ i hrōmayec'is t'lt'oyñ ē ěnt'er gl žg.* [First coming. Pauline Epistle to Romans 7:13]
- F IT\ICCU\VEAE\001882 (30 p.: Le p. 21-24 contengono: Correctiones officii diuini Armenorum e le p. 25-30: Correctiones hymnorum Armenorum.)

128

Csíkszépvíz 79

Statuta almae dioecesis Transsilvanicae anno 1822 die 17-ma Aprilis in Synodo Dioecesana publicata, et concordibus votis approbata. – Claudiopoli : Typis Lycei Regii, [1822]. – [6], 253, XVI, [23] p.; 4°

- C Ecclesiae Csíkszépvíziensi Armeniorum
- F Petrik III. 430

129

Csíkszépvíz 80

Statuta almae dioecesis Transsilvanicae anno 1822 die 17-ma Aprilis in Synodo Dioecesana publicata, et concordibus votis approbata. – Claudiopoli : Typis Lycei Regii, [1822]. – [6], 253, XVI, [23] p.; 4°

- C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1823
- F Petrik III. 430

STÖGER, Ferdinandus *vide* DÁNIEL Imre, Nr. 31.

**130**

**Csíkszépvíz 172**

SURB XAČ'

Surb Xač'in Ĵamp'un [On the Road of the Holy Cross]. – 14 fol.

- A** Old/ Classical Armenian text written by hand. Time and place where and when the manuscript was written is unknown (probably in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Csíkszépvíz).

**131**

**Csíkszépvíz 115**

SZEREDAI Antal

Notitia veteris, et novi capituli ecclesiae Albensis Transilvaniae, ex antiquis, ac recentioribus literarum monumentis eruta. – Albae Carolinae : Typis Episcopalibus, 1791. – 244 p.; 4°

- C** Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1826  
**F** Petrik III. 533

**132**

**Csíkszépvíz 98**

TAKÁCS Ádám

Halotti huszon-öt prédikációk. – Posonyban, és Pesten : Fűskúti Landerer Mihály költségével, és betűivel, 1796. – 261, [3] p.; 8°

- C** Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1833  
**F** Petrik II. 576

TAKÁCS Marcell *vide* FASCHING Ferenc, Nr. 40.

**133**

**Csíkszépvíz 60**

TALENTI, Vincenzo

Compendium historico-chronologicum vitae rerumque gestarum beati patris Josephi Calasantii fundatoris Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum. – Posonii : typis Francisci Antonii Royer, 1749. – [12], 224 p.; 8°

- C** Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1819  
Ex Bibliotheca P. Benedicti Stephani Dániel Elisabethopolitani  
Pestini 1775 mense 8bris  
**F** Petrik III. 578

**134**

**Csíkszépvíz 25**

TASĚ PATWIRANK’

Vm. Decalogi Praeceptum. Tasě Patwirank’ēn Hinksam Patwirank’ě. Mi Spananer. Asel em ew grel em ērkus amar. Tēr Yovhannēs Gaptēpōvean<sup>11</sup> 1824 ew 1828 Ełisabet’opol [This is the Fifth of the Ten Commandments: Thou shalt not kill. Told and written by me, Prebend János Kabdebó in Erzsébetváros in the Summer of 1824 and 1828] – 64 fol.

A Manuscript. Hand-written pages bound.

**135**

**Csíkszépvíz 26**

TASĚ PATWIRANK’

Quarti Decalogi Praeceptum. Ays Č’orssam Patwirank’ Asac’ eal i Teaṛnē Yōvhannēsē Gaptēpōvean. Žoľově T’alěre Awagilēyē Ełisabēt’c’woy Masn Aṛajin. Yami 1272 1823 [This is the Fourth of the Ten Commandments. Told and written by me, Prebend János Kabdebó First part. In the Year of 1272 according to Armenian Calendar/ Era and in 1823 in Our Calendar], Erzsébetváros. – 98 fol.

A Manuscript. Hand-written pages bound.

**136**

**Csíkszépvíz 27**

TASĚ PATWIRANK’

Vm Decalogi Praeceptum. Ays Tasě Patwirank’ēn Vēcsamě. Et Jubilaeum Anno 1826 ew Iupilēumi nerołut’ean. Asel ew grel em Yełisabet’opol k’ałak’ 1826. [This is the Sixth of the Ten Commandments. Told and written by me, Prebend János Kabdebó upon the Jubilee of 1826 in Erzsébetváros]. – 63 fol.

A Manuscript. Hand-written pages bound.

TASĚ PATWIRANK’ *vide etiam* KABDEBÓ János, Nr. 67.

**137**

**Csíkszépvíz 126**

TESAURO, Emanuele

Il canocchiale aristotelico, o sia, Idea dell’arguta,... – In Venetia : appresso

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<sup>11</sup> Prebend János Kabdebó was the Armenian Catholic priest in Erzsébetváros between 1832 and 1836.

Martin Vicenzi, 1685. – [16], 431 [recte: 451], [14] p.; 4°

C Liber Italicus ...

Ex libris Io....

Ad usum I. Mutest

F IT\ICCU\UM1E\006191

**138**

**Csikszépvíz 107**

THOMAS a Kempis

De imitatione Christi libri quatuor. – Viennae Austriae : typis Mariae Theresiae Voigtin viduae, universitatis typographae, 1735. – [12], 248 p.; 8°

C Ex libris Francisci Munkátsy

Ex libris Stephani György

F ÖNB 33.Z.30

**139**

**Csikszépvíz 192**

THOMAS à Kempis (GEMBAC’I, T’ovma)

Yalags Nmanoġ Lineloy K’ristosi. T’argmaneaġ Hayr Vrt’anēs Vardapet Askērean Mxit’arean. Erkrord Tpagrut’iwn. I Venetik, I Surbn Łazar, 1835. [Thomas à Kempis: The Imitation of Christ. Translated by Vrt’anēs Askērean Vardapet and Mechitarist Monk. Second Edition. Published in Venice in the Press of Mechitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro degli Armeni in 1835.] Venetiis : typis PP. Mechitaristarum in Insula Sancti Lazari, 1835. – 424. p.

C Yiřatakaran. Hanguc’eal hogwoc’ Purisean barepařtōn tohmin.

[Colophon: (Remember) also about the Salvation of the Devout Purisean Family.]

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian – (1786: Nr. 209.)

**140**

**Csikszépvíz 15**

THOMAS de Charnes

[Theologia universa ad usum sacrae theologiae. – Augustae Vindelicorum : sumptibus Mathaei Rieger et Filiorum, 1774. – 8°

Tomus VI.] – III–X, 554 p.; 4°

A Page of title missing.

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1844

F VD18 14420937

**141**

**Csíkszépvíz 105**

THOMAS de Charmes

Theologia universa ad usum sacrae theologiae. – Editio in Germania tertia. – Augustae Vindelicorum : sumptibus Mathaei Rieger et Filiorum, 1774. – 8°

Tomus VII. – 444, [8] p. [1] t. fol.

**C** Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1815

**F** VD18 14420937

**142**

**Csíkszépvíz 14/1**

THOMAS de Charmes

Theologia universa ad usum sacrae theologiae candidatorum. – Augustae Vindelicorum : sumptibus Mathaei Rieger et Filiorum, 1774. – 8°

Tomus I., De Prolegomenis. – [14], 431, [4] p.

**A** Coll 1. (Coll. 2. *vide* Nr. 143.)

**F** VD18 14420937

**143**

**Csíkszépvíz 14/2**

THOMAS de Charmes

Theologia universa ad usum sacrae theologiae candidatorum. – Augustae Vindelicorum : sumptibus Mathaei Rieger et Filiorum, 1774. – 8°

Tomus II., De Deo et attributis, de Deo Trino et de Deo Creatore. – [2], 431, [5] p.; 8°

**A** Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. *vide* Nr. 142.)

**F** VD18 14420937

TIP'LISEC'I, Petros *vide* RODRÍGUEZ, Alphonso, Nr. 111, 112.

**144**

**Csíkszépvíz 6**

TNÖRĒNUT'IWN

Tōn Tnōrēnut'ean K'ristosi [Church Holiday of Christ's Leading the Way]. – 114 fol.

**A** Manuscript. Hand-written pages bound. The place and date when and where the book was written are unknown (probably in Csíkszépvíz in the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century).

## TŌNAC'OYC'

Tōnac'oyc' Ęst Uĥap'ařac' Hayoc' [Church Calendar according to the Armenians' True Faith]. – 337 p.

- A Manuscript. Hand-written pages bound. The place and date when and where the book was written are unknown (probably at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Csíkszépvíz).
- C Ex libris Antonii Korbuli 1840.

## TŌNAC'OYC'

Tōnac'oyc', Yorum Nřanakin Tōnk' ew Pahk', Ęnt'erc'wack' ew Aarolut'iwnk' Hayastaneayc's Srboy Ekefec'ioy. Skzbanaworeal i Srboy Lusaworč'ēn<sup>12</sup> Mermē i Skzban i Lusaworet'ean Azgis Hayoc' ew kargaworeal Srboyn Sahakay Part'ewi<sup>13</sup> ew Eraneal Hayrapetac'n Merc' Giwtoy Hayrapeti<sup>14</sup> ew Yovhannu Mandakunioy<sup>15</sup> ew Yusk Apa Srboyn Nersisi řnorhalioy<sup>16</sup> Isk Yet řzamanakac' i Surb At'ořn Ęřmiacin. Tēr Simēōni Hayoc' Kat'ořikosi.<sup>17</sup> Arařin Hator. Yerusalēm. I Tparani Ařak'elakan At'ořoy Srboy Yakovbeanc', 1890 = řYLT' [Church Calendar marking Holidays, Ceremonies, Church Readings and Rites. Started by Our Saint Gregory the Illuminator at the Beginning of the Conversion of the Armenian People, Ordered by Saint Sahak Part'ew and Patriarchs Giwt', Yovhannēs Manadakuni and Nersēs řnorhali and Continued Later during the Pontiff of Catholicos Simēōn at the Ęřmiacin's Holy Apostolic See. First Book. Published in Jerusalem in the Press of Saint James' Holy Apostolic See in 1890 and in 1339 according to the Armenian Calendar.] – 637 p.; 8°

- F ÖNB –; ICCU –; BAV – (rare copy: Calouste Gulbenkian Library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem: 264.I.) [BSB A.or 788

<sup>12</sup> Surb Grigor Lusaworič'. Saint Gregory I, the Illuminator (287–325) Apostle of Armenia, and First Catholicos/ Patriarch (*Hayrapet*) of Armenia.

<sup>13</sup> Surb Sahak Part'ew. Saint Isaac, the Parthian, I (387–440), Catholicos of Armenia.

<sup>14</sup> Surb Giwt Arahezac'i. Saint Giwt I (461–478) Theologian, Catholicos of Armenia.

<sup>15</sup> Surb Yovhannēs Mandakuni. St. John I. *Mandakuni* (478–490) Theologian, Catholicos of Armenia.

<sup>16</sup> Surb Nersēs řnorhali Klayec'i. Nerses IV the Gracious (1166–1173) Theologian, Catholicos of Armenia at the time of Cilician State/Kingdom of Armenia (1080–1375).

<sup>17</sup> Fallse data since then there was no Catholicos in Armenia under the name of Simēōn. The Catholicos then was Makarios I (*Makar T'elutc'i*) (1885–1891).

j-1: Constantinople 1849 (OCLC 163204071); Library of Congress, BX127.14.A72 1868 Armen: ?<sup>th</sup> edition, Jerusalem, 1868 (LCCN 2006544803); Halle, ULB 06 SA 8077: 4<sup>th</sup> edition in Jerusalem, 1970 (OCLC 838502243)) – The first edition of this Calendar in 2 vols.: Ejmiadzin, 1774–1775 (cf. Meliné Pehlivanian, *Mesrop's Heirs: The Early Armenian Book Printers*, in Eva Hanebutt-Benz, Dagmar Glass and Geoffrey Roper (eds.), *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, Westhofen, 2002, Skulima, 53–92 (hier: 72.), (repr. in: Geoffrey Roper (ed.), *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, Ashgatem, 2013, 505–544. (hier: 527).]

147

Csikszépvíz 92

TOBENZ, Daniel

Institutiones usus et doctrinae patrum praelectionibus academicis adcommodatae. – Vindobonae : Litteris a Ghelenianis, 1777. – 8°

Pars Theoretica. – [28], 267 p.

C Ex Bibliotheca P. Benedicti Stephani Dániel a SS. Trinitate e Scholis Piis A. 1778. Elisabethopoli Cessit Antonio Petrovits 1803

1812. 19. Martii, des(...) Benedictus Stephanus Daniel aetatis 82.

F Landesbibliothekenverbund Österreich/Südtirol: XIV B/3 21 \* Sign.2: Hzb 4 XVII Laho-8 IIa 377 T 183 \* Sto: Barocke Bibliothek VBN: 005321

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Csikszépvíz 93

TOBENZ, Daniel

Institutiones usus et doctrinae patrum praelectionibus academicis adcommodatae. – Vindobonae : Litteris a Ghelenianis, 1777. – 8°

Pars Theoretica. – [28], 267 p.

F Landesbibliothekenverbund Österreich/Südtirol: XIV B/3 21 \*

Sign.2: Hzb 4 XVII Laho-8 IIa 377 T 183 \* Sto: Barocke Bibliothek VBN: 005321

TRUCHESS, Eusebius *vide* SEGNERI, Paolo, Nr. 122.



149

Csíkszépvíz 44/1

VAN HOEKE, Petrus

Petri van Hoeke Lucubrationes in catechismum Palatinum, in quibus ejusdem catechismi veritates ex scriptura sancta proponuntur, demonstrantur, variaque ipsius scripturae loca illustrantur. – Lugduni Batavorum : apud Joh. du Vivie, 1711. – [16], 544, [20] p.; 4°

A Coll. 1. (Coll.2. 44/2 *vide* Nr. 23.)

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1827

F BnF FRBNF31536969

150

Csíkszépvíz 200

VARK' [ATHANASIUS Alexandrinus, Sanctus]

Vark' Srboy Hōrn Meroc' Antoni Abbayi Meci<sup>18</sup>. Yami Tearṅ 1794 Ōgostosi 25 ew T'win Hayoc' řxmg. I Venetik i Vans Srboy Łazaru [The Biography of Our Holy Father Anthony Abbot, published on August 25<sup>th</sup>, A.D. 1794. Or in 1243 according to the Armenian Calendar/, in Venice, in the Press of the Mechitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro degli Armeni]. Venetiis : typis PP. Mechitaristarum in Insula Sancti Lazari, 1794. – 96 p. ; 4°

C Ex libris Antonii Petrovits 1808.

F ÖNB –; ICCU –; Nersessian Nr. 239.

VARK' SRBOC' *vide* KABDEBÓ János, Nr. 66.

151

Csíkszépvíz 102/2

VELUANUS, Joannes Anastasius

Vom Nachtmal Christi. – Zürich : Froschauer, Christoph, 1557. – Fol. 2–78, [1].; 12°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1.: 102/1 *vide* Nr. 12.) – Missing: title page

F VD16 A 2455

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<sup>18</sup> St. *Anthony the Hermit* (*Antōnios o Megas, Surb Anton Mec*) (251–356). The first known Christian hermit Saint. One of the Desert Fathers.

**152**

**Csikszépvíz 40/1**

VENERONI, Giovanni

Le dictionnaire imperial, representant les quatre langues principales de l'Europe. – A Cologne et Francfort : Chez les Heritiers de Servais Noethem, 1743. – [4], 570 p.; 8°

A Coll. 1. (Coll. 2. *vide* Nr. 155.; Coll. 3. *vide* Nr. 153.)

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 1867

F HAB H: P 347.4° Helmst. (2)

**153**

**Csikszépvíz 40/3**

VENERONI, Giovanni

Dictionarium Caesareum, in quo Quatuor principiores Lingua Europae, nempe.... – Coloniae et Francofurti : sumptibus Haeredum Servatii Noethen, 1743. – [4], 152 p.; 8°

A Coll. 3. (Coll. 1. *vide* Nr. 152.; Coll. 2. *vide* Nr. 155.)

F HAB H: P 347.4° Helmst. (3)

**154**

**Csikszépvíz 41**

VENERONI, Giovanni

Il dittionario imperiale, nel quale le quattro principali lingue dell'Europa.... – Colonia e Francoforte : Appresso Heredi di Servazio Noethen, 1743. – [6], 878 p.; 8°

B Pergamen

C Ex libris Simeonis Fárao 867

F HAB H: P 347.4° Helmst. (1)

**155**

**Csikszépvíz 40/2**

VENERONI, Giovanni

Das Käiserliche Sprach- und Wörter=Buch... – Cölln und Franckfurth : verlegt bey Cervas Nöthen seel. Erben, 1743. – [4], 218 p.; 8°

A Coll. 2. (Coll. 1. *vide* Nr. 152; Coll. 3. *vide* Nr. 153.)

F HAB H: P 347.4° Helmst. (4)

VISKI T. Pál *vide* Nr. 78.

156

Csikszépvíz 4

XORHURDATETR

Xorhurdatetr Srboy Pataragin. C'uc'akk' Awurc' Tōnic' Srboč' Ěst Ararolūt'ean Hayastaneayc' Ekelec'woy. Tpagrec'eal Ōrinakin Tpagrec'eloy i Hřom. Yami Tearņ 1741 Septemberin 15 i Venetik i Tparani Antoni Pōřt'ōli, 1741. [Missale of the Holy Liturgy. A List of the Saints' Holidays according to the Armenian Church Ritual. Publication based on the Copy published in Rome. Published on September 15<sup>th</sup>, A.D. 1741 in Venice in Antonio Portoli's Press.] – 167 fol.

A Manuscript.

C In usum infrascripti a Reverendissimo Domino Archidiacono Elisabethopolitano Iosepho Papai concessum. Dei 18 Februarii AD 1844. Antonius Petrovicz (...) Parochus Csikszépvisiensis (..) dono obtulit pro Memori Anto. Petrovitz Manet pro usu Parochiae Armeniorum Szepvisiensis ut notatur(?) Memoria et Papai et Petrovitz 1860 28<sup>a</sup> Februarii

157

Csikszépvíz 188

XORHURDATETR

Probably, a Xorhurdatetr that is a Missale. – 824. p.

C Fragment of a print. Publication date and place are unknown (probably in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Venice in Antonio Portoli's Press).

158

Csikszépvíz 194

XRATK'

Hamarak Xratk' [Short Teachings]. – 298. p.

A Manuscript, copied probably at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, in Transylvania.

## YANUNK'

Yanunk' Hōr ew Ordwoyn ew Errordut'ean Srboy [In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit].

- A Armenian manuscript bound. Date and place are unknown (probably in the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Csíkszépvíz). The text starts with the Old/ Classical Armenian prayer Our Father (*Hayr Mer*) and contains prayers in contemporary Armenian language.
- C 1859-nin graw NN3. This book belongs to Márton Mánya and it is the duty of a good Christian to our Lord to return the lost item. He lives in Csík Szép Víz, September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1832. Csík Szép Víz, September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1832.

## ŽAMAGIRK'

*Žamagirk' T'ult'ě* [Breviary]. – 572 p.; 4°

- A In fragment, the book starts on page 17. Publication date and place are unknown. Came out or in Venice in Press of the Mechitarist Congregation at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, or in Constantinople in 1793 (cf. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 4 A 42434).
- C Ays Žamagirk' T'ult'ě Astucoy ołormut'ean kapacē 1841 tareně, yulisin amiswan 24-in, or ěllay zim ordus Miglušin Hōrmean vasn yišoľut'ean. Miglušin Hōrmean zim jernagirs ordus Miglōsin. [This Breviary was bound for me A.D. 1841 on July 2<sup>nd</sup> to the Memory dedicated to Miklós Hormean's Son. For me, Miklós Hormean (= Hung. Hormján) with the Handwriting of My Son, Miklós.]



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